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Pedagogía Política: Un análisis de la enseñanza de la dictadura de Pinochet y los
derechos humanos en Chile

Political Pedagogy: An Analysis of the Teaching of the Pinochet Dictatorship and
Human Rights in Chile

By
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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by
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Abstract

As Chileans continue to struggle with reconciling with their past in post-dictatorial Chile, this same struggle plays out in the classroom with the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. While there is a vast corpus on memory historiography and pedagogy literature, researchers have overlooked the role of teaching in memory formation and the perspectives of those actively forming student memory. This study analyzes how various spheres of education on the dictatorship and human rights reflect larger societal tensions and are themselves spheres of contested memory. Further, I argue for complexity as there are numerous educational spheres who are in dialogue with one another that contribute to the creation of a collective memory. This study builds on existing scholarship through nine, first-hand interviews with Chileans who are involved in the education of the dictatorship and human rights. The interviews fit into three categories which shape the format of my study: the secondary school classroom, the world of academia and university teacher training, and other experiential spheres of memory formation. This study goes beyond just looking at curriculum and instead provides valuable qualitative research and the perspectives of educators who are actively forming memory. As Chile continues to construct a memory, educators face real challenges from the changing political environment but also have the opportunity in shaping the memory for the next generation. Memory education can be transformative, creating active participants in society who demand for change.

Resumen

Mientras el pueblo chileno continúa luchando para reconciliarse con su pasado después de la dictadura, las mismas batallas de memoria se luchan adentro del aula con la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Mientras hay muchas obras de historiografía sobre la memoria y literatura pedagógica, muchos investigadores han examinado el rol de la enseñanza en la formación de la memoria y las perspectivas de las personas que están formando activamente la memoria de los estudiantes. Mi estudio analiza las maneras en que las esferas de educación sobre la dictadura y los derechos humanos reflejan las tensiones sociales más grandes y en sí mismas son esferas de memoria disputada. Además, yo hago un argumento por la complejidad porque hay muchas esferas educativas que dialogan con otras, y todas contribuyen a la creación de una memoria colectiva. Mi estudio representa un aporte al conocimiento existente con nueve entrevistas de primera mano con chilenos que participan en la educación de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Las entrevistas se organizan en tres categorías que sirven para estructurar mi estudio: el aula de las escuelas secundarias, el mundo de la academia y formación docente en las universidades, y otras esferas experienciales de la formación de la memoria. El estudio va más allá de solamente mirar el currículo y en cambio, provee valiosa investigación cualitativa y las perspectivas de educadores que están formando la memoria activamente. Mientras Chile continúa construyendo una memoria del pasado, los educadores enfrentan desafíos reales del entorno político cambiante, pero también tienen la oportunidad de crear la memoria para la próxima generación. La educación de la memoria puede transformar y crear participantes activos en la sociedad que exigen un cambio.

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Introduction

“The answers are yet to be written. Memory and learning from the past are a work for every generation.”

– Steve Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet*

In October of 2019, massive protests broke out across Chile and millions took to the streets to have their voices heard. The government had reached a point of ineffectiveness as promises of widespread prosperity felt empty for many and there continued to be high economic inequality. People protested all aspects of Chilean life, society, politics, and economy, many of which stem from the dictatorship. Just a sample of issues includes high prices, the privatized pension system, the education system, and the current constitution. The protests began just after increased metro fares took effect. Yet, the protest did not just start because of increased metro fares. As the slogan signifies, “It’s not 30 pesos, it’s 30 years,” people were protesting all that had happened in 30 years since the transition.¹ However, for many, it did not feel like 30 years had passed as the government sent out military forces and tanks after the protests began, declaring a state of emergency. This was the first time since the transition to democracy that tanks patrolled the streets, which for many evoked painful memories from the dictatorship.² With this, Chileans found themselves questioning the legitimacy of democracy and asking how much had changed since the transition.³ The

¹ Tomas Munita, “‘Chile Woke Up’: Dictatorship’s Legacy of Inequality Triggers Mass Protests,” *The New York Times*, November 3, 2019, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/03/world/americas/chile-protests.html>.

² The official terminology for the dictatorship is “dictadura cívica-militar,” but since the majority of the literature and interviewees simply refer to it as “dictatorship,” this paper will do the same, but recognizes the official terminology.

³ Munita, “‘Chile Woke Up’”; Jeremy Adelman and Pablo Pryluka, “The Politics of Frustration in Latin America,” Project Syndicate, October 29, 2019, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/why-latin-america-is-protesting-by-jeremy-adelman-and-pablo-pryluka-2019-10>.

protests brought to the frontlines that there were still serious impacts from the dictatorship, even after 30 years of democracy.

There is no doubt that the dictatorship continues to affect Chile today, in multiple ways. With such a profound effect, it has been difficult for Chile to reconcile with their past and construct a collective memory. The memory question refers to asking how to remember the past. What memory or narrative do Chileans tell? There continues to be people in power who had direct ties or supported the dictatorship. There continues to be victims who walk on the same streets as culprits who have not yet been condemned for their past crimes. For many Chileans, the state has not taken a definitive role in resolving the tension that remains in reconciling with the past.

One area of tension is education, specifically the teaching of the history of the dictatorship and human rights violations. The teaching of the dictatorship and human rights violations is an area of contest as the country struggles to construct a collective memory of the past. If society cannot reconcile with the past, then how is it taught in schools? How is the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights taught in schools or to future teachers? What is the role of teaching in creating a collective memory? Who are the forces involved? With such a contested and complex topic, there are no definitive answers, leaving space for research.

First, one has to understand the history that is at the center of this debate. Prior to the dictatorship, Chile had generally thought itself immune to a coup d'état as the history of democracy was relatively stable in the country. In the 1970 presidential election, socialist Salvador Allende won. He rose to prominence as a member of the leftist part Unidad Popular, a coalition of leftist parties in Chile, with a promise to lead Chile to socialism under democracy. Although he did not win the majority of votes in Chile's close three-way election

of 1970, Congress named him president as he had the most votes even though the United States attempted to broker a deal to prevent Allende from taking office. This failed, thus, Chile began its experiment with socialism.⁴

Once president, Allende attempted to carry out his socialist platform. His goal was to make Chile a socialist economy under the existing democratic process in order to improve the economy and better the standard of living for the working class. He sought land and industrial reform, including the nationalization of certain industries such as copper.⁵ Unfortunately, the economy continued to stagnate and Allende was met with opposition from the right, media, military, and the United States. In a U.S. backed military coup, the Chilean military bombarded the presidential palace and Allende committed suicide inside the palace in 1973. Immediately after, a military *junta* took over with Augusto Pinochet as the leader and began a right-wing military dictatorship that ruled from 1973 until the transition back to democracy in 1990.⁶

Augusto Pinochet led an authoritarian dictatorship for 17 years. The dictatorship dissolved Congress and suspended the constitution and all political activities, including banning all leftist parties. The same day as the coup, the dictatorship began its state-sponsored terrorism to crush the left. The official truth commissions confirmed that at least 3,200 people died or disappeared and 40,000 were imprisoned or tortured during the dictatorship, but these estimates may be higher.⁷ People were forcefully taken from their homes, imprisoned, tortured, questioned, disappeared, and sent to death. Numerous crimes

⁴ Elizabeth Q. Hutchison et al., eds., *The Chile Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, Latin America Readers (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 346-347.

⁵ Gwynn Thomas, *Contesting Legitimacy in Chile: Familial Ideals, Citizenship, and Political Struggle, 1970-1990* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 93.

⁶ Hutchison et al., *The Chile Reader.*, 347-351; 441

⁷ Cath Collins, Katherine Hite, and Alfredo Joignant Rondón, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet* (Boulder, Colorado: FirstForumPress, 2013), 63.

against humanity took place, including physical, sexual, and psychological abuse in various forms such as severe beatings, electrocution, rape, abortion, and water boarding. Thousands of people went missing as the dictatorship buried thousands of bodies in the deserts and dropped the bodies from planes in the ocean. Additionally, approximately 200,000 people went into exile.⁸ These acts were primarily carried out by the *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA)*, the Chilean secret police that the *junta* created in 1974.⁹ Censorship and surveillance ran high.

The dictatorship claimed to have intervened in order to save the country from communism. The dictatorship reversed socialist policies and with the Chicago Boys, implemented neoliberalist economic policies.¹⁰ Other reforms took place as well, including education reforms for privatization. A new constitution was put in place to further legitimize the dictatorship through a national plebiscite in 1980, which many believe was rigged. Supporters of the dictatorship praise the economic recovery and flourish under the dictatorship, as economist Milton Friedman notably noted as the “miracle of Chile.”¹¹ The 1980 Constitution put in place a plebiscite to occur in 1988 for people to vote “yes” or “no” to continue the dictatorship for another eight years. International pressure and increased unease with the dictatorship influenced the plebiscite to be fair. 55% of people voted “no” and an end to the dictatorship. In 1989, democratic elections took place and Patricio Aylwin took office, marking Chile’s transition to democracy.¹²

⁸ Hutchison et al., *The Chile Reader*, 434.

⁹ *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA)* translates to National Intelligence Directorate in English.

¹⁰ The Chicago Boys were a group of Chilean economists who studied at the University of Chicago Department of Economics under Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger and brought neoliberalism to Chile. Hutchison et al, 438.

¹¹ Patricia Richards, *Race and the Chilean Miracle: Neoliberalism, Democracy, and Indigenous Rights* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/23388>.

¹² Hutchison et al, 433-521.

Chile's transition to democracy was negotiated and so immediate changes or prosecution did not take place overnight. Instead, the political parties negotiated the transition. Most notably, Pinochet remained as commander-in-chief of the army and had a lifetime senate seat. Eventually several truth commissions and reports came out, such as the Rettig (1990) and Valech (2003) Reports, that officially recognized the human rights violations that took place under the dictatorship. In 1998, Pinochet was arrested in London for crimes against humanity and brought back to Chile to be tried but died before his conviction. The center-left coalition, Concertación, led the transition and every president from 1990-2010 was from this coalition. The election of right-wing candidate Sebastian Piñera in 2010 marked the first time the Concertación did not win.¹³ Recently Chile has shifted between socialist president Michelle Bachelet and right-wing president Sebastian Piñera in the last four presidential elections, revealing the polarization in the country.

While democracy in Chile attempts to pave its own path, it cannot shake off its dictatorial past. The memory of this history is contested in Chile. The people in power during the dictatorship still remain. When Pinochet was arrested and arrived in Chile in 2000, he was welcomed by supporters wearing Pinochet shirts and badges. He was also faced with opposition who reminded the country of the numerous crimes against humanity Pinochet committed.¹⁴ Only recently have some people who took part in the human rights violations been condemned, with many more still walking the streets freely. There have also been efforts to create a collective memory. Previous detention sites have been turned into memorials, such as Londres 38 and Villa Grimaldi. Yet, these efforts are not supported by

¹³ Hutchison et al, 521-600.

¹⁴ Alex Bellos and Jonathan Franklin, "Pinochet Receives a Hero's Welcome on His Return," *The Guardian*, March 4, 2000, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/mar/04/pinochet.chile1>.

all, and there are people who are willing to overlook the human rights violations that took place for what they view as an improving economy under the dictatorship.¹⁵ As Chileans attempt to reconcile with the past, they are not alone as numerous Latin American countries suffered under dictatorship and committed human rights violations. When looking at models in how to interpret the past, many Latin American countries look to Germany and the post-World War II memory making as a model. Historians like Steve Stern and Gabriel Salazar argue that Europe had a universal condemnation of the human rights atrocities and acceptance of democratic values, but that Chile still has not done the same.¹⁶ Therefore, Chile continues to struggle with coming to terms with the past and creating a collective memory.

My project draws from a variety of secondary sources on memory. The next chapter provides more in-depth information and analysis about the literature, but this project focuses on two types of literature: historiography and pedagogical works. The historiography focuses principally on Latin America and deals with memory. Scholars such as Steve Stern, Cath Collins, and Elizabeth Jelin have written a substantial amount of literature on memory and since there is so much literature on memory in Latin America, this project utilizes only historiography on Latin America or Chile. This research shows how the larger society attempts to reconcile with the history and the tension that still exists. The pedagogical works include both studies of teaching and prescriptive style literature. Numerous Latin American and Chilean scholars, especially professors of education, have written about teaching recent history, memory pedagogy, and human rights education. Most literature refers to this

¹⁵ Steve J. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*, Latin America Otherwise (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ Collins, Hite, and Joignant Rondón, *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, 248; Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet*, 377-379.

teaching as “teaching recent history” or the “teaching of the dictatorship and human rights violations” or just “teaching of the dictatorship and human rights” to include current day human rights violations. Overall, the literature highlights the importance of teaching memory and human rights in schools.

My principal primary sources are nine interviews with those involved in the education of the dictatorship and human rights. This diversity of perspectives includes secondary school teachers, university professors, and those involved in the government, museum, curriculum development, and human rights activism. The majority of these interviews took place in Chile in October 2019, just a week before the protests broke out. These interviews provide rich insight and knowledge about the education of this complex topic. Their perspectives cannot simply be found in textbooks or the critical literature, and often, especially perspectives from secondary school teachers, are not widely published or theorized in literature. The interviews share real human stories and genuine experiences with people who are directly involved in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. Other primary sources include lesson plans from secondary school teachers, the national Chilean textbook, the national curriculum, and selected journals from the Universidad de Alberto Hurtado facultad de Educación, *Cuaderno de Educación*. These are tools that the interviewees utilize and give further first-hand insight on the topic.

The analysis of the pedagogy of the dictatorship and human rights builds upon what other scholars have argued regarding the large societal tension when grappling with how to create a collective memory of the dictatorship. I demonstrate how the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights reflects this same tension and is another area where memory is contested. I also argue for complexity. Not only is the topic itself complex, but there are also

numerous actors involved, which widens this complexity. As exhibited through my interviews, the teaching is highly intertwined with various spheres, including secondary school teachers, university professors, museum education, curriculum development, and human rights activism. Despite the tension, these spheres continue to work towards improving the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights, contributing to the creation of a collective memory. Education occupies an important role in the creation of a national memory and has the power to be transformative in shaping future generations.

The first chapter analyzes secondary literature, including both memory historiography and pedagogy literature, that investigates the memory and teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. These works show how memory is contentious and the various debates surrounding memory in the fields of history, politics, and education. However, I argue that there is a gap in the literature to connect memory construction with the process of history teaching, as scholars often leave out perspectives of those actors creating or implementing the teaching. The second chapter examines how the dictatorship is taught in secondary schools today, utilizing interviews with three current teachers who teach the topic. While there are many achievements and challenges, there is still no fixed memory of this history, which is a reflection from society. I contend that teachers have an important role in memory construction which is actively occurring in the classroom and demonstrate how they articulate the similar debates surrounding memory in the classroom. The third chapter looks at perspectives from academia and how universities train future teachers amidst constant evolution of teaching practices and memory. I demonstrate how university professors are in an active dialogue with secondary school teachers as they face similar challenges which are representative from the difficulty in society to create a collective memory. I argue that the

dialogue reveals a goal to interrupt the current cycle of reproducing gaps in student knowledge and that university professors have the potential to shape new educators. The fourth chapter examines a sample of public spheres that play an important role in the education of this topic, such as curriculum development, museum education at el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos,¹⁷ and human rights activism to illustrate the complexity and connections among various spheres. I argue that these complementary spaces are in dialogue with each other, contributing to the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights and are yet more areas of contest that reflect society's tension in resolving with their past. Finally, the conclusion suggests further research and discusses this project, especially the role of memory, in the larger national context amidst the on-going protests in Chile. Taken together, the chapters present how the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights involves various spheres which are all intertwined, and all reflect the larger societal tension in grappling with how to remember the past.

¹⁷ Translates to English as the Museum of the Memory and Human Rights

Chapter One

Secondary Literature Review: memory historiography and pedagogical works on teaching recent history and human rights violations

Introduction

Memory is one of the most written about subjects across disciplines. This is largely due to its contentious nature and susceptibility to the constant changes of time. Memory literature emerged after World War II and the atrocities by the Nazis. This literature continued to grow throughout the 20th century with dictatorships, civil wars, the end of neocolonialism, and other political tensions in Latin America and Africa. To explore memory related to my research, I focus on literature specific to Latin America and Chile. A substantial amount of literature has been written on post-dictatorial Chile which shows the contentious debates surrounding memory in the fields of history, politics, and education. However, much of this literature is based on previous literature about other geographic regions relating to the post-World War II era.

The purpose of this chapter is to show the various scholarship regarding memory in post-dictatorial Chile. The first section looks at memory historiography in Latin America and Chile. While these works provide crucial context on the larger societal memory in Chile and demonstrate the tension surrounding memory in Chile, they overlook the importance of education in memory. The second section focuses on pedagogical works concerning the teaching of recent history and human rights violations. While these works offer valuable insight with teaching recommendations and criticism of curriculum, they do not focus on the process of how teachers implement these materials or recommendations. Ultimately, I argue that there is a gap in the literature to connect memory construction with the process of history

teaching, as scholars often leave out perspectives of those actors creating or implementing the teaching. This gap allows me to conduct my own research, based on the works in this chapter which provides foundation and context for my study.

Section One: Historiography on memory

Numerous scholars have written historiographical works on memory in Latin America and Chile. The purpose of examining these works is to provide context and frameworks about memory in Chile. I argue that, while the works demonstrate how memory is a contested topic in post-dictatorial Chile and are important to understand memory in post-dictatorial Chile, they overlook the importance of education in memory construction. Only Elizabeth Jelin's *Los trabajos de la memoria* briefly mentions the role of education, but the other works focus on the other societal, political, and cultural aspects of memory in Chile. First, I analyze Jelin's book, as it is one of the earliest works on memory in Latin America. Then I will move to memory historiography solely on Chile. This includes Steve Stern's "Memory Box" trilogy, and then two more recent works, *Civil Disobedience* by Michael Lazzara and *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, a multi-authorial book, both of which build from Stern. All of these works give valuable context to memory in post-dictatorial Chile and the tension that surrounds the memory debate.

One of the first books published in the twenty-first century on memory in Latin America is *Los trabajos de la memoria* (2002) or in English, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory* (2003) by Sociology Professor Elizabeth Jelin of the Universidad de Buenos Aires. The book is foundational in exploring various approaches and perspectives on memory in Latin America. While Jelin says her focus is on the Southern Cone of Latin America, she

draws heavily from Japanese and European examples such as World War II, the Holocaust, Vichy France, Spain's Civil War, and the Franco dictatorship. Unlike Stern's books, Jelin acknowledges that the purpose of her book is not to introduce new frameworks or definitive arguments but rather to "problematizar, abrir preguntas y reflexiones que impulsen más trabajos, más diálogos, más avances."¹ The book's chapters follow no linear line of reasoning and Jelin also acknowledges that the book can seem decentered, with gaps and underdeveloped themes.² She does not have a central argument, but rather identifies three central principles that guide the book: memories happen under subjective processes, memories are objects "de disputas, conflictos y luchas" and that memory is to be viewed historically as it is subject to change over time with the changing social, cultural, and political contexts.³ She claims that there is not one single memory, or "una visión y una interpretación únicas del pasado, compartidas por toda una sociedad."⁴ The book crosses disciplines of sociology, history, cultural studies, political science, anthropology, and psychology but focuses on "los actores sociales y políticos."⁵

Within these disciplinary categories, she briefly highlights the importance of education. She argues that if the political arena cannot agree on an official memory, then "El sistema educativo se convierte, entonces, en una arena de lucha entre diversos actores y versiones."⁶ She also recognizes education as a space for debate, "El sistema educativo y el ámbito cultural son algunos de los escenarios donde se puede llevar adelante una estrategia

¹ Elizabeth Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, Colección Memorias de La Represión 1 (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores: Social Science Research Council, 2002), 3.

² Jelin, 1-7.

³ Jelin, 2.

⁴ Jelin, 5.

⁵ Jelin, 7.

⁶ Jelin, 128.

de incorporación de ese pasado.”⁷ However, her book is not without criticism. One critic points out that Jelin fails to include race and class in memory, does not draw on primary sources, truth commissions or tribunals, and does not include the ongoing state violence currently taking place.⁸ Nevertheless, Jelin’s work remains foundational in Latin American memory and briefly touches on the importance of education in memory.

A second foundational work is by Emeritus professor of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Historian, Steve Stern. His “Memory Box” trilogy published between 2004-2010, is arguably one of the most prominent works on memory in Chile after the Pinochet Dictatorship. The trilogy is made up of the following volumes each of which look at different time periods: *Remembering Pinochet’s Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet’s Chile, 1973-1988*, and *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*. These books are well researched with hundreds of bibliographical notes and written in extensive detail that drives the narratives Stern includes. The books cross disciplines with history, political science, sociology, and cultural studies. Stern utilizes a variety of sources such as newspapers, government documents, films, photographs, audiovisual archives, and oral testimonies through interviews. The books introduce raw material and innovative concepts, with many critics asserting that the books are classics in the field of Chilean memory. With the multitude of frameworks and conclusions Stern makes, it is unrealistic to provide a full account of the trilogy; therefore, the following will only include concepts that are specifically useful to my project.

⁷ Jelin, 137.

⁸ Heather Williams, *Review: State Repression and the Labors of Memory*, vol. 34, no. 2, *Contemporary Sociology*, 2005, www.jstor.org/stable/4147204.

To explore memory and education in Chile, the first and third books are the most useful. The first book serves as an introduction to the other two books. The first book layouts out with more details the concepts and purposes of the trilogy. While Stern acknowledges other scholars on memory, such as James Young and Pierre Nora, he emphasizes that he has coined his own conceptual language and theories. In defining the term memory, he writes that “memory is the meaning we attach to experience, not simply the recall of events and emotions of experience.”⁹ Going beyond a simple definition, Stern introduces his memory box concept, a box can be opened or closed at times, and it is a collective and active piece as people are constantly drawn to it as they struggle to decide what memories belong in the box.¹⁰ He argues that by the mid to late 1990s, Chile had a culture of “memory impasse” and provides various human stories to convey this idea.¹¹ However, none of his research or analysis looks at education. He talks about the society more largely through frameworks such as memory as salvation, unresolved rupture, persecution and awakening, and close box; and terms such as memory knots and emblematic memory.¹² With so many new terms and frameworks, it is easy to become lost in the “rigorous jargon” as one critic opines.¹³ Other critics say that the book is “difficult to read...because his approach evinces a certain logical circularity”¹⁴ and that “an insistence on coining terms can also grate...”¹⁵ Nevertheless, Stern’s first book provides essential context and various memory frameworks to better

⁹ Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet’s Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, The Memory Box of Pinochet’s Chile, bk. 1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 105.

¹⁰ Stern, xxviii.

¹¹ Stern, 144, xxviii - xxix.

¹² Stern, 105, 145.

¹³ Patricio Navia, “Pinochet: The Father of Contemporary Chile,” *Latin American Research Review* 43, no. 3 (2008): 250–58, www.jstor.org/stable/20488159.

¹⁴ Jeremy Adelman, “Remembering in Latin America,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 39, no. 3 (2009): 387–98, www.jstor.org/stable/20143879.

¹⁵ Cath Collins, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27, no. 2 (2008): 287–88, www.jstor.org/stable/27734018.

understand the larger memory formation in Chile as my project looks at the more specific aspect of education.

Stern's third book, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*, provides essential context and conclusions about the post dictatorial-era. While using the same concepts and frameworks as in the first book, the third book looks at how Chile has dealt with the construction of memory throughout the ongoing transition to democracy, with emphasis on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Rettig and Valech reports, the arrest of Pinochet, legal cases against military officials, and the actions of the Concentración. He uses top-down and bottom-up narratives as "this book focuses on social actors and human networks seeking to find and shape meanings of the traumatic past-within-the-present, that is, to push the memory-truths they considered urgent into the public domains."¹⁶ At the same time, he argues that post World War II "laid down crucial foundational documents" regarding memory and human rights, but that this "sweeping vision fizzled" due to Cold War pressures.¹⁷ Stern concludes that the Chilean democracy has a "rolling impasse" due to struggles of power. Looking at the "strains" that led to the impasse "offers a way to move beyond the influential idea of a 'pacted transition.'"¹⁸ He further concludes that "frictional synergies" helped to advance human rights cases and keep the dialogue open.¹⁹ Similar to Stern's other books, the sheer density of the book leaves it open to criticism. One critic says that it can be easy to "find the author's particular organizing principle somewhat distracting" and that "the search for a core with which to engage

¹⁶ Steve J. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*, Latin America Otherwise (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 4.

¹⁷ Stern, 378.

¹⁸ Stern, 360-369.

¹⁹ Stern, 360-369.

according to the reader's particular interests and expertise becomes ever more challenging by this final volume."²⁰ Stern's complexities and evasion of making simple arguments or conclusions reflect the complexities of memory itself; however, at the same time his books can leave readers confused and overwhelmed. As one critic says, Stern's search for complexity can at times result in "analytical clutter"²¹ and another critic plainly states, "The book is too long. Stern's every thought and rumination seem to have been printed."²² Regardless of these criticisms, Stern's works continue to be one of the most foundational and extensively researched in the memory of Chile.

Building upon these foundational works by Jelin and Stern, the following sections includes two, more recent works on memory in Chile, *Civil Disobedience* by Michael Lazzara and *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, a multi-authorial book. They build from Stern and illustrate the more current memory debates in Chile, which continue to show tension.

Michael Lazzara, an associate professor of Latin American Literature and Cultural Studies at the University of California, Davis, is another prominent scholar on Chilean memory. He has published two books on the topic, *Chile in Transition* in 2006 and *Civil Disobedience* in 2018, the latter of which is more important to this project. Unlike Stern, his books do not invent new theories or frameworks, but rather raise questions and challenge official history. His questioning and challenging of ethics of those who took part in the atrocities during the dictatorship are a central theme in both of his books, drawing from past scholarship by Karl Jaspers and Hannah Ardent. The books offer an interdisciplinary view that include history, politics, literature, and philosophy. Both of his works deal with

²⁰ Cath Collins, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43, no. 2 (2011): 392–94, www.jstor.org/stable/23030644.

²¹ Sonia Cardenas, ed. Steve J. Stern, *Human Rights Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2012): 285–89, www.jstor.org/stable/41345480.

²² Michael Monteón, *The Historian* 74, no. 1 (2012): 132–33, www.jstor.org/stable/24455823.

questioning the official history and working with multiple, contesting narratives. In *Chile In Transition*, Lazzara proposes looking at “lenses of memory”²³ and looks at a multitude of perspectives, but as one critic points out, by doing so Lazzara “comes out on the side of aesthetic practices that resist closure...”²⁴ It appears that Lazzara responds to this because in his second book, *Civil Disobedience*, he takes more of an argumentative approach with a focused vision. Like his first book, Lazzara once again challenges the status quo but this time solely focuses on “perpetrators” because he claims that “victims” are analyzed to a much greater extent than “perpetrators” in memory studies.²⁵ He argues that Chile today “is a product of complicity and complacency,” with complicit subjects creating the conditions of today’s Chile in the 1970s and 1980s, and complacent subjects propagating Pinochet’s legacy in the 1990s.²⁶ Once again, Lazzara employs personal narratives and individual case studies from the dictatorship to demonstrate and analyze a vast range of responsibilities when thinking about varying levels of complicitness and complacency. In his conclusion, Lazzara agrees with Stern on the complexity of memory, but goes beyond Stern’s rolling impasse to conclude that memory is a powerful political tool which people use to voice change today.²⁷ Taken together, Lazzara’s works are more about raising questions and critically thinking than providing simple answers.

The second contemporary book, *The Politics of Memory in Chile* is another milestone in the scholarship of the memory in Chile and unlike the previous books, this book focuses solely on the post-dictatorial era of Chile. Published in 2013, the book consists of a series of

²³ Michael J Lazzara, *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 31.

²⁴ Kate Jenckes, *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 61, no. 1 (2008): 111–14, www.jstor.org/stable/40647435.

²⁵ Michael J. Lazzara, *Civil Obedience: Complicity and Complacency in Chile since Pinochet*, Critical Human Rights (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2018), 3.

²⁶ Lazzara, 6–8.

²⁷ Lazzara, 182.

separate articles written by “political analysts” and therefore written from a political science lens, focusing not on just *memory* but on the *politics of memory*. The editors explain that “the term politics of memory is most often associated with the study of policies specifically designed to address the legacies of past atrocities - primarily, prosecutions, truth telling, memorialization and reparations.”²⁸ The book explores the question of how the contemporary and current political community interprets and utilizes memory.²⁹ The editors present three main arguments: “first that different generations are entirely capable of interpreting the same political events differently; secondly, that political ideology or partisanship continues to weigh heavily on current interpretations of past political events; and third, that in the aftermath of traumatic conflict, a substantial portion of both citizens and elites profoundly desire consensual collective memory images, crafted by the political class, that convey national unity and peace.”³⁰ The arguments are the binding threads to the six articles which all explore different areas of political memory. The articles include: Alexander Wilde’s “A Season of Memory,” which analyzes how justice and memory became prominent in the second decade of the democracy; Cath Collins’s “The Politics of Justice,” which looks at the shift from impunity to the judicial scene in human rights prosecutions; Elizabeth Lira and Brian Loveman’s “Torture as Public Policy,” which examines how torture is used as an instrument during conflict and argues how torture is still ongoing; Cath Collins and Katherine Hite’s “Memorial Fragments, Monumental Silences, and Reawakening in Twenty-First Century Chile,” which looks at the “processes of memorialization; Alfredo Joignant’s “The Pinochet Funeral: Memory, History and Immortality,” which examines the effects of

²⁸ Cath Collins, Katherine Hite, and Alfredo Joignant Rondón, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet* (Boulder, Colorado: FirstForumPress, 2013), 1.

²⁹ Collins, Hite, and Joignant Rondón, 2.

³⁰ Collins, Hite, and Joignant Rondón, 7.

Pinochet's death; and Carlos Huneeus and Sebastián Ibarra's "The Memory of the Pinochet Regime in Public Opinion," which analyzes Pinochet's legacy in current political culture.³¹ Together, the chapters contend that there is a lack of state response to past atrocities and that political alignment plays an important role in memory. Several critics of the book allege that it focuses solely on political elites, excluding marginalized communities and a "lack of analytical depth" with the absence of multi-fold discourses in the articles.³² In totality, these articles provide rich contemporary context as they are the only works that focus solely on post-dictatorial Chile and in which the authors are current prominent Chilean scholars on memory and politics.

There are volumes of works that look at memory in post-dictatorial Latin America and Chile through a myriad of different lenses. These works wrestle with a variety of difficult but crucial questions regarding memory. However, among these works is a reoccurring theme, which is that Chileans continue to struggle with how to remember their past and create a collective or national memory. While these works provide essential context on memory in Chile, they only look at memory in the larger societal and political landscape of Chile. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to pedagogical literature in order to draw connections between memory construction and education.

Section Two: Pedagogical works

Numerous Latin American and Chilean scholars have written about teaching recent history, memory pedagogy, and human rights education in post-dictatorial Latin America. All

³¹ Collins, Hite, and Joignant Rondón, 22.

³² Teresa Macías, *Latin American Politics and Society* 56, no. 4 (2014): 182–85, www.jstor.org/stable/43284961.

the works attempt to answer the question of how to teach the recent history of dictatorships and human rights violations. I argue that while pedagogical works offer valuable insight with teaching recommendations and criticism of curriculum, they do not focus on the process of how teachers implement these materials or recommendations. The works focus on quantitative data or are more prescriptive and didactic, which drives the format of this section. First, I focus on empirical works principally done by Professors María Isabel Toledo and Abraham Magendzo, whose research is uniquely based on field-obtained data. Then, I examine works which are more based in theory and didactic in style. These include “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?” by Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales” by Joan Pagés and Jesús Marolla, and *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* by Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio. Together, the works acknowledge the challenges in teaching the dictatorship and human rights, calling for a more open dialogue and deeper understanding not only in the classroom but also in the larger society.

Professors María Isabel Toledo and Abraham Magendzo conducted research in Santiago schools and published two articles on their findings related to the teaching of recent history in Chile, specifically the dictatorship and human rights. María Isabel Toledo is an Associate Professor of Psychology, Faculty of Human Sciences and Education at the Universidad Diego Portales. Abraham Magendzo is an Academic Director of the Doctorate Program in Education at the Universidad de Humanismo Cristiano in Santiago, Chile and holds a UNESCO Chair in Human Rights Education. Their first article published in 2009, titled “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human

Rights in Chile” focuses on the questions of how to teach recent history in a country like Chile, where human rights have been violated, and the ethical dilemmas associated with the pedagogical practices. The population of the study is six schools in Santiago. In these schools, methods of collecting data include questionnaires answered by teachers and students, classroom observations, and short interviews with students and teachers. The authors define “moral dilemma” as “the tensions, conflicts, and contradictions that the teacher faces during his/her teaching practice.”³³ Based on their research, they identified the following categories of moral dilemmas: 1) Neutrality in teaching, 2) Implication of the students by the facts, 3) Victimisation, 4) The teacher’s political ideology and the management of students in a minority, and 5) Management of emotions. Within these categories, the researchers found the following trends: there is a lack of teachers to take responsibility for student emotions when sharing personal testimonies, subtle behaviors such as word choice are inherently biased, and cloaks that teachers can hide behind such authority and neutrality. The authors assert that an objective position in teaching history does not align with the current “conceptions of history” in which “it is affirmed that, all historical knowledge is interpretative...”³⁴ The authors affirm that teachers need to open a space for diversity and dialogue and that “it is the teacher’s job to create a positive emotional space for learning.”³⁵ The authors conclude by recognizing the lack of pedagogical tools for teachers and the larger issue of a lack of reconciliation in Chilean society as a whole in regard to the dictatorship and human rights violations.

³³ Abraham Magendzo and María Isabel Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” *Journal of Moral Education* 38, no. 4 (December 2009), 451, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240903321923>.

³⁴ Magendzo and Toledo, 460.

³⁵ Magendzo and Toledo, 460-462.

Toledo and Magendzo built upon their previous study and published another study in 2011, titled “Teaching Recent History in Countries that Have Experienced Human Rights Violations: Case studies from Chile” with a third author, Renato Gazmuri, an Education Professor at the Universidad Diego Portales. Their research comes from six schools in Santiago with the primary population being History and Social Science teachers in the second year of secondary schools. Methods to collect data include questionnaires by teachers and students, classroom observations, and interviews with students and teachers. The study is rather short, including just a brief paragraph with the author’s four identified teaching models of history, followed by classroom observations to support the example but with little analysis. The first teaching model the authors identify is Constructivism, which emphasizes content and teacher performance where teachers “created a learning environment, provided information and redefined concepts.”³⁶ The second model, Development of meta-cognition, focuses on the process of learning and developing of skills, so students learn how to learn. There is less emphasis on content, and more emphasis on the “development of cognitive skills.”³⁷ The third model is Historical discourses, which focuses on historical thinking and reasoning, with the purpose “to transfer the development of historical thinking.”³⁸ The fourth and final model is Moral discourse which focuses on the teacher’s moral duty to “promote the contention that ‘Never Again’ will crimes against humanity be allowed to occur.”³⁹ The model acts as “socio-political commitment” that is also very personal, emotional, and centered on the victims.⁴⁰ The authors acknowledge that a variety of models is not negative,

³⁶ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 22.

³⁷ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 23.

³⁸ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 23.

³⁹ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 24.

⁴⁰ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 24.

but that not all models achieve “the main purpose of the course, namely that students understand the present as a result of a historical process and know how to operate within it, ” based on the Ministry of Education standards in 1999.⁴¹ With this, the authors notice that there is something to be desired as they press for further research regarding teacher resources, historical empathy, victim recognition, and theoretical and pedagogical tools for teaching recent human rights violations. Both studies are important for my project as they include field work and observation in the classrooms in Chile. The studies provide frameworks for me when thinking about how teachers teach complex topics such as human rights violations.

Other pedagogy works are theory based and not on field-based data. These works include “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?” by Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales” by Joan Pagés and Jesús Marolla, and *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* by Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio. They are informative and give recommendations for teaching recent history, but do not look at the process or results of implementation. However, similar to the previous works, they emphasize the importance of connecting memory and education.

Psychology Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Education at the Universidad de Madrid, Mario Carretero and Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad de Buenos Aires Marcelo Borrelli, explore the theme of teaching recent histories of Argentina, Spain, and Chile in an article titled “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar

⁴¹ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, 25.

historia reciente en la escuela?” The comparative article discusses how to teach recent memories in schools in these countries that share similar dictatorial histories. The authors argue a need to teach history that considers a variety of political, ideological, social, economic, and cultural aspects.⁴² They propose various solutions such as “reponiendo el contexto histórico, trabajando con fuentes diversas, privilegiando las explicaciones multicausales, remarcando la utilidad presente de la enseñanza de la historia y abriendo el debate entre el alumnado.”⁴³ They conclude that schools serve as institutions that transmit “la memoria social” and that recent history “...refiere a las demandas sociales contemporáneas que revalidan la legitimidad de la/s ‘memorias.’”⁴⁴ The authors distinguish a clear relationship between schools and memory to highlight that school is an important place for memory transmission to occur.

Another comparative article is *La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales* by Joan Pagés and Jesús Marolla. Joan Pagés is a Professor of Didactics of History and Social Sciences at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and Jesús Marolla is the Academic Director of Social Sciences at the Universidad de Antofagasta, Chile. They utilize questions by researchers Ángelica Padilla and Ángela Bermúdez to drive their analysis on curriculum. For Chile, the authors argue that the curriculum does not recognize the past political and ideological conflicts. They find that the curriculum is driven by “la visión oficial del gobierno” and is dominated by the official

⁴² Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?,” *Cultura y Educación* 20, no. 2 (enero 2008): 201–15, <https://doi.org/10.1174/113564008784490415>.

⁴³ Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?,” *Cultura y Educación* 20, no. 2 (enero 2008): 213, <https://doi.org/10.1174/113564008784490415>.

⁴⁴ Carretero and Borrelli, 204, 214.

perspective of the state, which results in reflecting patriotic values.⁴⁵ They argue that the curriculum lacks depth and does not promote critical reflection or questioning of the events that occurred, specifically “las violaciones, la violencia, y las luchas políticas” under the dictatorship.⁴⁶ Like other works, they conclude that all three countries lack pedagogical tools and open spaces to discuss and question human rights violations.⁴⁷ The article brings up important questions when thinking about whose perspective is included in the curriculum, the content that is included or excluded, and how in depth the curriculum is with past violence.

The final theoretical work, *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia*, is not comparative and does not focus on one specific country. Although the book’s authors are two Chilean professors from the Universidad de Valparaíso, Jorge Osorio of the school of psychology and Graciela Rubio of the faculty of humanities, they attempt to speak to a broad audience. It is an extensive book composed of six separate articles that fall under the larger title, with no further organization of the information. Two articles are especially useful for my project. The first is titled “El Tiempo de los sujetos: Pedagogía de la Memoria” in which the two authors introduce the concept of memory pedagogy and highlight its importance. They heavily draw on works from Europe, specifically Spain and the post-Holocaust era. The style is very philosophical, greatly utilizing the scholarship of Tzvetan Todorov. By doing so, Osorio and Rubio argue that memory pedagogy is a radical resource against forgetting the past and that it acts as a defense and promoter of human rights and democracy. They contend that memory pedagogy is relevant to the present day and frame memory pedagogy as an on-

⁴⁵ Joan Pagès and Jesús Marolla, “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales,” *Historia Y MEMORIA*, no. 17 (August 14, 2018): 158-167, <https://doi.org/10.19053/20275137.n17.2018.7455>.

⁴⁶ Pagès and Marolla, 168.

⁴⁷ Pagès and Marolla, 177.

going work to “combatir las resistencias recordar la verdades del pasado.”⁴⁸ Memory pedagogy is relevant to contemporary education and applicable when teaching recent history with human rights violations.

The second relevant article is “Educación para los Derechos Humanos y Pedagogía de la Memoria” by Graciela Rubio. She calls for a “modernidad educativa,” which includes new relationships of power in education, the inclusion of pluralism in education, and a cultural production in which students learn how to resolve problems peacefully in a complex system with multiple differences and identities.⁴⁹ Rubio advocates for “Educación de los derechos humanos” (EDH), setting forth three purposes of this education: 1) “una acción cultural necesaria para conservar en nuestros países la capacidad ética de conocer y comprender sus historias recientes,” 2) “desarrollarse en la perspectiva de asumir los nuevos requerimientos culturales y ciudadanos de las épocas post-autoritarias,” and 3) “plantearse como una orientación pedagógica comprensiva y crítica, capaz de desarrollar en los diversos ámbitos sociales del aprendizaje, en particular en la escuela, capacidades de juicio crítico, de deliberación creativa, de resolución pacífica de los conflictos, de tolerancia, de no discriminación, de participación ciudadana.”⁵⁰ She contends that the EDH is tied directly to “la memoria histórica, en cuanto tema cultural y ético relevante en nuestra sociedad.”⁵¹ There is a clear relationship between human rights education and memory, in that human rights education can help to create a historic memory so that these atrocities do not happen again.

⁴⁸ Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio, *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* (Santiago, Chile: Escuela de Humanidades y Política, 2006), 45.

⁴⁹ Osorio and Rubio, 162.

⁵⁰ Osorio and Rubio, 166-167.

⁵¹ Osorio and Rubio, 170.

The pedagogical works provide insight into how researchers frame the teaching of recent history and human rights violations, and the issues they believe should be at the forefront of this teaching. This includes a more comprehensive curriculum, memory pedagogy, and human rights education. However, there is little evidence as to how teachers implement the recommendations that the authors mention. Nevertheless, both empirical and theory-based works emphasize the need for more pedagogical tools to have a more open debate, both in the classroom and in society, about how to remember the past.

Conclusion

Memory is a complex topic, both in society and in the classroom. As this chapter demonstrates, there are multiple ways to look at memory in Chile. While the historiography on memory in Chile focus on the larger societal tension, these works often ignore education in memory transmission. There is an extensive work of pedagogical literature, both empirical and theoretic based, that focuses on teaching history and human rights violations. However, this literature overlooks the process of how teachers implement these recommendations from the pedagogical literature. Both types of literature often leave out perspectives of those actors creating or implementing the teaching. This is where my research fills in this gap. Building from this scholarship, my project analyzes the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights in Chile, through nine, first-hand interviews to demonstrate the important role of education in memory formation. The next chapter examines secondary school teaching of the dictatorship and human rights and teachers' active role in students' memory formation.

Chapter Two

En las trincheras: Las perspectivas de tres profesores de escuelas secundarias que enseñan actualmente la historia de la dictadura y los derechos humanos en escuelas municipales de Santiago

Introducción

El 11 de octubre de 2019, varios sitios de noticias publicaron un artículo que se titula, “Polémico ejercicio en libro de Historia para 6° básico: Invita a hacer una evaluación “positiva” de la dictadura militar.”¹ Las instrucciones de la actividad en el libro de texto, “Como ya sabes, todo proceso histórico puede ser evaluado de diversas maneras. A continuación, te pedimos que tú evalúes el periodo de la Dictadura Militar destacando aquello que te parezca positivo y aquello que te parezca negativo.”² El libro es de la empresa Aptus que está ligada a la Sociedad de Instrucción Primaria (SIP), “una corporación privada que desde hace 163 años busca mejorar la calidad de la educación en Chile.”³ La empresa respondió por decir que fue un “malentendido,” pero después de la polémica. El artículo tiene comentarios de la mujer que compartió el libro a través de Internet, “‘la pregunta es tendenciosa’ porque invita a los niños ‘a reflexionar sobre qué puede haber sido bueno en la Dictadura Militar... eso me parece horrible.’”⁴ Por este ejemplo, se puede ver la polémica

¹ El Desconcierto, “Polémico Ejercicio En Libro de Historia Para 6° Básico: Invita a Hacer Una Evaluación ‘Positiva’ de La Dictadura Militar | El Desconcierto,” October 11, 2019, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2019/10/11/polemico-ejercicio-en-libro-de-historia-para-6-basico-invita-a-hacer-una-evaluacion-positiva-de-la-dictadura-militar/>.

² El Desconcierto.

³ Felipe Díaz Montero, “Polémica Por Texto Escolar Que Pide a Niños Destacar Lo ‘Positivo’ de La Dictadura Militar,” October 11, 2019, <https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/region-de-ohiggins/2019/10/11/polemica-por-texto-escolar-que-pide-a-ninos-destacar-lo-positivo-de-la-dictadura-militar.shtml>.

⁴ Díaz Montero.

que rodea la enseñanza de la dictadura en la asignatura de historia, aún hoy día. Ilustra el debate público de la educación de historia reciente y cómo los asuntos educativos salen del aula a la esfera pública.

Este capítulo examina la enseñanza de la dictadura por medio del análisis de fuentes primarias como el texto escolar, las planificaciones, y las entrevistas con tres profesores de la escuela secundaria o de “la media” como se dice en Chile. Todos los profesores enseñan en escuelas municipales y llevan ocho años de enseñanza. Los profesores son: Sebastián Henríquez del Liceo José Toribio Medina y dirigente del Colegio de Profesores, Bruno Cortés del Liceo Miguel de Cervantes, y Ignacia Cabrera Revenco del Colegio de Antártica Chilena. Esos profesores tuvieron su formación docente en diversas universidades: la Universidad de Chile, la Universidad Católica, y la Universidad Andrés Bello. Para evadir confusión y mantener la identidad de cada individuo, se usa el nombre de pila de cada profesor. Las entrevistas sirven como evidencia cualitativa para complementar los otros datos. Las entrevistas son anecdóticas y no representan las perspectivas de todos. Cuando el capítulo hace una referencia a “los profesores,” significa solamente los tres profesores de las entrevistas. Aunque limitadas, las entrevistas dan una perspectiva muy útil. Es una cosa leer el currículo o el texto escolar, pero es otra cosa ver y entender cómo profesores *de carne y hueso* implementan y enseñan en realidad. Mucha de la literatura o las investigaciones de la enseñanza de la dictadura enfoque más en data cuantitativo, el currículo, o texto escolar, pero menos en la implementación real o las perspectivas de profesores secundarias. Se utiliza y evalúa las entrevistas como un producto cultural para entender la situación mejor y de un punto de vista más cercana. También el capítulo utiliza historiografías de Stern y Lazarra, y literatura secundaria de pedagogía que refuerzan y apoyan las entrevistas. A pesar de que

todos los profesores utilizan el mismo texto escolar y siguen el mismo currículo nacional, las entrevistas muestran las maneras diferentes de enseñar la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Hay diversidad en la enseñanza esos temas y la enseñanza es más que solamente recordar los hechos.

El análisis de la enseñanza de la dictadura en el nivel secundaria muestra que la enseñanza es una reflexión de la tensión que la sociedad no ha resuelto con respecto a la memoria y la histórica colectivas de la dictadura y las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Aunque hay ambos logros y desafíos con la enseñanza del tema, todavía no hay *una* memoria o historia definida en cómo pensar de esa historia. Hay mucha influencia de factores afuera del aula como la política, la familia, y la formación docente de las universidades. Todos son conectados y tienen un papel en la enseñanza en las escuelas. Los profesores y las escuelas tienen un rol muy importante en la formación de la memoria y esa formación está ocurriendo en el aula. Los profesores están articulando las mismas preguntas y desafíos en los debates sobre la construcción de la memoria en la sociedad grande, solamente en un contexto diferente.

Este capítulo analiza la enseñanza de la dictadura en las escuelas secundarias, principalmente escuelas municipales porque los profesores con los que hablé enseñan en escuelas municipales. Los temas que yo identifiqué de las entrevistas e información de las entrevistas conducen la organización del capítulo. Primero, el capítulo va a ver cómo los profesores enseñan el tema de la dictadura y los derechos humanos, con las prácticas docentes y los materiales curriculares. Después, se considera los desafíos que los profesores enfrentan en la enseñanza del tema o desafíos que ellos identifican con respecto el tema. Finalmente, el capítulo concluye con una examinación de las metas o maneras de mejorar la

enseñanza de la dictadura. El análisis revela la importancia de los profesores secundarios en la creación de la memoria colectiva y sugiere que la enseñanza refleja los desafíos de la sociedad grande respecto a la memoria de la dictadura y la memoria colectiva.

Como enseñar la dictadura y los materiales didácticos

El primer paso es ver y entender cómo los tres profesores enseñan la dictadura y los derechos humanos y los recursos que utilizan. Esta sección explorará el estado actual de la enseñanza de la dictadura con las prácticas docentes y los materiales curriculares que marcan la enseñanza. La organización se basa en temas comunes que los profesores mencionan en las entrevistas y las maneras en que los profesores abordan el tema. Aunque los profesores utilizan el mismo texto escolar y siguen el mismo currículo nacional, añaden otras fuentes y enseñan en formas diferentes. Con eso, se puede ver la diversidad de enseñanza del tema de la dictadura, pero también algunas similitudes con su enfoque. Además, discuten los logros de la enseñanza del tema y cómo ellos ven su rol en el aula la enseñanza del tema. Al resaltar esos aspectos, se muestra el proceso de la enseñanza y la importancia del profesor en la creación de la memoria.

Para entender las prácticas docentes que los profesores mencionan más tarde, primero es necesario conocer el estado actual de enseñanza la dictadura y reconocer que en algunas maneras, la enseñanza de la dictadura ha mejorado por los años. Hasta cierto grado, hay bastante libertad para enseñar sobre la dictadura hoy día. Todos dicen que es más fácil enseñar el tema porque, con el transcurrir del tiempo, hay más evidencia, y con las comisiones de verdades Rettig y Valech hay más evidencia concreta. El arresto de Pinochet en 1998 fue un momento decisivo en que se hizo más fácil y había más libertad para enseñar

el tema.⁵ Con más evidencia y el arresto de Pinochet, había menos negación o defensa de la dictadura. Como Bruno explica,

Hay algunos consensos nacionales con respecto a la dictadura militar, que ya creo que en la última década, han hecho más fácil enseñar porque antiguamente, hablar de asuntos políticos en general era muy complicado, no era algo muy bien recibido. Hoy día existe evidencia... Hay mucha evidencia por tanto que no es un tema tan tabú hoy en día.”⁶

Aún con más libertad y evidencia, hay variación en las escuelas y el tipo de escuela se puede afectar la enseñanza también. Todos los profesores enseñan en escuelas municipales y reconocen que juega un papel en la enseñanza. Para ellos, los padres apoyan la enseñanza y manera de enseñar el tema. Sin embargo, ellos saben que hay diferencias entre las escuelas con el apoyo. Sebastián explica que no es extraño que un padre de derecho viene a la escuela para indicar al profesor que no adoctrinar a su hijo. Eso no le pasó a él y dice que es más posible en una escuela o familias altos ingresos, cómo en escuelas particulares pagadas.⁷ Mientras se puede ser algunos desacuerdos entre padres y escuelas o entre las escuelas, hay algunos consensos mínimos, o los que los profesores llaman “hechos indiscutibles” con los que todos tienen que estar de acuerdo.

Con respecto al texto escolar, el currículo nacional, y la sensibilidad del tema de la enseñanza de la dictadura, los tres profesores dicen que hay algunos hechos que no se pueden debatir o negar, especialmente las violaciones de los derechos humanos. La evidencia estableció “hechos indiscutibles” que los profesores hacen claro. Por ejemplo, Ignacia pone mucha importancia en las comisiones de verdad, Rettig y Valech, y afirma que no pueden negarlos. Para ella, se relacionan los hechos indiscutibles con una historia nacional. Ella

⁵ Bruno Cortés, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

⁶ Cortés.

⁷ Cortés.

explica, “Cuando hay historia nacional, hay ciertos puntos que son acuerdos mínimos. Por ejemplo, yo podría decir que la dictadura fue el peor momento histórico y él decir no fue mejor. Pero los dos no podemos negar que hubo terrorismo del estado y eso transmito a mis estudiantes, que hay hechos. Que el 11 de septiembre fue el golpe de estado. Que hay tantas personas que nunca más volvieron a su casa.”⁸ Bruno menciona lo mismo en que hay “algunos consensos nacionales” por más evidencia hoy de las violaciones de los derechos humanos y la influencia de la institución militar.⁹ Los hechos indiscutibles componen parte de una historia nacional. Sin embargo, no es decir que no haya discusión o debates o en el aula de la historia, solamente no pueden debatir de los hechos indiscutibles. Por ejemplo, Sebastián dice que pueden estar en desacuerdo sobre el golpe de estado, pueden debatir sobre Allende, UP, y boicots, pero no pueden debatir de los derechos humanos o utilizar razones políticas o económicas para defender las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Sebastián afirma que pueden debatir como “Yo entiendo tu posición, pero para mí, Allende fue un buen presidente, quizás para él no, debatamos sobre eso, pero lo que no voy a debatir en mi sala de clase es que en esos 17 años no se violaron los derechos humanos.”¹⁰ Aunque hay algunos acuerdos mínimos, una historia nacional de ese tema está lejos de completar. Por eso, el rol del profesor juega un gran parte en la creación de una historia nacional para los niños y el futuro.

Los profesores tienen un gran rol en la enseñanza de la dictadura y es un aspecto importante que maneja sus prácticas docentes. Aunque ellos tienen que seguir el currículo nacional, ellos pueden elegir en qué enfocar más o cómo abordar el tema. Todos los

⁸ Ignacia Cabrera Reveco, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 11, 2019.

⁹ Cortés, interview.

¹⁰ Sebastián Henríquez, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 9, 2019.

profesores abordan el tema diferentemente. Bruno señala que él enfoca en cuatro áreas: los Derechos Humanos, la Constitución de 1980, especialmente el estado neoliberal, el plebiscito y contexto de violencia, y la influencia de los Estados Unidos en todo el proceso del golpe de estado hasta la salida de Pinochet.¹¹ Sebastián, en cambio, sigue tres pasos. Primero, enseña un marco cronológico general para ubicar la dictadura en un periodo más amplio, segundo, utiliza fuentes históricas, y tercero, utiliza fuentes audiovisuales.¹² Ignacia, en cambio, dice que varía cómo enseña, y que hay algunos años cuando los estudiantes entrevistan a su familia, como sus padres o abuelos, para que ella pueda saber lo que los estudiantes ya saben. Después, ella pasa a los temas, con un enfoque en el entendimiento del quiebre democrático, algunas medidas de la junta militar, el concepto de la derecha y la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos.¹³ Hay muchas maneras y no es decir que una manera sea mejor que las otras, pero para demostrar la diversidad en las maneras y que los profesores tienen un rol importante en como ellos eligen enseñar el tema.

También, su rol en el aula es importante y el mensaje que ellos les dan a sus estudiantes. Por ejemplo, Bruno quiere presentar más fuentes que explicaciones a los estudiantes. Para él, es necesario recordar las memorias y ser crítico del sistema hoy. Él dice de su rol, “Yo creo que el rol fundamental es que la dictadura militar y todo lo que ocurrió no se banaliza, que no pierdo sentido.”¹⁴ Él quiere que sus estudiantes valoren y recuerden ser críticos del sistema hoy y enfatiza que no se puede dejar lo malo, la crueldad, y la violencia en el pasado porque es relevante a lo que pasa hoy. Es un mensaje muy fuerte que él les da a sus estudiantes. Ignacia quiere “generar la discusión entre ellos” y “darles

¹¹ Cortés, interview.

¹² Henríquez, interview.

¹³ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

¹⁴ Cortés, interview.

más herramientas para que su discusión sea más consistente.”¹⁵ Ella no quiere dar tantas respuestas sino generar más preguntas para ellos. Como profesora, ella quiere que los alumnos conozcan los hechos y cuestionen los hechos, con la posible excepción de las comisiones de verdad, ya que son comprobados y los alumnos no pueden estar en desacuerdo con la evidencia esos. Como el artículo por Abraham Magendzo and María Isabel Toledo explica, el rol del profesor es “to generate the conditions for students to construct their interpretations of the past and to question them, that is to say, to generate a working memory.”¹⁶ Es evidente que los profesores tienen un rol importante y fuerte en la manera que ellos enseñan la dictadura. Aunque los profesores tienen opciones y cierta libertad sobre la manera de enseñar el tema, todavía hay que seguir con algunos materiales curriculares como el currículo nacional.

Hay muchos materiales curriculares que los profesores utilizan con la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Algunos materiales son obligatorios mientras otros son adicionales u opcionales de cada profesor. El currículo nacional es obligatorio, pero representa un avance en la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. El hecho que el currículo incluye la dictadura y las violaciones de los derechos humanos fue un gran logro en sí. Ignacia afirma que cuando el estado pone ese tema en el currículo, eso implica que el docente no pueda esquivar el tema y está obligado a enseñarlo. Sebastián nota que el currículo es más amplio que antes de los 90s. Él cree que el currículo ha cambiado y es más amplio hoy por dos razones: hay mayor evidencia histórica de lo que ocurrido y un cambio en la clase política de Chile. Él da el ejemplo de más Documentación de los Estados Unidos

¹⁵ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

¹⁶ Abraham Magendzo and María Isabel Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” *Journal of Moral Education* 38, no. 4 (December 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240903321923>, 457.

y del *Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)* que él llama un gran avance en la evidencia histórica. Con la clase política en Chile, él ha observado que ha cambiado su posición y que hay una condena universal. Personas de la derecha condenan la dictadura y dicen públicamente “Yo no soy pinochetista, no voy a justificar nunca más una violación a los derechos humanos.”¹⁷ Él opina que “Cuando un dirigente de la derecha dice eso, la señal que yo percibo que ya no es solamente la izquierda llorando su muerto.”¹⁸ Ahora, existe un estado chileno que empieza a responsabilizarse por las violaciones que cometió antes. Además, se puede comparar en un nivel internacional. Bruno aprendió de sus estudiantes de Colombia que en Colombia no se habla de los temas polémicos de la historia nacional reciente, como el narcotráfico o el conflicto con la Fuerza Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC). En comparación con Colombia, él ve el currículo de Chile de manera positiva. La única crítica es cuando Ignacia dice que el currículo no apunta directamente o requiere la construcción de la memoria y es la decisión de cada profesor, “el currículo no dice, hacer trabajos por la memoria, no está explícito, no es evidente...”¹⁹ No es decir que el currículo es perfecto, pero en general para los tres profesores es un avance en el currículo por los aspectos que el currículo incluye.

Como es el caso con el currículo, los tres profesores utilizan el mismo texto escolar gratis redactado por el Ministerio de Educación para enseñar la dictadura. Aunque el texto escolar menciona muchos eventos importantes, se caracteriza por su ambigüedad ideológica y por eso los profesores tienen un rol muy importante en llenar los huecos del libro, especialmente con la interpretación. Hay mucha información útil en la unidad que se llama “La dictadura

¹⁷ Henríquez, interview.

¹⁸ Henríquez.

¹⁹ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

militar” que incluye el contexto de las dictaduras en América Latina, las relaciones internacionales, las violaciones de los derechos humanos, el neoliberalismo, y la recuperación de la democracia en Chile.²⁰ Sin embargo, cuando el texto tiene que explicar las causas de eventos o evaluar algo, evade respuestas definitivas y en cambio ofrece varias interpretaciones. Por ejemplo, para explicar las causas del golpe, utiliza el trabajo muchos científicos políticos e historiadores como Arturo Valenzuela, Edgardo Boeninger, Tomás Moulian, y Gabriel Salazar. Se puede preguntar cómo y por qué ciertos científicos políticos e historiadores habrían sido elegidos. Otro ejemplo es con la historiografía donde el texto escolar hace lo mismo. Las dos páginas se titulan “las perspectivas historiográficas” separan la historiografía en dos partes: “Golpe de Estado e instauración del régimen o dictadura militar” y “Evaluación del modelo económico.”²¹ Cada categoría ofrece tres o cuatro perspectivas con niveles variados de crítica. Sin embargo, es importante notar que la separación de las categorías refuerza la evaluación del modelo economía versus las violaciones de los derechos humanos – no se pueden separar esos cuando se analiza la dictadura y esta estructura da el mensaje que esos se pueden contrabalancear. También es importante notar el uso de los términos “régimen o dictadura militar” por los historiadores.²² Los términos han sido controversiales en la enseñanza de la dictadura porque llevan conceptos diferentes. Con tantas interpretaciones, no hay una manera definida en pensar de las causas del golpe de estado o de la dictadura y hay que analizar las interpretaciones. Acá, los profesores tienen un rol muy importante para ayudar a los estudiantes a descifrar con las interpretaciones.

²⁰ Sebastián Quintana Susarte et al., “La Dictadura Militar,” in *Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 3° Medio*, 1537 (Santiago, Chile: Departamento de Estudios Pedagógicos de Ediciones SM-Chile., 2013).

²¹ Quintana Susarte et al., 226-227.

²² Quintana Susarte et al., 226.

Aún más, los profesores tienen que llenar los huecos con otros aspectos de la historia y la falta de fuentes primarias en el texto escolar. Con respecto al contexto, hay mucho énfasis en la historia política, pero poco en la historia social o cultural. Lo más cerca es una página que explica la evaluación de los testimonios y una página sobre los músicos durante la dictadura. Está claro que el texto de libro tiene límites y eso es donde los profesores tienen un rol importante. Mientras Bruno reconoce la importancia del texto escolar, pero también el texto escolar deja mucho que desear para los profesores. Él dice, “Los textos escolares marcan mucho la enseñanza. En particular, este año, el texto escolar está con muchas fuentes más que con explicaciones...La explicación es para el profesor.”²³ Aunque el texto escolar es útil para los profesores, no provee todo. Por eso, los profesores utilizan otras fuentes y tienen la habilidad para mostrar otras perspectivas.

Además del texto escolar, los profesores utilizan otros materiales curriculares que no son obligatorios, añaden otras fuentes de su elección. Como Michael Larazza propone ver “lenses of memory” por múltiples perspectivas de narrativos, los profesores intentan presentar a los estudiantes varias fuentes para mostrar diversas perspectivas.²⁴ Estas fuentes incluyen documentales, documentos de los archivos del gobierno, y testimonios para mostrar una variedad de perspectivas y para que los estudiantes puedan construir su propia interpretación. Los documentales incluyen *Chicago Boys*, *Doctrina del Shock*, *El Pacto Adriana* and *Una historia necesaria*. Aunque el texto de libro menciona brevemente la historiografía, los profesores la agregan para mostrar y analizar más perspectivas. Ignacia dice que el Ministerio de Educación tiene sugerencias de visiones amplias de historiadores,

²³ Cortés, interview.

²⁴ Michael J Lazzara, *Chile in Transition: The Poetics and Politics of Memory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 4.

algunas de la izquierda o la derecha, y otros más militantes o socioculturales. Ella utiliza el trabajo del historiador chileno, Gabriel Salazar. Como muchos de los libros de la pedagogía de la memoria recomiendan, los profesores ya utilizan una variedad de fuentes para mostrar perspectivas diferentes. Como Carretero y Borrelli escriben, “Sin duda, es indispensable que el docente habilite intercambios que relacionen nuevos conocimientos y reflexiones propias de los alumnos, en el marco de discusiones que trabajen múltiples perspectivas de las explicaciones históricas.”²⁵ La cita destaca la importancia del rol de los profesores y la importancia de trabajar con una variedad de perspectivas. Fuera del aula, la escuela de Ignacia tuvo la oportunidad de visitar los sitios de memoria como Villa Grimaldi, Londres 38, and Estado Nacional. Ella dice que eligió esos sitios porque tienen las mejores visitas guiadas. Los sitios de memoria les impactan a los estudiantes mucho y ella observó que los alumnos suelen prestar más atención cuando hay alguien diferente que habla con los estudiantes, no solamente su profesor. Hay muchos otros recursos y los profesores aprovechan de esos recursos para enseñar la dictadura.

La enseñanza de la dictadura es más que leer o mirar materiales y fuentes – está haciendo la historia y construyendo la memoria de cada estudiante. Como Ignacia señala, es una cosa enseñarles la definición de la memoria o memoria histórica y otra es que logran sensibilizarse y tener sentimientos sobre lo que ocurrió. Una actividad muy común es llevar a cabo entrevistas con personas que vivían durante la dictadura, especialmente la familia de los alumnos. Es una actividad muy activa que los alumnos de Ignacia han hecho y luego comparten sus pensamientos en la actividad. Ella dice que hay ventajas y desventajas

²⁵ Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?,” *Cultura y Educación* 20, no. 2 (enero 2008): 208, <https://doi.org/10.1174/113564008784490415>.

asociadas con las entrevistas. Los estudiantes se pueden beneficiar de las entrevistas por conocer otra generación, ella las llama “vínculos” para las generaciones.²⁶ Además, ella dice que los estudiantes pueden aprender otros puntos de vista cuando los estudiantes hablan de sus entrevistas el uno con el otro. Sin embargo, ella advierte que las entrevistas son visiones limitadas y que los estudiantes tienen que diferenciar entre los testimonios y la historiografía. Ella señala que el problema es que las preguntas son muy limitadas porque reflejan los propios prejuicios de los alumnos y no rompen con las expectativas lo que conocen. Para evitar eso, las preguntas están preparadas antes para que estas sean más diversas.

En la misma manera de construir el conocimiento, para evaluar a los estudiantes, Ignacia les asigna un proyecto. Ella explica que hay un edificio que está cerca de su escuela que antes de la dictadura, fue parte de un proyecto de integración social gubernamental en que vivía gente muy rica y pobre en el mismo lugar para abordar el problema de segregación. Con la dictadura, las personas fueron expulsadas y el ejército vendió el edificio. Hoy es un monumento nacional y se va a transformar en un sitio de memoria. El proyecto para los estudiantes consiste en pensar cómo transformarlo en sitio de memoria. Los estudiantes producen un dibujo y presentan una exposición oral. Ella explica que los jóvenes entienden que el edificio es historia y porque es historia, “Creo que se logró entender que un edificio, o un relato, o una foto debe cuidarse y contarse.”²⁷ En el proceso, los estudiantes están construyendo su propia memoria y a cambio, tomando una parte activa en la creación de la memoria. La enseñanza activa de la dictadura combina con lo que el libro *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* escribe sobre para implementar “pedagógica comprensiva y

²⁶ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

²⁷ Cabrera Reveco.

crítica,” y para encontrar maneras creativas y pacíficas para que los estudiantes puedan resolver los conflictos de la memoria, como Ignacia con el proyecto final del sitio de la memoria.²⁸ La enseñanza de la dictadura requiere que los estudiantes estén activos en su aprendizaje, lo cual los profesores ayudan a guiar.

Está claro que los profesores tienen un gran rol en la enseñanza de la dictadura e historia reciente. Cada uno trabaja de maneras distintas para ayudar en la construcción del conocimiento y la memoria de sus estudiantes. En un artículo por Toledo and Magendzo con el título, “Teaching recent history in countries that have experienced human rights violations: Case studies from Chile,” los investigadores ven la diversidad en la enseñanza de la dictadura e identifican cuatro modelos de enseñar.²⁹ Los modelos son “Constructivismo” que hay importancia en el rol del profesor para proveer conceptos e información, “Development of meta-cognition” que la importancia es en el proceso de aprendizaje, “Historical discourses” que es pensar como historiadores, y “Moral Discourse” que es el idea del compromiso del lema “Nunca más” con respecto a las violaciones de los derechos humanos y por eso es un acto “socio-political.”³⁰ Mientras es imposible categorizar marcadamente los profesores en una de esas categorías, se pueden ver algunas características o una mezcla de las aproximaciones al tema en la diversidad de la enseñanza del tema. También, el artículo señala el rol crucial de los profesores. Ellos están formando la memoria de las nuevas generaciones y hay muchas maneras de hacer eso. Sin embargo, los profesores no tienen

²⁸ Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio, *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* (Santiago, Chile: Escuela de Humanidades y Política, 2006), 167.

²⁹ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, “Teaching Recent History in Countries That Have Experienced Human Rights Violations: Case Studies from Chile.”

³⁰ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri.

libertad ilimitada para enseñar la dictadura y los derechos humanos, y hay muchos desafíos que limitan los métodos de enseñanza.

Desafíos y límites: “¿Profe, ¿usted es de derecha o izquierda?”

Todos los profesores expresan los desafíos que enfrentan con la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Algunos son más específicos para ellos, pero hay algunos desafíos comunes que ellos mencionan que forman esta sección. Primero, hay desafíos en el aula, como la falta del conocimiento previo de los estudiantes y cuando los estudiantes les preguntan a sus profesores su posición política respecto a la historia. Segundo, hay desafíos afuera del aula como la formación docente en las universidades, desafíos de establecimiento, y las diferencias generacionales están vinculados con otros ámbitos. Los desafíos muestran que la construcción de la memoria no es algo constante y hay espacio para mejorar.

El primero desafío en el aula para los profesores es que los estudiantes tienen una perspectiva limitada de la historia de la dictadura al entrar en el aula. Aunque la mayoría de los estudiantes ya sabe de la dictadura antes de estudiarla en el aula, es usualmente una perspectiva limitada de la familia. Por un lado, eso demuestra la importancia de influencias afuera del aula como la familia sobre ese tema. Por el otro lado, puede ser difícil porque los estudiantes ya llevan sus prejuicios al aula. Con respecto a la familia, puede ser muy prominente para los estudiantes. Ignacia dice que “los estudiantes tienen mucha memoria de su familia y la gran mayoría ya tienen una posición del tema,” específicamente una posición de la familia.³¹ Sin embargo, la perspectiva de la familia puede ser limitada, como Ignacia

³¹ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

dice “muchas familias recuerdan el toque de queda...pero no fue lo más grave, el terrorismo del estado o sea la persecución, detención...desaparición, y eso muchos no lo saben.”³² Los estudiantes solamente saben la perspectiva de la familia, pero es solamente una perspectiva y usualmente omite mucha de la historia que pasó. Ignacia explica como eso puede ser un problema,

Con los años, me di cuenta que los estudiantes dicen ‘la dictadura se eliminó la libertad de expresión’. Solo un derecho humano. La idea es que reconozca la variedad. Por ejemplo, fin de sindicalización, la detención arbitraria, desigualdad de las leyes, ley de amnistía. Es decir que la dictadura no es no pueden decir lo que piensas. Dictadura es más complejo. Esa actividad era para decir no es una ni dos derechos humanos, son 10-15 de los 30 de la Declaración [Universal de los Derechos Humanos].³³

Está claro que hay una falta de entendimiento o profundidad del conocimiento con respecto a la dictadura y las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Sin embargo, hay otro punto de vista cuando las familias no hablan de la dictadura por razones personales. Sebastián dice que hay familias que no hablan del tema y se habla más en público que en el espacio privado, porque las familias tienen una historia con la dictadura – tortura, una posición política, etc., y guardan su historia personal. Por eso, él afirma que los profesores son importantes medios de comunicación sobre el tema. Ya que los estudiantes saben algo del tema, a él le gusta aprovechar la motivación que los estudiantes ya tienen. Él dice, “Cuando los estudiantes ven que hay un tema de la historia que es polémica, les interesa saberlo, le interesa conocerlo.”³⁴ Otra vez, muestra la importancia de enseñar la dictadura y el rol de los profesores para llenan los huecos de conocimiento. Mientras las familias tienen un gran impacto en lo que los estudiantes ya saben del tema, también es el trabajo de los

³² Cabrera Reveco.

³³ Cabrera Reveco.

³⁴ Henríquez, interview.

profesores para expandir la perspectiva o cambiar los prejuicios de los estudiantes sobre el tema. Con una perspectiva limitada de los estudiantes, no es una sorpresa que los estudiantes le preguntan a su profesor para su perspectiva u opinión de la dictadura y la política que lo rodea.

El segundo desafío en el aula es cuando los estudiantes les preguntan a los profesores de su propia opinión o posición con respecto al tema, y eso pasa muchas veces. Los profesores no explican porque los estudiantes les preguntan de su opinión, y puede haber muchas motivaciones. Algunas posibilidades incluyen la curiosidad general de los estudiantes, para comprender el tema más en general, para percibir si pueden ver alguna parcialidad en la enseñanza de su profesor o profesora, o para ver si sus profesores combinan con nociones políticas preconcebidas de la derecha o la izquierda en la manera que los profesores presentan la historia. No obstante, ese desafío ilustra la importancia de los profesores en la formación de la memoria de los estudiantes. Ignacia dice, “Siempre me preguntan, por ejemplo, ‘¿Profe, usted es de derecha o izquierda?’ o ‘Profe, ¿usted cree que deberían haber matado a Pinochet?’ o ‘Profe, ¿está justificado el golpe de estado?’”³⁵ Esas no son preguntas fáciles, pero los profesores están abiertos a compartir su opinión, principalmente por razones pedagógicas. Además, esos profesores no son en la minoría y que 67% de los profesores presentan los hechos y después comparten sus opiniones.³⁶ Es evidente que el compartir de las opiniones de los profesores son una parte crucial de la enseñanza y que se debería prestar más atención a cómo las opiniones de los profesores impactan la educación, especialmente con la historia reciente.

³⁵ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

³⁶ Magendzo and Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” 459.

Otro aspecto de ese desafío es para crear un diálogo y mostrar otras perspectivas para que los estudiantes puedan crear su propia posición u opinión. Bruno dice que si los estudiantes le preguntan, entonces él les pregunta también para crear un diálogo sobre sus opiniones. Él hace lo mismo que el artículo por Toledo y Magendzo dice hacer, en crear “real dialogue” ya que “The teacher’s role is to allow space for diversity and to generate the conditions that make dialogue possible.”³⁷ Mientras intentando crear diálogo, Bruno nota que él no quiere que su opinión influya las opiniones de ellos. Ignacia reconoce lo mismo y dice, “Yo sé que el profesor tiene un peso, su opinión tiene más peso algunas veces.”³⁸ Añade que “Mi opinión no es el criterio de evaluación ni tampoco la opinión que ellos tienen que responder en la prueba o cuando hablan.”³⁹ El artículo por Toledo y Magendzo resuenan eso al señalar que los profesores pueden “hide under the cloak of authority” con el peso que tienen como profesores.⁴⁰ Como Bruno, Ignacia también quiere crear un diálogo y muchas veces les preguntan a ellos, “¿Qué hubieron hecho ustedes si hubieran estado contra de Allende... si hubiesen sido diputados o senadores?...si yo hubiese sido Pinochet, si hubiese sido un soldado de servicio militar obligatorio a los 18 años?”⁴¹ Ella quiere que ellos piensen en los diferentes roles y que no hay solamente una opinión.

Los profesores insisten en que los estudiantes piensen y consideren otras perspectivas para que los estudiantes puedan construir su propia perspectiva, pero está claro que los profesores no son neutrales. Como Ignacia afirma, “Yo pienso que, un profesor, respecto a los derechos humanos, nunca va a ser neutral” y que “mi opinión nunca puede ser cerrada.”⁴²

³⁷ Magendzo and Toledo, 460.

³⁸ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

³⁹ Cabrera Reveco.

⁴⁰ Magendzo and Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” 459.

⁴¹ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

⁴² Cabrera Reveco.

Toledo and Magendzo están de acuerdo que su artículo dice que es imposible enseñar el tema en una manera neutral, especialmente si la familia tiene una historia con la dictadura.⁴³ Asimismo como los otros profesores, Sebastián no tiene ningún problema en compartir su opinión y cuando sus estudiantes le preguntan si él comparte su opinión, no hay ninguna vacilación, inmediatamente Sebastián dice, “Por supuesto, es un ejercicio de transparencia y necesario porque si no, no...lo entendimiento...Es parte de mi historia de mi vida en mi familia fue torturada y política...Los estudiantes son bien respetuosos.”⁴⁴

El propósito es que ellos puedan empatizar. Mientras todos tienen motivos personales para compartir su opinión, los tres profesores lo hacen y quieren que los estudiantes también puedan desarrollar su propia opinión y que ellos sirvan como ejemplos. Está claro que los profesores tienen un rol muy importante en la formación de la memoria de los estudiantes. Sin embargo, los profesores no estaban preparados cuando los estudiantes les preguntan su propia opinión o posición porque las universidades no les enseñan cómo hacerlo.

Un desafío afuera del aula y personal de los profesores es que en su formación docente en la universidad, no están preparados tan bien para enseñar el tema de la dictadura y los derechos humanos, y por supuesto, no los preparó a contestar cuando los estudiantes les preguntan su opinión. El desafío está vinculado con la educación superior y demuestra que hay desafíos en todos niveles de educación con la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Es decir que un nivel directamente tiene un impacto a otro y que las esferas educativas están directamente vinculadas entre sí. Por ejemplo, Bruno dice que habían muchos métodos y teoría del proceso de aprender, pero aún así faltan

⁴³ Toledo, Magendzo, and Gazmuri, “Teaching Recent History in Countries That Have Experienced Human Rights Violations: Case Studies from Chile,” 454.

⁴⁴ Henríquez, interview.

herramientas para ese tema. Él explica que no sabía las opciones porque la universidad no les decía como acá es una manera de enseñar la dictadura o acá es otra mejor manera. Ignacia dijo lo mismo, que la universidad no le enseñó cómo responder cuando los estudiantes le preguntan sobre su posición o la opinión de ella. No es decir que la formación docente de universidad no los preparó en otras maneras. Bruno dice que, “las escuelas pedagógicas dicen que la primera forma de enseñar es recordar cómo aprendió” y él piensa en eso cuando enseña el tema.⁴⁵ Ignacia explica que su formación fue militante, explicando que nadie es neutral y que todos tienen una posición con respecto a la historia. Dice que todos tenían que elegir un punto de vista y reconocerlo en su universidad. La universidad de ella fue de la izquierda, y por esto “mis profesores fueron torturados, detenidos, exiliados...Yo sabía que ellos me lo decían desde su experiencia.”⁴⁶ Lo más importante es que ella aprendió a formar su propia interpretación de historia y dice, “me enseñaron que decir no es lo mismo que obligarlos a pensar como yo.”⁴⁷ Ella trata de hacer lo mismo al hacer sus estudiantes pensar. Es evidente que la formación docente en las universidades marca mucho la enseñanza de la dictadura y que deja algo que desear. Los desafíos no están contenidos en la escuela secundaria, pero también tocan otros niveles de educación. El próximo capítulo explora las maneras que las universidades están mejorando la formación docente, especialmente con la enseñanza de la historia reciente como la dictadura.

Afuera del aula, otros desafíos son del establecimiento en la escuela o alrededor de la escuela, como la administración, que pone límites en la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos. Ilustran que la enseñanza está vinculada a muchos otros actores

⁴⁵ Cortés, interview.

⁴⁶ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

⁴⁷ Cabrera Reveco.

educativos o políticos, no solamente con los profesores. Por ejemplo, Bruno dice que hay mucha influencia de la municipalidad en que los profesores hacen y que el alcalde actualmente es de derecha. Hay vínculos con el alcalde y la gestión de las escuelas. Él menciona que el director de la escuela o el jefe de la Unidad Técnico Pedagógica (UTP) le dicen en persona directamente lo que debería hacer, “Directamente te piden que ciertas cosas no se hagan fuera del aula, fuera de las salas de clase, que no haya ciertas cosas. Como por ejemplo lo del 11 de septiembre. Son muy majaderos en decirte que tú no puedes hacer política en la escuela, que tienes que enseñar objetivamente las cosas. En el fondo siempre está ese temor de que los profesores.”⁴⁸ Específicamente en su escuela, hay muchas “tomas” y movimientos estudiantiles donde los estudiantes ocupan o “toman” la escuela, así que la administración quiere despolitizar la escuela porque no quieren que los estudiantes organicen. Sin embargo, él dice que “Se prohíbe ser político o hablar de la política, es un acto muy político.”⁴⁹ Aunque no le pasa, Ignacia también reconoce que puede haber censura en otras escuelas en lo que enseñan con respecto a ese tema. En otros colegios, ella dice que “les dan ‘consejos’ como ‘mejor eso, mejor no lo hagas, mejor dilo de otra manera, no lo hables así’ porque no pueden prohibir porque es el currículo, pero sugieren, comentan.”⁵⁰ Cómo Bruno, Ignacia también dice que los jefes UTP pueden ser un desafío. Ella dice que los jefes están preocupando por cosas más prácticas, como la logística, la organización, la gestión y no de pedagogía. Por ejemplo, ella intenta crear un vínculo con el barrio con el proyecto de sitio de la memoria y le preguntó a la jefa si ella puede caminar y ver con los niños el sitio porque está cerca a la escuela. Sin embargo, la jefa le dijo que se iba a demorar mucho y le preguntó,

⁴⁸ Cortés, interview.

⁴⁹ Cortés.

⁵⁰ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

‘¿Cómo van a ir? ¿Para qué? ¿con qué, cuándo, para qué, y otras cosas prácticas. Ella nota que no le hace preguntas sobre cosas más profundas, como, “¿Por qué piensas que el sitio de memoria les permitiría entender la memoria?”⁵¹ Además, menciona como en general, la escuela pública chilena está preocupada por los números, la estandarización, y la eficiencia. Ella dice que hay importancia en “hacerles una prueba y responderla y que nota se sacaron y no sobre crear, reflexionar, argumentar. Y la memoria no es un *test*. Entonces, algunas veces es difícil eso.”⁵² La construcción de la memoria requiere más que recordar los hechos, pero es aprendizaje más profundo. La verdad es que las metas de los directores y los jefes UTP pueden chocar con las metas de los profesores. Quizás haya motivos políticos de los directores y los jefes UTP, pero no obstante sus metas reflejan las metas de los estándares y sistema de educación donde hay más énfasis en las pruebas estándares. Mientras se consideran esas metas del estado, también hay que considerar el rol importante que la escuela posee en la creación de la memoria.

El último desafío afuera del aula y aún más, afuera de la escuela, es el desafío con las diferencias generacionales, especialmente con otros profesores y padres. Las diferencias generacionales afectan la enseñanza de la dictadura y los derechos humanos y la interpretación de la historia a través del tiempo. Los tres profesores con que hablé son relativamente jóvenes y no vivían durante la dictadura, entonces, ellos están de acuerdo que puede haber un problema con los profesores mayores ya que ellos no quieren enseñar el tema. Otra manera similar de pensar es que hay muchos ciudadanos y élites políticas quieren una memoria que solamente representa paz y unidad.⁵³ Sin embargo, está claro que ese no el

⁵¹ Cabrera Reveco.

⁵² Cabrera Reveco.

⁵³ Cath Collins, Katherine Hite, and Alfredo Joignant Rondón, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet* (Boulder, Colorado: FirstForumPress, 2013), 7.

objetivo de los profesores. Los tres profesores hablan de objetivos para profundizar el aprendizaje de los estudiantes para que ellos puedan ser críticos del sistema hoy. Sin embargo, como Bruno señala, es “difícil porque hay gente mayor que no están de acuerdo que esas cosas se hablan, eso ya pasó, deberían dejar atrás. Combatir eso, tanto difícil con sus propios colegas, con los apoderados incluso.”⁵⁴ Sebastián está de acuerdo y explica cómo los profesores más mayores vivían durante la dictadura y no quieren enseñar el tema porque la dictadura “les secuestran emocionalmente porque vivían traumas.”⁵⁵ Él menciona como para ellos, la universidad prohíbe el hablar o debatir de Allende, la dictadura o las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Ignacia dice lo mismo, que la dictadura es el tema más controversial para las generaciones mayores, porque ellos vivían durante esa época. El libro *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, también menciona las diferencias generacionales en que nota que las generaciones pueden interpretar eventos políticos diferente y que la política o ideológica política tiene peso en las interpretaciones.⁵⁶ Se pueden ver esos en la enseñanza de la dictadura y derechos humanos porque las diferencias generacionales afectan la enseñanza y la interpretación de la historia. Las diferencias generacionales representan cambio a largo plazo en la sociedad con la interpretación de la historia. Con cada generación, la interpretación de la historia cambia y es un proceso constante de cambio.

⁵⁴ Cortés, interview.

⁵⁵ Henríquez, interview.

⁵⁶ Collins, Hite, and Joignant Rondón, *The Politics of Memory in Chile*, 7.

Mirar hacia el futuro: “Si no se lleva como a la actual, queda cómo una foto en blanca y negra” - Bruno Cortes

Mientras hay desafíos que los profesores enfrentan con la enseñanza de la dictadura, también hay maneras de mejorar la enseñanza del tema. Primero, ellos quieren traer la historia a la actualidad y mostrar que esa historia es muy relevante al hoy. Segundo, ellos quieren mejorar la pedagogía de la memoria en las escuelas y la formación docente de las universidades. Tercero, la memoria no es solamente el trabajo de la escuela, hay que trabajar este tema en los esferos afuera del aula. Está claro que los profesores entienden la importancia de la asignatura de historia en la creación de la memoria nacional. Hay un nivel alto de conciencia de la necesidad con trabajar en conjunto con la sociedad para construir una memoria o historia colectivas.

Primero, la historia reciente de la dictadura y las violaciones de los derechos humanos son muy importantes a la realidad nacional. Los tres profesores quieren mostrar este gran impacto. Ellos quieren que sus estudiantes vean los vínculos del pasado con la actualidad que comprendan las conexiones directas con la dictadura. Por ejemplo, Bruno menciona la viuda de Pinochet, señala que ella posee propiedad que recibió sin regulación apropiada durante la dictadura y está viviendo sus últimos años felices, sin justicia. Él sostiene que esas cosas necesitan ser abiertas porque no hay reparación y que hay más gente culpable sin justicia. Bruno afirma, “A mí me gusta obviamente estar trayendo la historia para explicar el presente, pero no es algo sea constante. Yo creo que es fácil enseñar el proceso, lo que ocurrió y una fotografía del pasado y que no tengan relación con la actualidad.”⁵⁷ Sebastián está de acuerdo, especialmente con respecto a los derechos humanos. Él afirma que las violaciones

⁵⁷ Cortés, interview.

de los derechos humanos no solamente pasaron con la dictadura, si no que todavía está pasando hoy día. Él da el ejemplo del Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos en que hay tres etapas del golpe estado, la dictadura y la transición a la democracia en el museo. Él sostiene que eso da el mensaje que las violaciones solo ocurrieron durante esos años de la dictadura. Él explica que un profesor colombiano le preguntó porque las exhibiciones del museo y las violaciones de los derechos humanos paran en 1990. Sebastián menciona que hay muchas más violaciones de los derechos humanos, como el caso de los Mapuches y al nivel internacional. El historiador Steve Stern plantea la pregunta, “whether memory impasse will prove so enduring and debilitating that it will eventually yield, for new generations in the twenty-first century, a culture of oblivion.”⁵⁸ Está claro que los profesores ya saben que eso es posible y quieren profundizar el entendimiento de los estudiantes y vincular con el pasado al presente. Ignacia señala los vínculos del pasado, “El gran desafío es mostrarles porqué fue polémico. Porque ellos no saben porque sus padres o abuelos sufren. Nacieron en 2000, 2001, 2002, en democracia. Pero viven en el país que la dictadura construyó. Las leyes se construyeron allí o la constitución es de los 80s, es de dictadura. O el modelo económico se implementó en dictadura. Y muchas de las autoridades de ese momento nunca dejaron de ser autoridades.”⁵⁹ La continuidad dificulta la enseñanza porque se demora alguna condenación universal del pasado o creación de una historia nacional. Está claro que la historia tiene muchos vínculos hoy que los profesores quieren que los estudiantes atienden y comprendan.

Hay una llamada para mejorar la pedagogía de la memoria y la construcción de la memoria en varios niveles. Primero, ellos ven que la escuela tiene un rol importante en esa

⁵⁸ Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile, bk. 1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), xxix.

⁵⁹ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

construcción, pero el sistema de educación chileno no está haciendo bastante para eso y hay que mejorar eso. Muchas escuelas, incluyendo las de los tres profesores, conmemoran los eventos del 11 de septiembre con ceremonias. De esta manera, ellos afirman que la escuela participa en la creación de la memoria y mantiene una memoria histórica. Sin embargo, hay que hacer más. Bruno sostiene que la escuela debe dedicar para, “tomar una pausa esos días, una reflexión colectiva al respecto de lo que ocurrido...son cosas yo creo que marcan la educación de un estudiante...si ellos ven que para nosotros es importante, para ellos serán importante también...y al revés, si ellos ven que para nosotros es algo hay que olvidar...ellos van a hacer lo mismo”⁶⁰ Las escuelas y los profesores tienen que mostrar la importancia del tema y continuar manteniendo una memoria histórica.

En otro nivel, es importante que las universidades continúen mejorando la pedagogía de la memoria para los futuros docentes. Está claro que los profesores sientan que la universidad no les preparó para enseñar la dictadura o cómo responder cuando los estudiantes les preguntan si son de la derecha o la izquierda. Ignacia recomienda que las universidades debieran trabajar más en la pedagogía de la memoria para desarrollar más metodologías y herramientas para llevar al aula. Ella reconoce que la pedagogía de la memoria es algo común de muchos países en América Latina. Ahora en Chile, ella dice que “es mucho de la intuición o el estilo de cada profe.”⁶¹ Con respecto a la pedagogía de la memoria, Sebastián dice que no hay muchos recursos para crear una política memoria y compara a Chile con Argentina ya que Argentina tiene más recursos. Él afirma que aprende lo que hizo en Alemania, Argentina y otros países en América Latina. En esa manera, hay algunas similitudes con una pedagogía de la memoria de cual los países pueden aprender. Es

⁶⁰ Cortés, interview.

⁶¹ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

importante que las universidades continúen desarrollando los métodos más relevantes de enseñar y preparar los profesores para los desafíos que enfrentarán.

Finalmente, hay que trabajar con la memoria en la sociedad. Los profesores dicen que hay más que hacer afuera de la escuela. Bruno sostiene que la memoria es muy importante pero que no hay una memoria constante en general en sociedad. Él asevera que la memoria no es solamente el rol de la asignatura de historia y necesita haber más reformas afuera del aula. Ignacia está de acuerdo y afirma que “las escuelas muchas veces están cerradas, y la memoria no es solo lo que está en su libro de historia. Hay que abrirlo.”⁶² Mucho tiene que ver con la política. Como Bruno mencionó anteriormente, todavía hay personas culpables que no han sido condenadas. Ignacia menciona que el estado aún tiene muchas cosas por resolver afuera del aula, con la justicia y reparación. Sebastián opina sobre las creencias de la política hoy, “los objetos políticos del derecho sobre todo no abrazan las ideas de lo democrático y siguen pensando que Pinochet era un tipo de figura importante...rescatar...ese problema todavía existe.”⁶³ En conjunto, hay tensión en la sociedad que aún no se ha resuelto.

A pesar de la historiografía de Steve Stern y Michael Lazzara, los profesores intentan combatir la tensión actual en sociedad. Steve Stern habla de un “impasse de memoria [memory impasse]” y Michael Lazzara argumenta que Chile vive en un mundo de “complicidad [complicitness].”⁶⁴ Por el análisis de la enseñanza, es evidente que no es así. Para los profesores, parece que hay un nivel de conciencia que los profesores enfrentan con los desafíos, su rol en la enseñanza y formación de la memoria, y cómo mejorar la enseñanza

⁶² Cabrera Reveco.

⁶³ Henríquez, interview.

⁶⁴ Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, xxix; Lazzara, *Civil Obedience*, 6-8.

de la memoria. Cómo Ignacia dice, “Me preocupa reproducir la polarización de los setenta inconscientemente...un desafío es no reproducirlo llevando esos problemas a hoy.”⁶⁵ Los profesores se dieron cuenta de los problemas que rodean el conflicto de la memoria en Chile hoy respecto al tema de la dictadura. Steve Stern habla del concepto de “memory box” donde los varios actores eligen lo que ponen en el cajón, y se puede ver que la escuela y los profesores son parte de la construcción del “memory box.”⁶⁶ Ellos están formando las memorias de los estudiantes de la dictadura en su enseñanza. En el tercer libro, Stern enfoca en personas que quieren “find and shape meanings of the traumatic past-within-the-present, that is, to push the memory-truths they considered urgent into the public domain.”⁶⁷ Aunque Stern no habla de profesores en escuelas secundarias, es evidente que los profesores son parte de la formación de la memoria y ellos tienen alguna libertad en enfocar lo que ellos se consideran “urgente.”⁶⁸ Con respecto a la historiografía, aunque no hay conversaciones directas, los profesores combaten cualquier tipo de impasse o el olvido en su enseñanza de la dictadura y derechos humanos.

Conclusión

Un análisis sobre la enseñanza de la dictadura revela el trabajo importante que los profesores hacen en la creación de la memoria en Chile con estudiantes. Mientras el estado actual de la enseñanza de la dictadura ha mejorado a lo largo del tiempo con más evidencia y estableció algunos hechos indiscutibles, todavía hay diversidad en las maneras en las que los

⁶⁵ Cabrera Reveco, interview.

⁶⁶ Steve J. Stern, *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*, Latin America Otherwise (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), xxviii.

⁶⁷ Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*, 4.

⁶⁸ Stern, 4.

profesores abordan el tema y el mensaje de su enseñanza. Los profesores tienen un rol importante en la implementación del currículo nacional, el uso del texto escolar, las fuentes adicionales y actividades que ellos eligen para sus estudiantes. Mientras se obtiene una mirada de primera mano de la enseñanza de la dictadura, se pueden ver desafíos y límites en el proceso que los profesores quieren mejorar. Los estudiantes tienen huecos en su conocimiento previo por una perspectiva limitada de su familia y por eso ellos les preguntan a sus profesores su posición política respecto a la historia. La formación docente en las universidades no les enseñó a los profesores cómo responder, así que los profesores exigen mejor formación docente y memoria pedagógica en las universidades, pero también en las escuelas. Sin embargo, la memoria pedagógica no combina con los desafíos del establecimiento como de los directores de las escuelas o el jefe UTP donde la prioridad son las pruebas estándares. Además, hay diferencias generacionales en la interpretación de la historia y que hay personas que piensan que es mejor no hablar del pasado o en una manera menos profunda. Sin embargo, esos profesores de la misma generación quieren llevar la historia al presente y mostrar la relevancia a la actualidad. Ellos reconocen que hay que mejorar la pedagogía de la memoria y resolver los problemas de la memoria afuera del aula en sociedad.

La enseñanza de la dictadura no es una tarea fácil para los profesores. Hay muchas variaciones y desafíos en enseñar una historia tan reciente que le falta una memoria definida de toda la sociedad. Hay variaciones con el tiempo como más evidencia que cambia la opinión pública y por lo tanto la enseñanza también. Mientras este capítulo solo enfoca en escuelas municipales, los tipos diferentes de escuelas puede afectar la enseñanza. Los padres,

los directores, y el currículo están influidos por la política. La enseñanza continúa desarrollando para el futuro cómo la opinión pública y la esfera política cambian con tiempo.

Mientras Stern y Lazzara hablan de una sociedad con un *impasse* o del olvido, es evidente que los profesores están combatiendo eso activamente. Los profesores y las escuelas tienen un rol útil en la creación de la memoria porque es la escuela que toca a todos, todas las personas tienen que ir a la escuela secundaria. En la enseñanza de la dictadura, es un momento importante que las escuelas y los profesores tienen que aprovechar en la creación de una memoria. Para algunos, puede ser la primera vez que aprendan de la dictadura o para otros, la única vez que ellos escuchan otros puntos de vistas. Quizás sea la única vez que ellos hablan del tema con tanta profundidad. A diferencia de universidades o museos, las escuelas y los profesores de secundaria tienen el poder para tocar e impactar las vidas de muchas personas.

Está claro que la enseñanza de la dictadura en Chile es pluralista. Aunque hay un texto escolar nacional y un currículo nacional del estado, no hay una sola visión de cómo enseñar o pensar sobre el tema. Hay mucha diversidad de acercamientos al tema. La enseñanza es un reflejo de la cuestión grande de la memoria colectiva en la sociedad chilena. Como explican los profesores, los estudiantes son de familias de la derecha o izquierda; todavía hay muchas personas culpables que no han sido condenadas; y todavía hay políticos de la dictadura que son parte del gobierno hoy en día. Hasta que la sociedad pueda enfrentar esos problemas, el aula y la enseñanza van a seguir siendo un reflejo de la tensión en la sociedad chilena. Como el artículo por Magendzo y Toledo dice, “Chilean society is not reconciled and that is reproduced in the classroom.”⁶⁹ Es importante notar que el aula es

⁶⁹ Magendzo and Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” 463.

solamente un lugar donde se presenta el conflicto de la memoria nacional y las batallas memoriales se luchan, van más allá de la escuela.

Chapter Three

The World of Academia: perspectives from university professors and the dialogue between universities and secondary schools

Introduction

In 1998, Augusto Pinochet penned a public letter titled, “Carta a los chilenos” in which he defended his actions and legacy to the Chilean people following his arrest in London. His letter was an attempt to garner public support, thanking his supporters and reminding Chileans that he saved the country from communism.¹ Shortly after Pinochet published his letter, eleven historians contributed to the publication of “Manifiesto de Historiadores” in response to the “Carta a los chilenos.”² The historians, including Chilean college professors Gabriel Salazar, Mario Garcés, Sergio Grez, Leonardo León, Rafael Sagredo, and Sergio Villalobos, were not going to allow Pinochet to write his own legacy and instead wrote a counter response.³ Leading newspapers published both “Carta a los Chilenos” and “Manifestó de Historiadores,” representing an intense public debate. Below is perhaps one of the most well-known excerpts from the manifesto in which the historians argue the moral duty and relevancy of history to the present,

La historia no es sólo pasado, sino también, y principalmente, presente y futuro. La historia es proyección. Es la construcción social de la realidad futura. El más importante de los derechos humanos consiste en respetar la capacidad de los ciudadanos para producir por sí mismos la realidad futura que necesitan. No reconocer ese derecho, usurpar o adulterar ese derecho, es

¹ Elizabeth Q. Hutchison et al., eds., *The Chile Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, Latin America Readers (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 555-559.

² “Manifiesto de Historiadores - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile,” accessed January 23, 2020, <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-95826.html>; Hutchison et al., *The Chile Reader*.

³ “Manifiesto de Historiadores - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.”

imponer, por sobre todo, no la verdad, sino la mentira histórica. Es vaciar la verdadera reserva moral de la humanidad.⁴

This excerpt speaks broadly to the future, but also highlights specific elements alluding to the Pinochet dictatorship, such as human rights. The historians touch on the subject of “truth” and “lies,” which play an important role when thinking about the memory of the dictatorship. Both Pinochet and the historians claim truth in their writings, revealing that how people remember the past, that history and memory, are all socially constructed and contested. While this is only one perspective from the academic community, it represents how academia plays an important role in the memory construction and education of the country. Further, the manifesto embodies the intense debate about memory and an instance when academics used their position to issue their stance on the topic, countering the position espoused publicly by Pinochet himself.

Similar to the manifesto, this chapter highlights the viewpoints and works of the Chilean academic community and further dives into analyzing the public debate on memory, specifically related to the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights at the university level to prospective teachers. It is important to understand how universities are preparing teachers to teach history as they are the ones who will go out into the schools and form student memory. The chapter utilizes three interviews with university professors. I supplement these with another primary source, a Chilean academic journal from the Universidad de Alberto Hurtado facultad de Educación titled *Cuaderno de Educación*, and other secondary literature on pedagogy of recent history and memory. The cumulation of the sources reveals what some members from the academic community think and teach regarding the teaching and memory of the dictatorship.

⁴ “Manifiesto de Historiadores - Memoria Chilena, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile.”

The pedagogy of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights at the university level reveals that there is a dialogue between theory and practice, which includes university teaching practices and those of secondary school teachers. The examination of both university and secondary school teaching practices suggests that they are in communication with one another and are evolving in tandem. Their dialogue reveals that they both share a goal: to interrupt the current cycle of reproducing gaps, both in knowledge and in skills of analysis and social critique. At the university level, changing pedagogical practices reflect the changes in how memory is understood. Unlike current secondary school teachers, university professors have the potential to shape new educators. The change and evolution in teaching practices are representative of the tensions in Chilean society and evolving social notions of collective memory. Teaching practices reflect society's larger challenges in grappling with the memory of the dictatorship and navigating collective memory.

To support my argument, I use the journals from the Universidad de Alberto Hurtado and interviews with university professors as crucial primary sources when looking at how university professors teach prospective teachers about the dictatorship. The scope of my primary sources are three interviews and one university's academic journal supported by various pedagogical literature. These sources represent selected schools of thought based on their universities and are not meant to be representative of the entire Chilean academic community. Instead, they complement the secondary literature and present an anecdotal perspective to provide in-depth and up-close insight to help us understand the topic.

Since the chapter draws heavily on interviews with three university professors, each with different academic backgrounds, it is important to first introduce them. The first professor who shared her experiences is Elizabeth Lira, an expert on reconciliation in Chile.

She received her doctorate from Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and is a Psychology Professor at the Universidad de Alberto Hurtado with a research background in memory and human rights. During the Pinochet dictatorship, Elizabeth worked in a psychology clinic associated with human rights organizations that dealt with victims of political persecution, families of *los desaparecidos*, and those who went into exile. For more than twenty years she has researched political reconciliation in Chile while also teaching research and psychology classes at the university. She won the Premio Nacional de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales in 2017, among numerous other accolades for her work in human rights.⁵

The second professor who contributed her viewpoints is Sixtina Pinochet. She received a doctorate in Didáctica de la Historia, la Geografía y las Ciencias Sociales from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona and is an Education Professor at Universidad Católica del Norte, where she teaches pedagogy classes. She also works on various projects concerning citizen education. Much of her research focuses on citizen education and the teaching of history and social sciences.⁶

The third professor who shared her perspective is Camila Pérez Navarro, a doctoral candidate in Education at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. She holds two master's degrees, one from Pontificia Universidad Católica in Ciencias de la Educación and the other from Universidad de Chile in Ciencias Sociales-Sociología. Her research includes curriculum, the history of education, and the memory of education.⁷ Throughout the chapter,

⁵ Elizabeth Lira, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019; "Elizabeth Lira Kornfeld | Facultad de Psicología," accessed January 23, 2020, <https://psicologia.uahurtado.cl/academico/elizabeth-lira-kornfeld/>.

⁶ Sixtina Pinochet, Skype, interview by author, December 18, 2019.

⁷ Camila Pérez, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 12, 2019.

interviewees will be referred to only by their first name for clarity and uniformity throughout.⁸

This chapter is organized by common themes that I identified in my interviews with university professors and in connections with the previous chapter on secondary school teachers. In order to analyze the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights at the university level, the chapter opens, first, with the explanation, based on interviews, that pedagogy is political, and second, a discussion of competing memories, two themes that drive the rest of the chapter. Within these themes, I continue with my analysis of the interviewees on how they teach the dictatorship and human rights to future teachers. First, due to students' gaps in knowledge, professors must first reteach, or for some, completely teach the history of the dictatorship and human rights violations. This includes clarifying terminology surrounding the dictatorship, showing a variety of perspectives, and challenging students' previous prejudices concerning the dictatorship and human rights violations. Second, I consider the university professors' challenges they mentioned regarding pedagogy and curriculum implementation in schools. These include the challenges secondary school teachers face from parents, school administration, standardized tests, and pedagogical implementation. Finally, with these challenges in mind, professors share proposals in how they prepare prospective teachers to teach such a complicated topic. This includes exposure to a variety of sources so students can construct their own opinion about the past, connecting history to the present day with a diverse and inclusive curriculum, and ensuring that history will make students active, critical participants in society. As with secondary school teaching

⁸ There may be confusion since Professor Sixtina Pinochet shares the same last name as Augusto Pinochet. To avoid this confusion, her footnote will always include both her first and last name. For uniformity, all other interviewees are referred to by their first name in the text and by their last name in the footnote to include the full name.

practices, university teaching practices reflect the tensions and changes in how to remember such a conflictive history.

Political Pedagogy and Mixed Memories: “Yo soy parte que cree que la pedagogía es política. La pedagogía es un ejercicio es una que política.” – Camila Pérez

My interviewees all emphasized that pedagogy and curriculum are inherently political, especially concerning recent history in Chile, which includes the dictatorship and human rights violations. It is a fraught history that still continues to show tensions that reach into the present. As Sixtina explains, “Desde el punto de vista educativo, en lo que ocurre en Chile, es que después que termina la dictadura hay todo un proceso de reforma curricular. Entonces, porque lo que se pretende a partir de esta reforma es fundamentalmente transitar la transmisión lo que significa a vivir en una democracia y donde los derechos humanos son como uno de los pilares más importantes. Entonces hay también toda negociación...sobre qué incluye y qué excluye.”⁹ In this negotiation, there was the intention that the dictatorship and human rights violations be visible in curriculum, but not generalized. For some, like Joan Páges y Jesús Marolla, the inclusion of this history meant that the Chilean curriculum is the perspective from the government which only focuses on politics and economics while omitting many of the human rights violations.¹⁰ Similarly, the *Cuaderno de Educación* recognizes a dichotomy “entre violaciones a los derechos humanos/desarrollo económico neoliberal” that permeates throughout the curriculum.¹¹ Despite the political nature of the

⁹ Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

¹⁰ Joan Pagès and Jesús Marolla, “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales,” *Historia Y MEMORIA*, no. 17 (August 14, 2018): 167, <https://doi.org/10.19053/20275137.n17.2018.7455>.

¹¹ María Teresa Rojas and Daniela Vargas, “La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria,” *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013), http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_55/pdf/articulo55.pdf.

topic, there is a consensus from the interviews and volumes of *Cuaderno de Educación* that recent history, including human rights violations, needs to be taught in schools. This consensus matches the national curriculum and many of the works on memory pedagogy that also call for the teaching of contemporary history and human rights education.

The interviewees expressed that most of society agrees on the need to teach this history; however, conflict arises when thinking about the relationship between history and the present, or applying lessons from history to the present. Those who oppose drawing upon the past, wish to keep history contained and think only about history as the past with no connections to today. This reiterates what secondary school teacher Bruno Cortés said in the previous chapter about how school officials rebuke history teachers when they view their teaching as “political,” causing students to protest. There exists a fear amongst some, such as school officials, of changing or questioning the order as students do when they protest. Elizabeth mentions a similar example when thinking about the privatization of water today. She affirms that the privatization of water is a very controversial issue in Chile because of high prices and its treatment as an economic commodity to make a profit instead of a human right. However, few people want to connect this to the dictatorship as water became privatized during the dictatorship.¹² The controversy surrounding pedagogy of recent history adds to the complexity of the topic and adds to the challenges that university professors face when teaching history pedagogy. As Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio reiterate in their book *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia*, pedagogy, specifically memory pedagogy, is a “recurso radical contra el olvido” whose purpose is to promote human rights and

¹² Lira, interview.

democracy.¹³ Of course, this teaching is not met without resistance, especially when one remembers the challenges that secondary school teachers face. Some of these challenges exist not only in secondary schools, but also in universities.

The competing memories that exist in Chilean society fuel the complexity and difficulty of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights in educational institutions. Historian Steve Stern calls competing memories “memory struggles” and uses the “memory box” metaphor to describe how people decide which memories to add to the box.¹⁴ Universities are doing the same, contributing which memories are part of the collective. Competing memories are especially evident in the ideologic stance of various universities. For example, Camila says that the Universidad Católica is more aligned with the right while the Universidad de Santiago is more aligned with the left on the political spectrum.¹⁵ Political ideologies of universities impact teaching, the types of memories that students bring with them, and what professors teach. There are a million memories as Elizabeth explains: “Porque las personas que disfrutaron los beneficios de la dictadura tienen memoria sobre la dictadura pero positiva. Y las personas que fueron víctimas tienen memoria. Lo que quiero decir es que no hay una memoria, pero miles de memorias. En algunos temas o en asuntos, puede haber ciertos consensos, ciertos coincidentes en la mayoría de la gente, pero en otros no.”¹⁶ With so many memories and so little consensus, it is easy to see how complex memory is in Chile.

¹³ Jorge Osorio and Graciela Rubio, *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia* (Santiago, Chile: Escuela de Humanidades y Política, 2006), 27.

¹⁴ Steve J. Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*, The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile, bk. 1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) xxviii.

¹⁵ Pérez, interview.

¹⁶ Lira, interview.

As the volumes of *Cuaderno de Educación* and professors affirm, the Rettig and Valech reports provide some consensus, but did not serve as treaties to put an end to the memory battles.¹⁷ Even though the historians who contributed to the manifesto take a position against Pinochet, other historians and academics do not think the same. For example, both Julio Retamal and Regina Claro offer dissenting views. In 2006, Julio Retamal defended Pinochet saying that “the good things [Pinochet did]’ should be allowed to outweigh the rest, since, after all, no more than ‘three thousand, maybe fifteen thousand people’ suffered” and that it was “‘not his fault.’”¹⁸ The same year, Regina Claro acknowledged that the human rights violations were “‘very minor compared to other dictators such as Hitler, Stalin, [or] Castro.’”¹⁹ Obviously in the academic community, there is clear discord, which reflects the tension in the larger society, but also on a smaller scale in the classroom. How then, can professors prepare students to teach the subject when there exists so much discord? It is a complex topic that has no clear-cut simple answers, but professors are actively trying to combat the challenges and offer a series of proposals which this chapter explores. As the *Cuaderno de Educación* affirms, “La memoria colectiva y las memorias individuales de la Sociedad chilena viven un proceso de transformación y reconstrucción.”²⁰ University professors, like other actors involved in the construction of memory, are actively contributing their part to the transformations and reconstruction of memory.

¹⁷ Rojas and Vargas, “La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria.”

¹⁸ Julio Retamal quoted in Alfredo Joignant, “Pinochet’s Funeral: Memory, History, and Immortality,” in *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet*, trans. Cath Collins (Boulder, Colorado: FirstForumPress, 2013), 182.

¹⁹ Regina Claro quoted in Joignant, 182.

²⁰ Rojas and Vargas, “La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria.”

Restorative Reteaching: “Trata de levantar la memoria y romper la escama trayendo de la escuela” – Sixtina Pinochet

Similar to students entering secondary school, students enter universities with varied knowledge about the dictatorship and human rights, so the first step is reteaching, or sometimes teaching from the start, this history to university students. This includes providing context of the dictatorship, showing a variety of perspectives, and clarifying terminology. Throughout reteaching, the goals for professors are for students to be able to construct their own opinion, and challenge some students’ previous prejudices regarding the dictatorship. By having a better grasp of the history themselves, students are also learning how to teach the topic.

First, university professors have to provide context of the dictatorship and human rights violations. As Camila noted, there are “algunos estudiantes no sabe que la dictadura mató personas o estudiantes con 18 años que no saben mucho de las violaciones de los derechos humanos.”²¹ With this lack of knowledge, professors have to give a history lesson to their students in which there are many similarities with secondary school teachers. For example, like secondary school teachers, university professors show students the context surrounding the dictatorship. Camila and Sixtina explain the polarization that came before Allende such as U.S. intervention in the 1940s and the implementation of education, so that students can understand that the golpe was not a drastic watershed that happened suddenly. They also widen the context by including information on economic, social, and educational transformations in order to “tener un contexto para poder entender la situación.”²² Professors Carretero and Borrelli also stress studying the “interrelación con tales acontecimientos

²¹ Pérez, interview.

²² Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

políticos, ideológicos, sociales, económicos, y culturales” in the classroom.²³ By including different transformations, the professors make it clear that the necessary context to understand the topic is multi-disciplinary. This adds to the complexity of teaching the dictatorship and human rights as the topic emerges in multiple disciplinary areas and permeates through all aspects of society.

Second, as with the secondary school teachers in the previous chapter, university professors show their students a variety of perspectives so that they can construct their own opinion. Working with primary sources and historiographies is vital. Camila reflects on her own experience working with Julio Pinot and Gabriel Salazar and noted that studying how they came to their position helped her to construct her own position on the subject. She emphasizes that “Desde la pedagogía, darme cuenta que la pedagogía es un acto político y no se puede ser neutral la historia si estamos hablando de historias personales.”²⁴ The university professors realize that this history is one made up of many personal, individual testimonies and not just one view from a school or the state. This is what professors wish to imprint on their students, but it is not without some challenges as their previous schooling or personal status has already made a strong mark upon the students.

Third, professors must clarify terminology regarding the dictatorship. Both secondary school and university students come to the classroom having heard a variety of terms when referring to the dictatorship which affects their perspective, so secondary school teachers and professors must differentiate between various terms. Camila stresses how words like

²³ Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?,” *Cultura y Educación* 20, no. 2 (enero 2008): 205, <https://doi.org/10.1174/113564008784490415>.

²⁴ Pérez, interview.

“regime” or “authoritative government” carry different concepts than “dictatorship.”²⁵ As authors María Teresa Rojas and Daniela Vargas explain in *Cuaderno de Educación*, these alternative words “pierdan la connotación negativa e ideologizante que se les atribuyó por años.”²⁶ This shows the effects of what happens when textbooks use one word or another - it is not just a simple one-word change or synonym, but a completely different concept and understanding that students carry with them to college. The terms students hear from their parents, in secondary school, or by politicians, carry ideological weight. The professors’ goal is to provide students a lens to deconstruct terms and critique language, so that they understand that language is ideological. Professors then have the task of breaking these previously held concepts, including shattering students’ prejudices concerning the dictatorship.

Finally, throughout the process of reteaching this subject, professors challenge previous prejudices held by students. Both Elizabeth and Camila expressed that more students from the Universidad Católica come to the university with more prejudices from their personal experiences and the topic being taught in a more positive way in their previous education. In Camila’s teaching with students at the Universidad Católica, she strives to raise awareness of the topic because her students “traían un montón de prejuicios porque vienen de colegios particulares pagados en donde nunca habían escuchado la palabra dictadura.”²⁷ Again, language is ideological and behind just a single term, lays a mountain of prejudices. Students’ previous education, greatly influenced by socio-economic status, has a profound impact on their views and mirrors the tensions in society regarding the dictatorship. If these

²⁵ Pérez.

²⁶ Rojas and Vargas, “La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria.”

²⁷ Pérez, interview.

prejudices are not challenged, students will carry them when teaching and the tension will continue to be reproduced in education.

The breaches in university students' previous knowledge about the dictatorship and human rights violations are the products of the education system. As Elizabeth asserts, some of these students are the product of the dictatorship in which the way to resolve conflicts was not to talk or teach about them. Of course, she recognizes that it is different when families have personal ties to the dictatorship but that the majority have little prior exposure to this history. Similarly, Lazzara argues Chile today "is a product of complicity and complacency," and there may be some truth to this as evident in students' lack of knowledge on the subject.²⁸ While there is no doubt that there are familial and societal failures, the focus of this study is the role of education. Student's gaps of knowledge show where education has failed but even more, the tension that society continues to reproduce. The question then is how to avoid reproducing these gaps in the education of the dictatorship. This is exactly what university professors are actively working to resolve.

Consider Challenges: "Yo no sé quien puede creer que la educación se puede ser neutral. No es." – Elizabeth Lira

As students learn and relearn the history of the dictatorship and human rights violations themselves, they are also learning what to do in the classroom as future teachers. The next step is considering the challenges that university professors take into consideration when preparing students to teach the dictatorship and human rights. This includes the challenges secondary school teachers face and gaps with pedagogy and curriculum

²⁸ Michael J. Lazzara, *Civil Obedience: Complicity and Complacency in Chile since Pinochet*, Critical Human Rights (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2018), 6-8.

implementation. These challenges show how the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights is always evolving and continues to be filled with tension between various parties involved such as students, teachers, professors, and administration. At the same time, this tension among various parties also demonstrates how intertwined the teaching is with other actors. It not only involves professors and teachers, but also various other actors.

When thinking about teaching the dictatorship and human rights, professors take into consideration the challenges that secondary school teachers face, many of which were mentioned in the previous chapter such as resistance from parents, schools, school administration, and institutional problems such as standardized tests. It is clear that in this sense, the universities are not completely isolated in the world of academia but serve as a branch connected with current secondary school teachers. As María Teresa Rojas and Daniela Vargas explain in *Cuaderno de Educación*, “La escuela por su parte es una institución conservadora, muy poco flexible a los cambios y, como todas las instituciones sociales del país, también habita en ella una memoria de represión, sospecha y censura heredada de la dictadura.”²⁹ Universities recognize the influence that schools’ memories have in teaching the history of the dictatorship. Elizabeth recalled how parents come into schools to tell teachers not to teach politics and acknowledges that this does not mean they are bad parents, but rather reflects the tension that society conserves. She explains that as these teachers and administrators are answering to these same patrons, they do not want to lose their job, which effectively has an impact on their teaching. The *Cuaderno de Educación* reiterates this, “Además, el sostenedor, el director o los mismos apoderados, pueden operar como fuentes de censura que inhiban propuestas pedagógicas diferentes. Esto es

²⁹ Rojas and Vargas, “La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria.”

especialmente evidente en la enseñanza del golpe y la dictadura.”³⁰ The line of power and “higher ups” play a big role, as the last chapter explains, and university professors recognize the censorship that occurs in schools.

Another barrier both secondary school teachers and professors recognize is standardized testing. Sixtina and Camila explain how standardized tests such as the *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE)* and *Prueba de Selección Universitaria (PSU)* affect education as teachers feel pressure to tailor instruction to these tests and only focus on the test content. The tests do not critically analyze or assess students on complex topics, like memory formation related to the dictatorship and human rights. The professors are aware of the challenges secondary school teachers face and prepare their students accordingly. The recognition of these challenges shows how intertwined the work of secondary school teachers and university professors are with one another. Both work at different levels for the education of the same topic.

Other challenges deal with the gaps with pedagogy and curriculum implementation with the teaching of recent history in secondary schools. While history pedagogy evolves, secondary schools can be a place of resistance to this change, especially as some teachers resist implementing new pedagogy in the classroom. Sixtina argues that the school continues to be very traditional with respect to teaching history, explaining that “las clases sigue siguiendo muy tradicional en el sentido que es el profesor que habla. Habla, cuenta, cuenta, cuenta y los estudiantes escuchan y opinan.”³¹ Sixtina’s description matches one of two approaches of teaching history, specifically the “Great Tradition.” This is an approach based heavily on facts where teachers take on an active role in transmitting information while

³⁰ Rojas and Vargas.

³¹ Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

students have a passive role in reproducing facts and interpretations.³² Today, this is not how university professors teach.

University professors have adopted a new approach to teaching history, in which students are actively constructing their own knowledge. University professors show students a variety of sources and perspectives so that they can construct their own opinion. This is an example of the alternative way of teaching history, called the “New History”. This approach encourages students to take on an active role in engaging with history and constructing their own perspectives while teachers help to stimulate this construction.³³ Specifically for the teaching of the dictatorship, the “Great Tradition” approach does not match the needs to teach heavy, political content. As Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli echo in their article on teaching recent history, “La participación activa de los alumnos es una condición sumamente necesaria.”³⁴ Modern pedagogy, especially memory pedagogy, seeks to “invitar a los jóvenes a reflexionar, debatir, abrir nuevas preguntas y buscar nuevas respuestas para poder posicionarse frente a sus realidades.”³⁵ Students are no longer to take on a passive role but actively construct their own opinions about the past.

The teaching of the dictatorship and human rights requires that students have an active role in their learning, like the “New History” approach. This active approach is what many university professors are teaching their current students and attempting to implement with teachers already in the field. Professors recognize that some teachers are already doing

³² Carmen Gloria Zúñiga, Thomas O’Donoghue, and Simon Clarke, *A Study of the Secondary School History Curriculum in Chile from Colonial Times to the Present* (Rotterdam: SensePublishers, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-926-5>, 9.

³³ Zúñiga, O’Donoghue, and Clarke.

³⁴ Carretero and Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto,” 213.

³⁵ Julia Rosemberg and Verónica Kovacic, eds., “Educación, memoria y derechos humanos: orientaciones pedagógicas y recomendaciones para su enseñanza,” *Ministerio de Educación y Organización de los estados Americanos*, no. 55 (March 2010), 8.

this, such as the teachers in the previous chapter. However, they also recognize that some teachers resist implementing new pedagogy. Even in pedagogical practices, there is change and evolution that can be met with resistance. University professors are aware of this resistance because they go out into the field and constantly work with schools to improve teaching practices. They see the gaps and disconnects that exist between universities and schools, and between the curriculum and its implementation.

There are also gaps in curriculum implementation, even with achievements with the national curriculum. These achievements in curriculum include the inclusion of the dictatorship and human rights violations after the transition to democracy in 1990 and the introduction of a new subject, Citizen Education in 2020.³⁶ However, how curriculum appears on paper can be very different to how it is implemented in the classroom. As Sixtina notes, “En el papel está bien – construir su propia opinión, pensar crítica, trabajar con analizar fuentes... Hay una historia oficial del currículo y el currículo incluye ese. Pero el problema es como ese llega...implementado.”³⁷ When students go to complete their student teaching and then teach history in schools, they face challenges that impact their teaching. Along with the challenges mentioned earlier, there is also the challenge of having too many students in the classroom and scarce resources, especially in public and *subvencionada*³⁸ schools, where it can be hard to implement new methods of teaching.³⁹ Again, these challenges hint at the influence economic status can have in one’s educational experience.

³⁶ Sixtina Pinochet, interview; “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020,” Ministerio de Educación de Chile, accessed February 16, 2020, <https://nuevocurriculum.mineduc.cl/#PlanFormacionGeneral>.

³⁷ Sixtina

³⁸ Translates to “subsidized” in English. A type of school in Chile between private and public schools.

³⁹ Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

Another challenge has to do with a call for modern change at the state and institutional levels by professors. As Sixtina notes, “No es solamente la responsabilidad de los profesores, pero también el sistema educativo de Chile...hay un problema con cómo modernizar el sistema educativo.”⁴⁰ Modernizing the education system involves a variety of actors, more than just university professors preparing prospective teachers. The call for modernization also illustrates a larger societal problem, just as the teaching of the dictatorship is a larger societal problem, not just in the world of education. While professors attempt to modernize their teaching, there continues to be a gap between what future teachers learn at the university and what they are actually able to implement in the classroom. Sixtina explains, “los estudiantes salen de la universidad con nuevas ideas para promover una enseñanza de la historia que sea distinta que verdad permite el desarrollo de una comprensión de la sociedad sobre toda para llevar acción. Pero llegar una escuela y hay un millón de problemas para hacer eso. Entonces hay una lucha.”⁴¹ This “lucha” or gap between university learning and school implementation is something that professors actively confront to try and find a resolution.

In order to bridge the gaps that exist between universities and secondary schools, professors go into schools and work with current teachers on continued professional development. By doing so, university professors learn what the current teaching situation is like and all of its challenges, along with bringing new methods of teaching into the classroom. The goal is to “vincular con el espacio escolar para que ellos entiendan igual que hay cambio”⁴² University professors bring back their observations to their university students

⁴⁰ Sixtina Pinochet.

⁴¹ Sixtina Pinochet.

⁴² Sixtina Pinochet.

and develop better teaching methods. As Sixtina emphasizes, “hay un diálogo entre la escuela y las universidades porque hay un interés de las universidades, es para saber lo que es necesario.”⁴³ The dialogue university professors bring back from going to schools for professional development with secondary school teachers, allows university professors to best prepare their students by being aware of the challenges that exist in the classroom. Professors gather the knowledge they need so they can give students the tools that are necessary to effectively teach such a complex subject like the dictatorship and human rights violations.

Practical Proposals: “Otros elementos de la universidad que esperamos que los estudiantes logren como el compromiso social, valorización con respecto a los derechos humanos, la defensa de la verdad, entre otros.” – Sixtina Pinochet

With the competing tensions in Chilean society, the question lies in how universities can prepare prospective teachers to be ready to teach and effectively face these problems head on when teaching the dictatorship and human rights. The answer mirrors what some secondary school teachers, like the ones mentioned in the previous chapter, are already doing, but also adds to the discussion, especially from a university viewpoint. University professors’ goals are that students construct their own opinion, connect history to the present, and ensure that learning the history of the dictatorship and human rights will make students active, critical participants in society.

Professors work with university students using a variety of sources while teaching the dictatorship and in doing so, also show students how to teach in the classroom. The goal is

⁴³ Sixtina Pinochet.

that the students can “conocer las distintas visiones al respecto de lo que sucedió o poder diferenciar entre los hechos y las opiniones.”⁴⁴ By showing students different perspectives, there is the aim that in the process teachers will give students the tools to differentiate between facts and opinions and to construct their own critical point of view.

Showing various perspectives includes going beyond the books, as Sixtina recommends interviewing people, working outside the classroom, and interacting with other people to know the different accounts from the period. She calls these “cosas que hacen un historiador.”⁴⁵ When working with sources, Sixtina and Camila emphasize that the goal is to recognize the distinct perspectives, the intention of the source, and where it came from. Professors recommend using a variety of sources such as archives, newspapers, government documents, audiovisuals, interviews, and museums. Specifically, the sample lessons in the *Cuaderno de Educación* include working with sources like the Universal Human Rights Declaration and an article from the Chilean magazine *Revista Ercilla*.⁴⁶ The professors tell their students to always make sure that there is intentionality with each source they choose as future teachers. One *Cuaderno de Educación* recommends that teachers “ayudar a los estudiantes a interrogar a la fuente,” “realizar preguntas...sobre su contexto...que permitan contextualizar,” “leer en profundidad,” y “contrastar las fuente con otras.”⁴⁷ It is clear that students are to not just simply read a source, but to evaluate it and excavate meaning from it. One way to help students better understand and use a source for their own argument is through discussion.

⁴⁴ Sixtina Pinochet.

⁴⁵ Sixtina Pinochet.

⁴⁶ Daniela Vargas, “Guía para trabajo en clases: El golpe de Estado en Chile, una reflexión desde los relatos y memorias,” *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013), http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_55/pdf/instrumento_1-55.pdf.

⁴⁷ Vargas.

As students interact with a variety of sources, professors encourage student discussion as they work through the process of developing their own opinion. Sixtina points out the benefits of discussion in that “siempre hay diversidad de opiniones entre los estudiantes así que aprenden a discutir, justificar, porque ellos piensan eso, reconocer que eso es muy importante.”⁴⁸ Similarly, Mario Carretero and Marcelo Borrelli note that “...es recomendable no evitar los debates conflictivos que puedan generarse.”⁴⁹ Professors teach that students need to be aware of what they are learning and thinking in school, and encourage future teachers to promote discussion. In order to effectively implement profound discussion, teachers “genere un clima de respeto y complicidad entre los niños/as para que la actividad sea inclusiva.”⁵⁰ Again, the goal of the teacher is to “guía y fundamente sistemáticamente los pasos a seguir por los y las estudiantes de manera que puedan obtener evidencia, para, finalmente, tomar una posición respecto del tema en cuestión.”⁵¹ The sample lesson plans ask students to identify the author, analyze, contextualize, question, and contrast sources while purposely suggesting that teachers organize groups for discussion “con diversidad ideológica.”⁵² These are just a few suggestions for preparing students to teach complex topics in history, such as the dictatorship and human rights violations.

Beyond an exposure of a variety of sources, there is evaluation, which is a way for students to further construct and express their position. Sixtina believes in projects when evaluating students on the teaching of the dictatorship. She said that a project is more advanced than a test in that a “proyecto es más activo, los estudiantes asuman un rol con la

⁴⁸ Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

⁴⁹ Carretero and Borrelli, “Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto,” 213.

⁵⁰ Dino Pancani, “Cobertura televisiva a los 40 años,” *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013).

⁵¹ Vargas, “Guía para trabajo en clases: El golpe de Estado en Chile, una reflexión desde los relatos y memorias.”

⁵² Vargas.

construcción del conocimiento y propio proceso de evaluación.”⁵³ This is similar to what Ignacia was doing with her students with a project-based evaluation in the previous chapter. It is clear that project-based evaluation does not match the current education system in which teachers feel pressure from standardized test performance. Evaluating memory and complicated issues like the dictatorship is less rigid and much less black-and-white than standardized tests. The teaching of complex issues like the history of the dictatorship and memory formation cannot be simplified to fit a standardized test.

Professors also teach their students to think outside of the official curriculum and diversify the content of the curriculum to connect history with the present day. While the curriculum was a huge achievement in its inclusion of the dictatorship, it is still a product of negotiation and excludes some elements of history. Therefore, professors express a desire to widen the content of the curriculum to include more voices. For example, Elizabeth questions the priority of content that is taught and brings up studying indigenous groups like the Mapuche, the conflicts with the Mapuche community or the depression in the 1930s that led to later problems. Sixtina agrees with adding a more diverse range of protagonists in history, mentioning studying more than “hombres blancos” that principally dominate political history.⁵⁴ She elaborates, “Hay una gran diversidad cultural. Eso yo creo que esas memorias se trabajo con las memorias de la escuela que también sirve para que esa diversidad cultural no se pierda y no se establezca una homogenización cultural.”⁵⁵ In the constant change and evolution of history education, it is important to make sure that history recognizes its diverse subjects and includes marginalized groups, an approach that history professors are

⁵³ Sixtina Pinochet, interview.

⁵⁴ Sixtina Pinochet.

⁵⁵ Sixtina Pinochet.

promoting. Similarly, Camila desires to change the perspectives of history pedagogy to be more inclusive so that people “tener ojos y mirar y ser atento lo que los libros no se enseñan o no enseña, que no sean contrarios a los conceptos de ciudadanos que está movilizándolo.”⁵⁶ In this sense, by including diverse perspectives, this is also widening the purpose of the curriculum by mobilizing citizens to include other perspectives. On a smaller, indirect level, professors are teaching students to advocate for marginalized groups to have their voices be heard in history, and this can also be applied beyond the classroom. A diverse and inclusive history curriculum emphasizes the relevance of history to the present day and can lead to student participation in civic society.

Professors view the new curriculum change, especially concerning citizen education, as an attempt to widen the purpose of the curriculum of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights to form active, critical citizens. Camila says that the concept of citizen education is much broader than before and that “Hay que cuidar que esa asignatura no es de monopolizar por la asignatura de historia porque es mucho más de eso.”⁵⁷ This underscores the point that citizen education is more than just history and that is it a multi-disciplinary subject. It is not enough to simply learn what happened in the past, but to do something with that knowledge. She stresses that “el ciudadano tiene que ser consciente y reflexivo y activo a su ambiente.”⁵⁸ There is a goal that students be active learners and participants in society. Professors and teachers play an important role in this as “We should not forget that the teacher is forming democratic citizens.”⁵⁹ Another definition is “la educación ciudadana es

⁵⁶ Pérez, interview.

⁵⁷ Pérez.

⁵⁸ Pérez.

⁵⁹ Abraham Magendzo and María Isabel Toledo, “Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile,” *Journal of Moral Education* 38, no. 4 (December 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240903321923>, 458.

una acción concertada e intencional para enseñar y aprender los valores sociales que permiten a los sujetos actuar responsablemente en la vida pública.”⁶⁰ Again, one can see the importance of using knowledge from schools and applying that knowledge outside of school. In all definitions, there is a stress in taking action and being an active member of society. The teaching of the dictatorship and human rights violations is not a passive topic but requires that professors and teachers alike be active and attentive in an ever-changing and evolving atmosphere in education, politics, and society.

Conclusion

The analysis of university teaching practices through interviews, university journals, and other secondary literature exhibits the tension in the remembrance of the history of the dictatorship and human rights violations. Pedagogy is political and memory battles continue as manifested in the teaching of the dictatorship. The effects of the memory battles are discrepancies in the knowledge of the dictatorship which explains why professors first have to reteach the history of the *golpe* and dictatorship to students. In this sense, university professors face many of the same challenges as secondary school teachers and also encourage many of the same practices of using a variety of sources, encouraging students to construct their own opinion, and ensuring that students understand the relevance of history. The similarities between university professors and secondary school teachers show how they are in dialogue with each other and evolving in tandem amidst so much change in pedagogy, curriculum, and memory. The teaching practices of university professors and secondary school teachers show the desire to stop the reproduction of discrepancies of knowledge and

⁶⁰ Osorio and Rubio, *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia*, 162.

how they, from the perspectives of teaching, navigate the struggle of forming a collective memory. The teaching of the dictatorship continues to change as more research comes out about new teaching practices and as public opinion and the political atmosphere change.

While speaking with university professors, one must recognize the limits of academia. Much of the public is not involved in the world of academia or have the opportunity to be directly in contact with university professors. Professors recognize that there is a lack of awareness and ignorance in the greater public, and that to have a deep understanding of the dictatorship and human rights requires in-depth study and research. As Elizabeth bluntly puts it, in order to have knowledge on the subject, “ *tienes que estudiar... mucha gente no lee nada.*”⁶¹ Even in the university, only certain disciplines study the dictatorship, and Elizabeth notes that it is a study traditionally for researchers. However, even in the world of academia, Camila opines that the topic is expanding and becoming more relevant as there are increasing researchers interested in the topic of memory and that “ *estamos profundizando el conocimiento de esas décadas.*”⁶² Even with more knowledge, academic research has to find its way to the general public to have a larger impact.

At the same time, there are also limits by the state in the university training of teachers. The state mandates secondary school curriculum, textbooks, and standardized tests. While universities have slightly more freedom from the state than secondary schools, in careers like teaching training, the state still plays a central role as university professors are training future teachers according to these state mandates of curriculum and standardized tests. Further, universities recognize that curriculum and textbooks reflect the institutional memory of the state. Although there is a consensus about the dictatorship and human rights

⁶¹ Lira, interview.

⁶² Pérez, interview.

in schools, it is limited. As the state continues to struggle to reconcile with the past, this continues to directly impact university and secondary school teaching in terminology surrounding the dictatorship, the curriculum and textbooks educators use, and gaps in student knowledge about the dictatorship and human rights violations.

An interesting future study could research universities' political alignment and ideologies, and how that impacts the way teachers teach history, especially recent history and politically charged history like the dictatorship and human rights violations. As Camila noted earlier, the Universidad Católica is more aligned with the right while the Universidad de Santiago is more aligned with the left on the political spectrum.⁶³ Political ideologies of universities impact teaching, the profile of professors, and the types of students' universities attract. Do universities' political ideologies shift over time and if so, how does this affect their teaching? Long term studies about the impact of university political ideologies on teachers would also be interesting. One could also study various history teachers and comparatively research on how different universities' teacher training affects their teaching of history in the secondary school classroom.

This chapter illustrates how intertwined the various topics and actors in education are with one another. Even if not directly, there is a great dialogue between secondary school teachers and university professors. Both recognize the challenges in schools and the tense political atmosphere in teaching recent, controversial history. They recognize that pedagogy and teaching are political. They work closely with curriculum and are doing or teaching the same activities in the classroom such as showing a variety of perspectives, guiding students in constructing their own opinions, and project-based evaluations. Further, there is also

⁶³ Pérez.

conversation among various disciplines such as History, Education, and Psychology. While each professor identifies with a distinct discipline, they also work on the same or similar topics, such as the dictatorship, and recognize the research and challenges in other disciplines. The next chapter will further explore the dialogue between various actors outside of secondary school and university classrooms to show how other actors also play an important part in education and to demonstrate the complexity of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.

Chapter Four

Outside the Classroom: Linking education and action through the contributions of experiential spheres of memory formation

Introduction

Elizabeth Jelin writes that “La memoria, entonces, se produce en tanto hay sujetos que comparten una cultura, en tanto hay agentes sociales que intentan «materializar» estos sentidos del pasado en diversos productos culturales que son concebidos como, o que se convierten en, vehículos de la memoria, tales como libros, museos, monumentos, películas o libros de historia.”¹ The work of memory is broad and encompasses all people involved in producing the various “vehicles of memory” that Jelin mentions. While this project only focuses on memory in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights, there are numerous other actors involved aside from teachers and university professors who work on memory in education.

There is not enough space in this project to elaborate on all of the other actors involved, but this chapter will provide a glimpse at the spheres outside of the school and academic world that have an impact on the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. These spheres are specific to experiential education, or education that takes place outside of the classroom. The first sphere is curriculum development, which is directly under the government, while the second sphere, museum education at el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos has ties both to the government and non-government organizations, and the third sphere of human rights activism works independently. These spheres encompass

¹ Elizabeth Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, Colección Memorias de La Represión 1 (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores: Social Science Research Council, 2002), 37.

specific to broad engagement with public education: curriculum development, museum education, and human rights activism. While each sphere addresses a unique aspect of education, they are all modes of memory formation; as Jelin says, there are many people who “share a culture” and act as “social agents” to produce “vehicles for memory.” This chapter takes a look at some of the other social agents within the shared Chilean culture who contribute to the construction of memory through education. Specifically, this chapter analyzes how these spheres of pedagogy and consciousness raising complement each other in the larger Chilean education context.

The analysis of these three spheres of memory formation demonstrates that the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights is highly intertwined with other actors and institutions. Even if not directly in conversation with one another, similar dialogues are taking place in parallel that contribute to the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. The spheres of curriculum development, museum education, and human rights activism each occupy an important role in the education of the dictatorship and human rights. Analyzing the various connections once again reveals the unfixed memory and tension in society that affects the education on this topic. The point of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive investigation of all forces involved, but to see the connections among these three spheres and inspire further research into memory construction in educational spheres.

This chapter includes interviews with three people who represent the three different spheres that drive the chapter’s structure. These interviewees do not speak for everyone in their sphere, but instead provide up-close insight and details to understand the larger educational context. First, the chapter explores curriculum development and the national curriculum of the dictatorship and human rights. Obviously, curriculum is directly related to

the teaching of the dictatorship as both teachers and professors use it on a daily basis. This section heavily relies on an interview with Alejandra Arratia Martínez, the executive director of Educación 2020, an NGO dedicated to improving the education of Chile through a broad array of services. Alejandra is an educational psychologist and holds a Doctorate in Education from the University of Melbourne. She has served under multiple positions in the Ministry of Education under Michelle Bachelet, most recently as the Coordinadora Nacional de la Unidad de Currículum y Evaluación del Ministerio de Educación.²

The second section of this chapter focuses on museum education at el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos through an interview with the museum education director, Claudio Rammsy Garcia. Claudio previously had served multiple positions with the Michelle Bachelet government, most recently as secretario ejecutivo de un Consejo Nacional, de un Consejo Asesor Presidencial en materia de participación.³ The museum is a rich resource for memory and human rights education, and many educators use it as a tool.

Finally, the third section examines the importance of human rights activism utilizing an interview with Rosemarie Borna, a human rights activist and political aid of congresswoman Carmen Hertz. Rosemarie was a 23-year-old lawyer when the dictatorship took over and has worked with numerous groups since, including *Comité de Cooperación para la Paz en Chile*, *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, *Misiones de las Naciones Unidas en Guatemala y El Salvador (ONUSAL and MINUGUA)*, *Programa de Derechos Humanos del Ministerio del Interior*, y *La Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura*.⁴ Human rights activists recognize the importance and power of education in their mission.

² Alejandra Arratia Martínez, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

³ Claudio Rammsy Garcia, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 9, 2019.

⁴ Rosemarie Borna, interview by author, Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

Throughout the chapter, interviewees will be referred to only by their first names for clarity and uniformity as with the other chapters. Again, the purpose is not to conduct an exhaustive investigation into each sphere, but to recognize spheres of experiential education where memory battles play out.

Comprehensive Curriculum: “¿Cuál es la lengua y cuál es la promesa que le da a nuestras nuevas generaciones?” – Alejandra Arratia

Like other areas of education, the curriculum and curriculum development concerning the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights also reflect the larger tension in society as it deals with how to remember the history of the dictatorship and human rights violations. While one could devote a whole chapter to studying this specific curriculum, this section only focuses on the most important elements to demonstrate the interrelated nature of the teaching of this topic and how the curriculum also reflects the larger tension in society. This section will first include a brief overview of the current curriculum and the new curriculum changes, and then examine the connections between curriculum development, educators, and the government. This discussion will be largely informed by an interview with curriculum director of Educación 2020, Alejandra Arratia. Of course, there are various committees, organizations and other entities who are involved in curriculum development, and it would be impossible to specifically name them all. However, an interview with one curriculum expert, Alejandra, provided a closer look into the process.

Currently, the history of the dictatorship is taught in the second year of secondary school. This was previously taught in the third year but has shifted due to curriculum changes in recent years. The second-year curriculum currently has the following units:

Unidad 1: Crisis, totalitarismo y guerra: desafíos para Chile y el mundo a inicios del s. XX, Unidad 2: El mundo bipolar: proyectos políticos, transformaciones estructurales y quiebre de la democracia en Chile, Unidad 3: Dictadura militar, transición política y los desafíos de la democracia en Chile, and Unidad 4: Formación ciudadana: Estado de derecho, sociedad y diversidad.⁵

Within each of the above units are a series of student objectives, abilities, and attitudes that teachers are to meet while teaching. The larger objective of the dictatorship unit is to promote “el desarrollo de una serie de habilidades, entre ellas el pensamiento crítico mediante la argumentación de opiniones en base a evidencia y la comprensión de la multicausalidad de los procesos históricos y geográficos.”⁶ The specific objectives include learning about the transition through the 1988 plebiscite, reparations, neoliberalism, the 1980 Constitution, international influences, human rights violations, and the cultural, economic, and societal effects during the dictatorship and transition to democracy.

Across the board, most of the abilities and attitudes are similar for each unit. The abilities relate to the process of learning such as spatial thinking, evaluating a variety of sources, thinking critically, developing communication skills, analyzing change and continuity, developing an argument, and researching a historical topic. The attitudes include learning to appreciate and respect differences, being critical and reflexive, valuing democracy, developing empathy, protecting the environment, and being able to advocate and solve issues for the common good. With regard to respecting differences, the curriculum outlines a detailed list of: “raza o etnia, nacionalidad, situación socioeconómica, idioma, ideología u opinión política, religión o creencia, sindicación o participación en organizaciones gremiales o la falta de ellas, género, orientación sexual, estado civil, edad,

⁵ “Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2° medio,” Curriculum Nacional. MINEDUC. Chile., accessed February 16, 2020, <https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/614/w3-propertyvalue-120096.html>.

⁶ “Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2° medio.”

filiación, apariencia personal, enfermedad o discapacidad.”⁷ This curriculum is what all teachers must follow, and to reiterate what the secondary school teachers and university professors said in the previous chapters, in general they viewed the curriculum as an advancement. While the curriculum may seem to include a lot of material, teachers said they were able to cover multiple objectives and abilities in one unit. Again, the teachers interviewed for chapter two said that they have quite a bit of freedom and choice on paper when teaching about the dictatorship and human rights; it is outside forces that prove to be challenges in the teaching of this topic and not the official curriculum itself.

The recent curriculum revision for 2020 includes numerous changes, and the most pertinent include the introduction of “Educación Ciudadana” and the subject “Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales” will become an elective for students to choose from during the last two years of secondary school. The change will begin in 2020 for the third-year secondary school students and in 2021 for fourth-year secondary school students.⁸ Alejandra points out that citizen education was “una asignatura que antes estaba dentro de Historia,” but now will be its own mandatory subject taught by the current teachers of History, Geography and Social Sciences.⁹ Citizen education “se hace cargo en gran medida los contenidos que hasta el momento se enseñan en Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales en 3 y 4 medio.”¹⁰ The goals of citizen education are that students familiarize themselves with the democratic system and within the system be able to actively participate “en la construcción de una sociedad.”¹¹ The current subject, “Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales” will move

⁷ “Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2° medio.”

⁸ “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

⁹ Arratia Martínez, interview; “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

¹⁰ “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

¹¹ “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

to be an elective option amongst other subjects such as religion, physical education and health, art, and others depending on what the school offers. This elective will be mandatory for students. The webpage from the Ministry of Education explaining the curriculum included a “frequently asked questions” section that addresses concerns about eliminating the current subject of History, Geography, and Social Sciences. The page reassures readers that the curriculum change is not eliminating history, “Nadie va a dejar de aprender nada de lo que hoy se aprende en Historia,” and that skills like critical thinking are transversal and implemented across all subject areas, not just in History.¹² The website assures readers that Citizen Education “entrega conocimientos clave para incidir en la sociedad.”¹³ The curriculum change has the opportunity to provide new approaches to learn about the history of the dictatorship and human rights.

Like the secondary school teachers and university professors whom I interviewed, Alejandra sees this change as an improvement to the current curriculum. Alejandra explains her point of view on the purpose of the new curriculum, “Uno es como la formación de la ciudadanía de todas las competencias para poder participar responsablemente de la vida en sociedad y, por otro lado, de la formación de las habilidades más personales para poder desarrollarse como persona íntegra en las distintas dimensiones de la persona.”¹⁴ There is obviously a serious concern for citizen education and to be more intentional in this education. The change was not sudden or just another mandate from the government. Instead, Alejandra explains that,

hubo mucha demanda de la sociedad por tener una asignatura de Educación Ciudadana. En Chile hubo varios temas como de ética política y hubo una comisión en el año 2015 que hizo varias recomendaciones, entre otras, que

¹² “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

¹³ “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.”

¹⁴ Arratia Martínez, interview.

hubiera una asignatura de Educación Ciudadana que se incorpore más bien, que es incorporar en el currículo. Y además se tramitó una ley que del plan de formación ciudadana, que en el fondo mandata a que las escuelas tienen que buscar como de alguna manera común, como formas de tener una cultura más coherente con la formación de la ciudadanía.¹⁵

Alejandra indicates that there is a desire to be more conscious and deliberate in the education of citizen formation in schools, resulting in the new curriculum. The large public support for this curriculum change also signifies that there is a degree of consensus, which is hard to encounter when dealing with such a contested topic.

Early on in this contested environment, for Chile like many other Latin American countries dealing with memory teaching, the memory formation in Germany after World War II was the gold standard and still continues to be so. Germany had a universal condemnation of their past atrocities. Alejandra did not fail to mention the influence of Germany, similar to how the secondary school teachers from chapter two mention Germany. Alejandra says, “yo siempre pienso en lo que pasó en Alemania. En Alemania, hubo una reflexión país y una ley para ver el negacionismo, se pusieron abordar todos en que hay cosas que son inaceptables, nunca.”¹⁶ This universal condemnation and reflection of the dictatorship did not happen in Chile, so therefore there are still people who are in disagreement about what happened in Chile and still people in power who supported or had ties with the dictatorship. Curriculum developers must be aware of these competing memories when creating history curriculum of the dictatorship and human rights.

Before the national curriculum is implemented in the classroom by teachers, there is substantial work that goes into the creation of it. Behind curriculum creation is tension which reflects the context under which it is being created. Yet, also behind the creation are

¹⁵ Arratia Martínez.

¹⁶ Arratia Martínez.

numerous dialogues, both direct and indirect, between secondary school teachers, university professors, and those developing curriculum. These dialogues reveal that there is input from various voices in curriculum development, an awareness of challenges faced by teachers, and a consensus on the same learning goals. The area of curriculum development is not isolated but instead closely connected with those who are involved in the teaching of the dictatorship.

Of course, the government holds a lot of power in national curriculum in general, so the same “pacted” transition that occurred in government, also occurred in the curriculum, especially with the teaching of the dictatorship. Alejandra notes how the early curriculum development was “muy condicionado” because of how fragile democracy was and how “había mucha tensión.”¹⁷ Early on after the transition there was controversy regarding terminology with the dictatorship, “si era un régimen militar, si era gobierno militar,” which still persists today.¹⁸ Similar to the experience of the secondary school teachers in chapter two, curriculum development also became easier with time, with what Alejandra calls “una serie de momentos en que se hacen esfuerzos por avanzar hacia una mayor verdad y a una mayor reconciliación,” such as the Rettig Report and the arrest of Pinochet.¹⁹ She says how this time was filled with “mucho más tensión en cómo se construye la memoria histórica.”²⁰ The creation of a historic memory and its role in curriculum, as Alejandra shares, was something curriculum developers thought of early on in the transition to democracy.

The development of curriculum is highly connected to secondary school teachers and universities. For example, the process of curriculum development includes these two other educational spheres. While curriculum development falls under the large branch of the

¹⁷ Arratia Martínez.

¹⁸ Arratia Martínez.

¹⁹ Arratia Martínez.

²⁰ Arratia Martínez.

Ministry of Education, there are numerous teams that include “un perfil mixto entre dos tipos de profesionales.”²¹ Alejandra explains that this includes “profesionales vinculados a la academia en las distintas disciplinas sí, y por tanto vinculados a las líneas de investigación,” and people in “ámbitos y profesionales que estuvieron vinculados al aula, a la escuela.”²² She emphasizes the importance of having the perspectives of those who are working in the classroom, or “en terreno” which again show the interconnectedness of the various actors involved in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.²³

Another way curriculum development is connected with secondary school teachers is through direct contact with teachers to make sure that the structure of the curriculum is manageable, especially the subject of history where historic memory is a priority. Alejandra says, “he conversado mucho con profesores,” reporting back that teachers express their concerns when there are too many objectives or too much material to cover in the curriculum.²⁴ Alejandra does not want to overwhelm the teachers so that the curriculum solely becomes “como un checklist.”²⁵ She understands that teachers have to prioritize the material and sometimes teachers do not reach teaching certain materials. Therefore, she wants to make sure that the curriculum is broad and manageable for teachers because “el riesgo es tremendo porque va poniendo en riesgo o en juego la construcción de la memoria histórica.”²⁶ It is evident that Alejandra understands the importance curriculum has in such a serious task of creating a historic memory. There has to be a good balance between logistics and content so to not miss out on an important element such as historic memory.

²¹ Arratia Martínez.

²² Arratia Martínez.

²³ Arratia Martínez.

²⁴ Arratia Martínez.

²⁵ Arratia Martínez.

²⁶ Arratia Martínez.

Like university professors, curriculum developers like Alejandra are also acutely aware of the challenges secondary school teachers face in the schools and take these challenges into consideration in their work. Alejandra mentioned the censorship from parents that teachers fear, “Los profesores están muy asustados muchas veces porque piensan que los papás se van a enojar o que no decir eso.”²⁷ While the teachers quoted in chapter two have not dealt directly with this type of censorship, they still mentioned it as a known fear among teachers. This shows that the teaching of the dictatorship continues to be polemic. Likewise, Alejandra addresses the controversy that still surrounds the teaching of this topic as “la reflexión respecto a estos temas que son complejos, que pueden ser controversiales para alguna gente hasta un poco presente, entonces los profesores muchas veces sienten que ellas no pueden aproximarse desde la controversia.”²⁸ It is evident that the sphere of curriculum is not isolated from the challenges of secondary school teachers. There is a clear dialogue and feedback loop between the two spheres. Additionally, Alejandra briefly mentioned that the teacher formation needs to improve, “falta mucho como formación docente” but did not expand as higher education is out of the realm of national curriculum.²⁹ Still, her awareness demonstrates how interconnected the various spheres are in the teaching of the dictatorship.

Finally, it is evident that there is much conversation among those in curriculum development, secondary school teachers, and university professors as they share the same learning goals concerning the dictatorship. Alejandra says, “el rol del currículum en el fondo, el rol como interno de... efectivamente apoyar la construcción de lo común, de aquello que como país que son los mínimos comunes.”³⁰ Similar to secondary school teachers, there are

²⁷ Arratia Martínez.

²⁸ Arratia Martínez.

²⁹ Arratia Martínez.

³⁰ Arratia Martínez.

“grandes acuerdos respecto a los mínimo,” or “hechos indiscutibles” as noted in chapter two.³¹ The curriculum helps to support the indisputable facts in teaching the dictatorship and human rights by providing a common ground for educators. Another goal among the three groups is the goal that students develop their own opinions or positions about this history. Both at the secondary school and university levels, students are taught, with respect to the indisputable facts, to form their own position using a variety of sources. The curriculum also incorporates this ability and Alejandra notes the importance of promoting critical thinking: “promover el desarrollo de habilidades para analizar críticamente y poder fundamentar una postura.”³² As both secondary school teachers and university professors underscore the importance of historiography and the use of a variety of sources, Alejandra also mentions that it is important that the curriculum addresses how to “hacer análisis historiográfico, revisar distintas fuentes y contrastar todo.”³³ Curriculum developers, professors, and secondary school teachers have a complementary relationship in how they strive for students to construct their own perspectives through analyzing a variety of sources.

However, the challenge for curriculum developers is deciding which historians, sources, or viewpoints to include. Alejandra explains that “Ahora eso es algo que es difícil, porque en el país todavía cuando uno pone eso en los textos de estudio hay mucha gente que se enoja y te dice por qué está poniendo estas ideas... hay gente que cree todavía que tú deberías enseñar sólo algunas partes.”³⁴ Even an idea that sounds good in theory, such as including multiple perspectives, generates debate. As Elizabeth Jelin says, “Como toda

³¹ Arratia Martínez.

³² Arratia Martínez.

³³ Arratia Martínez.

³⁴ Arratia Martínez.

narrativa, estos relatos nacionales son selectivos,”³⁵ and curriculum developers have the hard decision of which to include. Still, Alejandra reaffirms that the curriculum should promote critique: “crear pensamiento crítico y mostrar distintas posturas e incentivar, eso, mostrar y promover análisis crítico y reflexión crítica.”³⁶ At all levels, there is a consensus of learning goals, revealing a collaboration amongst educators and an advancement in the education of the dictatorship and human rights.

The curriculum and curriculum development play a vital role in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. As Alejandra shares, experts in curriculum development are closely connected with other educators, especially university professors and secondary school teachers. This can be seen in professors’ and teachers’ involvement in curriculum development, conversations between teachers and curriculum developers to create a manageable curriculum, awareness of teachers’ challenges when teaching the dictatorship, and the sharing of learning goals across the various levels of the education of the dictatorship. There is communication, both direct and indirect, amongst the various actors involved, showing the complexity of the topic. As in the other areas, curriculum is also a reflection of the larger tension in society. Alejandra argues that “Chile necesita una reflexión más profunda” and needs to move beyond the pacted transition that other scholars discuss.³⁷ She acknowledges the larger societal problem in that “hay un desafío que es esencial y que es mucho más sociedad que la escuela.”³⁸ Across the board, all those involved have expressed that the schools, the curriculum, and teachers can only do so much to improve the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. As Alejandra reaffirms, “entonces, si como país no

³⁵ Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, 40.

³⁶ Arratia Martínez, interview.

³⁷ Arratia Martínez.

³⁸ Arratia Martínez.

abordamos esto, mínimo es muy difícil para la escuela.”³⁹ Outside of curriculum development or the classroom, the same larger, societal tensions impact other spaces of education such as museums.

A Modern Memory Museum - El Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos: “A nosotros por muchos años en el país se hablaba muy poco del golpe de Estado, había como un autocensuran y recién se incorporó en los contenidos de Educación.” – Claudio Rammsy Garcia

While there are many sites of memory in Chile, perhaps one of the most well-known, especially internationally, is el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos. The museum focuses on the human rights violations that took place under the Pinochet dictatorship, while capturing the memory and history of the dictatorship. The museum represents an accomplishment in the history and memory of the dictatorship, but it is not without criticism both in its creation and in the parameters of its exhibits. Nevertheless, the museum plays an important role in the education of the dictatorship and is closely intertwined with other spheres such as the government, secondary schools, teachers, universities, and the general public. The Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, like the other areas, also reflects the tension in larger society related to grappling with how to remember the past. This section first includes a description of the museum’s mission, followed by additional background and context of the criticism of the museum to understand the tension surrounding the museum. Then the section focuses on how the museum is intertwined with the government and

³⁹ Arratia Martínez.

educators to highlight the tension and importance of the museum in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.

The museum has situated itself both nationally and internationally as a meaningful site dedicated to encouraging memory and reflection of the past through education. Their mission is “Dar a conocer las violaciones sistemáticas de los derechos humanos por parte del Estado de Chile entre los años 1973-1990, para que a través de la reflexión ética sobre la memoria, la solidaridad y la importancia de los derechos humanos, se fortalezca la voluntad nacional para que Nunca Más se repitan hechos que afecten la dignidad del ser humano.”⁴⁰

The vision and goals relate to being a space and educational organization dedicated to human rights and democratic values. The board is made up of representatives from academics, Human Rights Organizations, politicians such as ex-president Michelle Bachelet, and representatives from other sites dedicated to human rights work such as la Vicaria de la Solidaridad, la Casa de la Memoria, and la Corporación Parque por la Paz Villa Grimaldi.⁴¹ The museum is publicly funded and ran as a private foundation so that the museum operates regardless of government changes.⁴² The museum holds international recognition as a member of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience and the International Council on Museum’s Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes.⁴³ With such credentials, it is one of the most well-known sites in Chile dedicated to memory and human rights.

⁴⁰ “Sobre el Museo,” *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos* (blog), accessed February 16, 2020, <https://ww3.museodelamemoria.cl/sobre-el-museo/>.

⁴¹ “Sobre el Museo.”

⁴² Sodaro, “The Museum of the Memory and Human Rights,” 120.

⁴³ Sodaro, 132.

The museum had a rough start even before its doors opened in 2010. The original conception of a museum came from a recommendation in the Rettig Report Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in supporting the construction of memorials under President Ricardo Lagos and as a response to the demands of various human rights organizations under the succeeding President, Michelle Bachelet. The museum was built during Bachelet's first presidential term and she inaugurated the museum on January 11, 2010, just months before her term ended.⁴⁴ While Bachelet's government completed the job, its creation was not without criticism such as a rushed timeline during the administration, having a Brazilian designer, and the lack of inclusion of grassroots organizations in the process.⁴⁵ The fact that a Brazilian firm constructed the museum was problematic for many Chileans, and looking at the competition-based format and "subcontracting," Cath Collins argues that it mirrored "an economic model introduced by the dictatorship, its continuation has been one of the aspects of the Chilean transition most distasteful to the Left."⁴⁶ The museum also draws criticism from grassroots human rights organizations who fervently advocated for a museum but whose role was reduced to merely handing over documents during the process.⁴⁷ Further, an unintended consequence of the museum and the National Institute of Human Rights opening in the same year was a "brain drain" of the leaders of many human rights organizations.⁴⁸

The creation of the museum had its own struggles that illustrate tension in society

⁴⁴ "Sobre el Museo."

⁴⁵ Amy Sodaro, "The Museum of Memory and Human Rights: 'A Living Museum for Chile's Memory,'" in *Exhibiting Atrocity*, Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence (Rutgers University Press, 2018), 111–37, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1v2xskk.9>, 112–120.

⁴⁶ Cath Collins, "The Moral Economy of Memory: Public and Private Commemorative Space in Post-Pinochet Chile," in *Accounting for Violence*, ed. Ksenija Bilbija and Leigh A. Payne (Duke University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822394327-009>, 246.

⁴⁷ Collins, 154.

⁴⁸ Collins, 154.

surrounding memory construction. Still, once the doors opened, a new set of criticism flowed through.

Critics have both hailed and scrutinized the museum, specifically the scope of its exhibits which draw the most criticism. The museum is divided into three parts across its multiple floor layout: the *golpe*, the dictatorship, and the return to democracy, with a timeline from 1973-1990. The museum is quite extensive and includes various audiovisuals, written testimonies, letters, pictures, government documents from Chile and the United States, newspaper articles, interviews with victims and their families, and various maps to show geographical information. Even though “the experience of visiting the museum is emotionally powerful and intellectually informative,” the museum’s biggest criticism is its lack of contextualization.⁴⁹ As sociology professor Amy Sodaro explains, “when it comes to contextualizing Chile’s violent past within the context of Chile’s history, the museum is silent. And this lack of context and narrow focus is the most enduring criticism of the museum. Because of the particulars of the Chilean transition, the museum tells a very narrow and limited story of the past.”⁵⁰ Both the beginning and end of the museum’s timeline lack contextualization, as the museum begins with the coup with little to no historical context to situate or explain the coup, and “the exhibition ends abruptly with the plebiscite and the first democratic election following it.”⁵¹

Nevertheless, the museum is part of the “global memory culture” that contributes to the national memory of Chile but still shows its tension. Sodaro concludes that as a national institution, the museum has to be politically acceptable, and therefore is limited in its

⁴⁹ Sodaro, “The Museum of the Memory and Human Rights,” 137.

⁵⁰ Sodaro, 133-134.

⁵¹ Sodaro, 134.

confrontation of the past.⁵² Cath Collins agrees, arguing that the museum is another site in which the government takes an aloof and distant relationship with official memory in Chile.⁵³ In doing so, memorials and museums “deny closure” but do serve as an invitation for visitors to engage in multiple interpretations, calling sites like the museum “memory fragments.”⁵⁴ Obviously, no one museum could capture all of the memories and perspectives from the dictatorship, and so the museum is another place where memory battles play out.

Despite the criticism, there is no doubt that the museum plays an important role in the memory and education of the dictatorship and human rights in Chile. The museum is highly connected with other actors who play a vital part in the education of this topic such as the government, schools, teachers, and universities. It is important to note that the criticism of the museum may apply differently to students, because unlike adult visitors, schools have a tour guide and usually some type of activity like a worksheet to complete, which may help to contextualize the events and provide or reinforce students with a stronger take-home message. It is also likely that students, especially younger ones, view the museum with less criticism compared to adults, specifically those from academia. This could make for a further study to investigate the impact of museums on children versus adults.

One of the most complex relationships the museum has is with the government. During the museum’s creation, the government played a large role, but has since played a minimal role except in the museum’s budget. As noted earlier, the museum operates as a “private foundation that is funded publicly” so that the museum will always be open no matter who is in office.⁵⁵ However, the government can change the amount of funding that

⁵² Sodaro, 137.

⁵³ Collins, “The Moral Economy of Memory,” 156.

⁵⁴ Collins, 156-157.

⁵⁵ Sodaro, 120.

the museum receives from the government's budget, and this almost happened in 2018. As museum education director Claudio Rammsy Garcia explains, President Piñera's government wanted to reduce the amount as the minister of culture⁵⁶ was suspicious of the museum and "Dijo algo así como que aquí hacíamos como teatro, no mostramos la realidad, sino que la exageramos."⁵⁷ Claudio explains that word got out to media who spread the news, causing "una reacción muy grande contra él."⁵⁸ Claudio says that the media and the people organized against the minister of culture and their budget was not reduced. Later, the minister was dismissed from his position due to this polemic.⁵⁹ So, while technically the government has the power to reduce the museum's budget, Claudio says that it is very unlikely to happen as the museum has support from the majority of the people, including politicians of both the left and right. Still, the situation exemplifies another educational space where memory battles play out.

The museum also works with the government in other ways, such as with the Ministerio de Cultura y Patrimonio de las Culturas and the Ministro de Educación. The Ministerio de Cultura y Patrimonio oversees all of the museums in Chile while the Ministro de Educación and the museum work together for human rights education. Claudio says that "Nosotros trabajamos dos años un proyecto de educación en derechos humanos con el ministro de Educación que era colaborarles a ellos para ver cómo incorporaban en el currículum educacional el tema la educación en derecho humano."⁶⁰ This example exhibits a

⁵⁶ Rammsy did not mention the name of the minister of culture for unknown reasons to the author. After further research, the author was able to find the name of the person and more information. For more information, visit <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2018/08/13/chile-renuncia-ministro-de-cultura-mauricio-rojas-tras-polemica-por-declaraciones-sobre-el-museo-de-la-memoria/>.

⁵⁷ Rammsy Garcia, interview.

⁵⁸ Rammsy Garcia.

⁵⁹ Rammsy Garcia.

⁶⁰ Rammsy Garcia.

direct relationship between the government and the museum to develop curriculum for the topic of the dictatorship and human rights. The museum has a complex, but critical relationship with the government, which further demonstrates the government's direct or indirect influence in education. Furthermore, the museum works directly with schools and current teachers.

The museum collaborates closely with teachers and schools in the education of the dictatorship and human rights violations. They conduct teacher workshops, visit schools, and offer school visits for students. Claudio says that teachers come to the museum or the museum goes to the schools to conduct the workshop. He explains that teachers “En general...no saben mucho cómo abordar el tema porque no se los enseñaron en la escuela de educación. A nosotros por muchos años en el país se hablaba muy poco del golpe de Estado, había como un autocensuran y recién se incorporó en los contenidos de Educación. Recién se comprometió a los docentes que tenemos hoy día, no saben cómo abordar este tema. Entonces nosotros los formamos, en eso hacemos talleres.”⁶¹ This resonates with what the secondary school teachers from chapter two said in that they were not prepared to teach this topic. The museums' teacher workshops are also similar in how university professors also go to schools for continued professional development with current teachers. At the same time the museum goes to the school for workshops, Claudio notes that they will usually also visit classrooms to conduct various activities regarding the education of human rights with the students, depending on their age. He points to many of the museum's online resources, which they use when visiting schools. By going out into schools, the museum is able to build

⁶¹ Rammsy Garcia.

relationships with the community and have a greater influence than solely waiting for people to visit to the museum, especially if the school has low resources.

Similar to how the museum visits schools, many schools take a field trip to the museum. All levels visit, including primary and secondary schools, and universities. Depending on the age of the visitors, they will do different activities with different emphases as Claudio explains with primary school children, “es más corta y se apunta a los grupos más experienciales de la experiencia,” while with secondary school students, “se aborda un contenido mayor y más profundo y se les hace dialogar más y es como más les interesa.”⁶² Most schools do both a tour with a guide and an activity that complements the tour, such as watching a documentary. However, Claudio makes it clear that it is not simply a guided tour, “Ahora todo esto es conversado porque es una medida, no es una guía. Nosotros no usamos el concepto de guía de museo o guía de visite. Nosotros hablamos de mediación. Entonces formamos grupos máximos de veinte y dialogamos con ellos.”⁶³ While the museum has a mission and vision, visitors are not just recipients of information. This style is similar to what university professors and secondary school teachers are doing with their students in creating a dialogue. It is clear that the “New History” approach where students take an active role in constructing their own view, is popular across the board with secondary schools, universities, and museum education.⁶⁴

El Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos is also connected with universities and their students in teacher formation. The university professors from the previous chapter

⁶² Rammsy Garcia.

⁶³ Rammsy Garcia.

⁶⁴ Carmen Gloria Zúñiga, Thomas O’Donoghue, and Simon Clarke, *A Study of the Secondary School History Curriculum in Chile from Colonial Times to the Present* (Rotterdam: SensePublishers, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-926-5, 9>.

recommended using museums, like el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, to enhance learning. Professor Elizabeth Lira gives praise to the museum, saying that “El Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos tiene toda la información que puede saber.”⁶⁵ The relationship goes even deeper as the Universidad de Alberto Hurtado has student internships with el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, which the university elaborates on in their *Cuaderno de Educación*. The program is targeted at teacher training for the secondary school level, and students intern at the museum for one day a week or two mornings, while also student teaching at the same time. As museums move from highbrow institutions to being more accessible to a greater audience, the *Cuaderno de Educación* makes it clear that the museum is a “third space” where future teachers can “integrar otros discursos, posiciones y conocimientos que en la escuela eventualmente podrían negarse o invisibilizarse.”⁶⁶ The internship contributes to “la superación de las binariedades exclusivas -lo práctico en la escuela y lo teórico en la universidad- hacia una formación que sitúe las habilidades y el conocimiento de las escuelas, así como de otras instituciones culturales y sociales, en un plano de igualdad y coexistencia con los saberes académicos.”⁶⁷ It is clear that there is a connection between museums and universities in teacher formation, which one could also view as a triangular relationship between museums, universities, and the public. The *Cuaderno de Educación* points out the benefits of a museum internship for teachers such as a supporting theoretical framework, learning to create a productive dialogue about human rights education, and the development of respect for diversity and interculturalism. It is

⁶⁵ Lira, interview.

⁶⁶ Ximena Sepúlveda, “Pasantías en Museos, Espacios de Memoria e Instituciones Culturales: Experiencias Laborales de Docentes en Formación en la Educación No Formal,” *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 77 (June 2017), http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuadernos_educacion_77/documentos/Apoyo%20al%20docente_77%20PPP%20final.pdf.

⁶⁷ Sepúlveda.

evident that the museum has a relationship with universities regarding teacher formation and that academia is not isolated in its own world, but instead is actively trying to build relationships outside of academia, such as with museums for the improvement of teacher formation.

Even though the museum has numerous connections with the government, schools, and universities, the museum still faces limits. For example, Claudio says that the museum is able to do a lot in the capital, but has a harder time reaching out to places outside of the capital. However, he does credit social media in helping spread the word both in Chile and internationally. At the same time, the museum's influence is also limited by the people who choose to visit or have a relationship with the museum. While many schools visit the museum, there are also many that do not. Claudio notes that there are many repeat clients but that there are also schools, especially private schools, that have never visited. He explains, "las escuelas privadas vienen menos. Porque su familia, su ambiente cultural, es muy ajeno a esta temática del derecho humano, su familia. Seguramente son de altos recursos y son posiblemente de posiciones más conservadoras. Entonces deben tener una posición frente a los derechos humanos. La idea negacionista desde entonces los chicos son formados también en eso llega con mucho prejuicio."⁶⁸ One can see how socio-economic status and political alignment affect the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.

Another challenge is the high demand and low resources. He says that the museum has a high demand of requests, in numerous areas such as digitizing or producing more educational material, but not enough resources to answer to all of the requests, so the museum staff often find themselves asking, "¿Cómo enfrentamos esa demanda?"⁶⁹ For this,

⁶⁸ Rammsy Garcia, interview.

⁶⁹ Rammsy Garcia.

Claudio thanks the volunteers who the museum relies on to help meet the high demands. The high demands also show the importance of the museum, especially in the education of the dictatorship and human rights. The museum's various connections with multiple spheres, such as secondary schools and teachers, universities, and the government, demonstrates the interconnectedness of the teaching of the dictatorship.

The Endless Endeavors of Human Rights Activism: "No es un problema de las escuelas, no es un problema de la familia, es un problema social." – Rosemarie Borna

Another area to touch upon is human rights activism. It is an expansive area with numerous groups but cannot be ignored due to their importance and laborious work in the field of human rights. Elizabeth Jelin acknowledges the importance of human rights activist groups as she writes, "En términos de las cuestiones sobre la memoria, en las transiciones en el Cono Sur la diversidad de actores incluyó una presencia fuerte y visible del movimiento de derechos humanos como actor político..."⁷⁰ Perhaps one of the earliest and most famous examples of human rights activism from the dictatorship are the powerful images of people holding signs with the words "¿Dónde están?" with photos of their loved ones, victims of the dictatorship. As Rosemarie recalls, it was "las agrupaciones de familiares de las víctimas que fueron los que empezaron la resistencia a la dictadura en la calle."⁷¹ Since then, human rights groups have only grown in their work, membership, and influence. The end of the dictatorship did not stop their efforts and they continue to be active, fighting for justice and reparation. As both secondary school teachers and university professors mentioned, there are still many culprits from the dictatorship who have yet to be condemned for their actions as

⁷⁰ Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, 47.

⁷¹ Borna, interview.

justice has not yet been served. Human rights activism and groups have multiple goals, but this section is going to focus on the impact of education through an interview with a human rights activist, Rosemarie Borna. She serves as “jefa de gabinete diputada Carmen Hertz.”⁷² Hertz, a prominent politician, lawyer, and human rights advocate, is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of Chile’s congress. The dictatorship personally affected Hertz as her partner and father of her son, Carlos Berger, was murdered in the “Caravan of Death” by the dictatorship in 1973.⁷³ Both lawyers, Hertz and Borna have worked together for many years in the field of human rights.

Through my interview with Borna, it became apparent that there were numerous connections between her work and the other spheres such as secondary school teachers and university professors. Although these spheres may not be directly in conversation with one another, it is evident that all play a unique role in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. Human rights activism illustrates a broad desire to educate more people on the issue, as Rosemarie explains “no es una materia para especialistas o estudiosos” and that it has to move out from the “círculos muy pequeños o de estudiosos o de gente del círculo de las víctimas.”⁷⁴ Education has the power to raise conciseness among people on human rights, and activists are aware of this, as they propose a new curriculum change. Rosemarie is just one example that highlights the role of activists in the education of the dictatorship and human rights violations. She echoes many of the familiar themes from other spheres such as curriculum change, broader education, the German model, and how the memory issue is a

⁷² Borna.

⁷³ Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, “Carmen Adelaida Hertz Cádiz,” Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional | Historia Política, accessed February 16, 2020, <https://www.bcn.cl/historiapolitica>.

⁷⁴ Borna, interview.

larger problem in society. This dialogue shows the complexity of the topic of the teaching of the dictatorship and how there are numerous actors involved from a variety of areas.

One of the initiatives of Carmen Hertz is a motion to create a subject dedicated solely to human rights so that human rights education is incorporated in the curriculum at all grade levels as its own subject. Professor Graciela Rubio of la Universidad de Valparaíso, coauthor of *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia*, wrote the text for the motion and argues that “Cuando se trabaja memoria se integran los derechos humanos desde una perspectiva más cultural y para eso es fundamental la historia, y ahí es donde se relaciona historia, memoria y derechos humanos con la experiencia que vivió Chile de violación de derechos humanos, y esa relación en el curriculum actual está muy débil, es casi imperceptible.”⁷⁵ The proposed motion arose because people felt that human rights education was lacking and desired to widen the breadth of human rights knowledge. For instance, Rubio “Agregó que si en un estudio cuantitativo se le pregunta a los estudiantes si están a favor de los derechos humanos, estos dirán que sí. Sin embargo, al consultar por tomar una posición respecto de la violación de estos, no saben responder, pues no han existido espacios de reflexión.”⁷⁶ Other scholars, Joan Páges and Jesús Marolla, believe the same and assert that the Chilean curriculum “Se omite en gran medida las violaciones ocurridas durante la dictadura.”⁷⁷ Rosemarie shares a similar opinion and explains that human rights education in schools is “se habla muy en teoría. Muy en teoría, existe la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, que existen algunos tratados internacionales como a nivel mundial y a nivel de las

⁷⁵ Andrea Bustos C., “Derechos Humanos, El Contenido Ausente En La Educación Chilena,” *Diario y Radio U Chile*, January 13, 2019, <https://radio.uchile.cl/2019/01/13/derechos-humanos-el-contenido-ausente-en-la-educacion-chilena/>.

⁷⁶ Bustos C.

⁷⁷ Joan Pagès and Jesús Marolla, “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales,” *Historia Y MEMORIA*, no. 17 (August 14, 2018): 167, <https://doi.org/10.19053/20275137.n17.2018.7455>.

Américas” but many times it lacks a Chilean context.⁷⁸ She emphasizes that people “Hay que conocer los hechos, no generalidades.”⁷⁹ It can be conceded that there is a large call for better human rights education, resulting in this new motion. Rosemarie explains:

Entonces es muy deficitaria todavía la educación en Chile en ese aspecto y por esa razón Carmen Hertz ya presentó una moción... Está en tramitación para incorporar el tema de los derechos humanos en base a los informes oficiales que son presos de los monstruos de los derechos y que de incorporar a la enseñanza básica y media la enseñanza de los derechos humanos basado en los informes oficiales que ha hecho el Estado de Chile.⁸⁰

With the new curriculum, Rosemarie says that teachers would create suitable material and “transmitirla de acuerdo al aula” with appropriate “pedagogía que corresponda.” The National Institute of Human Rights supports this motion, and María de Los Ángeles Villaseca of the Institute acknowledges the need for better teacher training in universities, as she urges, “...hay que hacer un trabajo con las universidades que están formando los nuevos educadores...”⁸¹ Through this new motion, it is clear that human rights activists understand the power and expansiveness of education in that they feel it is a crucial topic to include as a school subject. As Rosemarie says, “Mirado en perspectiva y hacia el futuro, la educación es fundamental para todos, no sólo para tratar este tema y para el desarrollo, para la convivencia social.”⁸² It is not just teachers, university professors, or curriculum developers who have a say in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. It is a complex teaching area and there are a variety of ways to approach the topic, including perspectives from human rights activists.

⁷⁸ Borna, interview.

⁷⁹ Borna.

⁸⁰ Borna.

⁸¹ Bustos C., “Derechos Humanos, El Contenido Ausente En La Educación Chilena.”

⁸² Borna, interview.

The new motion to have human rights as its own school subject is the most direct link between human rights activists and other educational spheres regarding the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights, but there are still other connections, especially in their desire to educate more people. Similarly, Rosemarie mentions the importance of many of the same sources that secondary school teachers use to teach, such as books, movies, documentaries, artistic manifestations, and el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos. She praises the museum in that “Fue una gran obra de Michelle Bachelet en Chile” and “para nosotros es un lujo.”⁸³ It is clear that multiple spheres of education recall the same resources and understand the power of these transformative resources to educate the public.

Additionally, Rosemarie mentions Germany as the gold standard just as all other areas mention this as well. Scholars agree, as “Noted Chilean social historian Gabriel Salazar has argued that Europe did reach an agreement in the post war and post-totalitarian period, resulting in definitive acceptance of the virtues of social democracy,” but Chile has yet to reach this same agreement.⁸⁴ Rosemarie observes the same and declares that there remains “sectores, sobre todo la derecha más extrema, no toda la derecha se pretende negar. Que no, que no, que no, que no, que no, que no, que no hubo detenidos desaparecidos. Lo mismo que se siente dictadura.”⁸⁵ The energy and passion in her voice illustrate that this motivates her to continue to work for human rights, even after so many years. It is also a motivating reason that there continues to be a large push to educate more people about the dictatorship and human rights, which can be most directly done through school.

⁸³ Borna.

⁸⁴ Cath Collins, Katherine Hite, and Alfredo Joignant Rondón, eds., *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet* (Boulder, Colorado: FirstForumPress, 2013), 248.

⁸⁵ Borna, interview.

All spheres agree the education of the dictatorship and human rights is a large problem that society has yet to resolve. There are people who want to move forward, as Rosemarie explains, “no hay todavía una conciencia real de lo que ocurrió o del daño... Todavía una mayoría política ya piensa en que están aquí, que hay que dar vuelta la página por decir lo que da, que es permanecer en el pasado, que tarea difícil, que debemos mirar al futuro y sí está bien, sí debemos mirar el futuro, pero sobre bases sólidas y verdaderas.”⁸⁶ It is vital not to leave the past behind and to create a future based on truths, which education has the impact to do. She presses that there is still much work to do in human rights, “Pero falta más, hace falta más. Esto ya es responsabilidad del Estado.”⁸⁷ Rosemarie echoes Cath Collins and Katherine Hite’s argument that there is a desire for the state to take responsibility, as an “array of civil society groups is today demanding that the Chilean state recognize its culpability in past atrocities, end state silence or ambivalence, and mourn the dead by owning the full extent of state-sponsored violence.”⁸⁸ Elizabeth Jelin reaffirms this as “sin duda los agentes estatales tienen un papel y un peso central para establecer y elaborar la «historia / memoria oficial».”⁸⁹ The Chilean state plays an enormous and central role in memory and education of the dictatorship and human rights, but has not met this expectation as numerous scholars, human rights activists, secondary school teachers, and university professors have expressed. However, these people are not just waiting around for the state to respond. They educate and construct memory within their own spheres while pressuring the state to assume responsibility. As Rosemarie urges, “Tenemos que construir

⁸⁶ Borna.

⁸⁷ Borna.

⁸⁸ Collins, “The Moral Economy of Memory,” 135.

⁸⁹ Jelin, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*, 40.

una memoria colectiva.”⁹⁰ And this is exactly what all spheres are actively contributing to in the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.

Conclusion

While this chapter only touches on the three memory formation spheres of curriculum development, museum education, and human rights activism, there are countless other spheres, such as textbook production, local government influence, and education laws, which could be further topics of study. Additionally, each sphere this chapter discusses could be further analyzed. The teaching of the dictatorship and human rights is a complex issue that involves numerous actors outside of secondary school teachers and university professors. Thus, it is important to analyze the role of experiential learning in tandem with traditional learning in the classroom to fully understand the ways that the dictatorship is taught and remembered. Interviews with those from the spheres of curriculum development, museum education, and human rights activism, provide insight and opinions on the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights and how it can be improved from their perspective. Each area plays an important role and contributes to the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights, illustrating the complexity of the topic and memory construction. There are numerous connections with other spheres, whether direct or indirect. While all spheres may face unique challenges, all point to the universal challenge that society as a whole has not resolved this history. This in fact, is the largest challenge that all spheres face.

⁹⁰ Borna, interview.

Conclusion

In October 2019, “Chile despertó.” Chileans declared that they were no longer going to be shackled down by the past. They demanded serious structural reforms to many present-day policies and institutions dating back to the dictatorship. In response to the protests, President Piñera asked his cabinet to resign, suspended the increased metro fares, promised to raise pensions, and began plans on a plebiscite to vote on a new constitution in April. Yet, protests continue as change happens slowly. Numerous protestors want the removal of the president. Chilean feminists push to have their voices heard. Students protest the college admissions test, *Prueba de Selección Universitaria (PSU)*, an act to protest the Chilean education system. Other protestors accuse the government of human rights violations and police violence.¹ The force of these protests suggests that Chileans will not stop until their voices are heard and changes become real.

Chilean students were at the center of the October 2019 protests as they were the first to protest the increased metro fares, sitting on top of metro entryways in their school uniforms. This tells us something about the citizens that educators are forming in the classroom. They are not going to accept the status quo but challenge it. For example, the 2006 student protests, also known as the *La Revolución Pingüina*, attracted international attention as students called for educational changes. Similar student protests took place again

¹ Rachelle Krygier, “Chile Is Preparing to Rewrite Its Constitution. Why Are People Still Protesting?,” Washington Post, February 1, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/chile-is-preparing-to-rewrite-its-constitution-why-are-people-still-protesting/2020/02/01/eb7ee6b2-43cc-11ea-99c7-1dfd4241a2fe_story.html; Anna Kowalczyk, “Where the Ongoing Mass Protests Against Neoliberalism in Chile Came From,” *In These Times*, February 19, 2020, <https://inthesetimes.com/article/22320/mass-protests-neoliberalism-chile>.

in 2011.² Student activism provides insight about resistance to past narratives and what students have learned from past movements. As protests continue today, the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights continues to become ever more relevant in shaping memory and shaping students to become active, critical citizens.

My project demonstrates the importance of education in memory creation in post-dictatorial Chile. The first chapter highlights the various Latin American and Chilean historiography and pedagogical works about memory and human rights. Scholars like Steve Stern and Cath Collins look at large societal tension and political issues regarding memory in Chile, but do not research the important role of education. Pedagogical works offer valuable insight with teaching recommendations and criticism of curriculum or textbooks, but do not focus on exactly how teachers implement these materials or recommendations. Drawing upon this scholarship, I look at precisely how educators teach the dictatorship and human rights. My second chapter focuses on how current secondary school teachers teach the topic. Through three interviews with teachers, the chapter demonstrates the achievements and challenges that they face as well as the level of consciousness regarding their role in memory creation. The third chapter focuses on academia and interviews with university professors. I demonstrate that there is a dialogue between university professors and secondary school teachers in their goal to interrupt current cycles of reproducing gaps in knowledge and social critique. University professors have the potential to shape new educators as evolving pedagogical practices reflect changes in how society remembers this history. The fourth chapter focuses on experiential educational spheres, such as curriculum development, museum education at el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, and human rights

² Eva Vergara, “Students Keep Driving Protests Demanding Change in Chile,” AP NEWS, December 8, 2019, <https://apnews.com/819108269b65dc2dd4dffcfd7712d53a>.

activism to further highlight the complexity of this topic and how other memory formation spheres contribute to this education. All of these spheres are in dialogue with one another with one goal in common – to improve the education of the dictatorship and human rights for future generations.

The analysis of the pedagogy of the dictatorship and human rights reveals how the teaching this topic reflects the same societal tension in reconciling with the past and is another area where memory battles play out. At the same time, I argue for complexity as not only is the topic itself complex, but there are also numerous actors involved as I exhibit through the diversity of perspectives from my interviews. The various spheres involved, such as secondary school teachers, university professors, museums, curriculum development, and human rights activism are all highly intertwined with one another in the education of the topic. The interviews reveal how these spheres are in dialogue with one another to work towards improving the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights, contributing to the creation of a collective memory. Education holds an important role in the creation of a national memory and the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights has the power to be transformative in shaping future generations.

An important contribution of my study is the vast number of topics for further research. I propose three further categories of study. First, one could study the relationship between the teaching of history in private versus public schools. There is a clear relationship between socioeconomic status, schools, and how this affects teaching. This project touches on this, as multiple interviewees expressed that students from wealthier, private schools held a different perspective about the dictatorship. The secondary school teachers recognize that parents coming into schools to tell teachers to stop indoctrinating or politicizing their

children happens more at private schools with wealthier parents. The education director of the Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos acknowledged that private schools visit less due to their affluent economic status which influences their political beliefs. It is clear that socioeconomic status affects the type of school students attend which also has an effect on how they perceive and learn history.

A second potential topic for research is the influence of family and how this affects how students perceive this history. Multiple interviewees, especially secondary school teachers, noted how students with family members who were victims of the dictatorship have different perspectives than their peers who have family who were in the military during the dictatorship. At the same time, the teachers mentioned how sometimes families may share this personal history with their children or may hide it as to not remember these painful memories. Daniela Jara researched the importance of family and generational memories of the Pinochet dictatorship in her work, *Children and the Afterlife of State Violence: Memories of Dictatorship*. There is a clear relationship between family and how people remember or perceive history. This could be expanded upon by researching the relationship between the influence of family to the learning of recent history in the classroom.

Third, one could investigate a broader range of primary source materials when studying the teaching of recent history. The materials I analyze in my chapters could be expanded upon such as textbooks, curriculum, lesson plans, museums, and human rights activism in Chile. Professors from chapter three mentioned how curriculum and teaching practices are constantly changing. Textbook is another topic for further study as chapter two opens up with the textbook polemic. Textbook companies create multiple editions of history textbooks, continually releasing new editions. As teaching practices, curriculum, and

textbooks are subject to constant change, these areas will also require new and updated analysis. Other educational materials that teachers utilize are another area for potential research as teachers from chapter two mentioned a variety of sources for teaching the dictatorship and human rights. For example, one could research the effectiveness of certain materials or activities in the classroom. The teachers from chapter two also mentioned visiting various sites of memory. In addition to el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos, there are numerous other sites of memory which one could study or study comparatively in their effectiveness with students. There is a wide range of primary sources relating to the education of the dictatorship and human rights which serve as important potential topics for further research.

This project brings to light one of the biggest questions as to how to evaluate student learning of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. This is not knowledge that a standardized test can tell educators quick right or wrong answers. It takes time to see the lasting impact of education in people's lives, beyond just mere facts to memorize. There is no *PSU* or other tool dedicated to the assessment of this knowledge. How can someone create an assessment tool that educators can use for curriculum design or classroom implementation? This is a problem as we can easily assess knowledge with a test, but there is no way to know student opinions or their own mental process of creating memory. A topic like the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights that has learning goals and outcomes related to civic participation, takes a longer time to see results. One may question if effective teaching of recent history and human rights leads to active civic participation as witnessed through student protests and the participation of students in the 2019 protests. As the new curriculum

changes take effect with Educación Ciudadana, it will be interesting to see how educators evaluate this learning.

Another valuable contribution of this project is the use of qualitative data in the form of interviews. Other pedagogical works that involved teachers often rely on participant observation or surveys in order to obtain qualitative data. But how many times are teachers asked to sit down, take a pause, and reflect on their teaching? To reflect on the meaning and impact of their teaching in their own words? How many times are curriculum developers asked about the process of the design when most of their evaluation is on the product? Thousands of human rights activists, like Rosemarie, go unnoticed for their years of human rights work. At the same time, I understand the difficulty of working with qualitative data and perhaps why scholars use it less. It is much different than other data that is more readily interpretable and concrete, such as numbers. Through the process of researching this study, I have come to appreciate that interviews involve a different level of interpretation and analyzation than other primary sources. Previously, I had only worked with documents, movies, photographs, and other tangible items. Unlike these items, interviews involve reading body language and the ability to ask follow-up questions. Interviews provide living insight and human perspectives. My project was not just studying products, but rather processes with the process of teaching the dictatorship and human rights. Teachers, professors, curriculum developers, museum directors, and human rights activists are all involved in these processes. Their lives and their work are more than the products or numbers they produce.

My project reveals that what we teach in history is not just useless dates and names of the past. It is how we remember the past and move forward with that knowledge. The project

brings to light the real human stories of people who work every day for education and human rights. They work to create the next generation of leaders. Who are we creating to lead the future? What tools are we equipping them with? Memory is a rich tool and if students have a good grasp on it, it can be transformative. As scholar Michal Lazzara writes, “Memory, though, does not remain static. It sometimes takes unexpected twists and turns. It adapts and responds to the needs and conditions of the moment. And new generations less shackled by the fears and constraints of the past begin to make their voices heard and to use memory as a tool to voice their political demands.”³ This is exactly what Chileans did in the October 2019 protests and continue to do. They use the past and memories to make change. Education has a powerful role in memory formation which can result in an engaged, active youth who will shape the future.

³ Michael J. Lazzara, *Civil Obedience: Complicity and Complacency in Chile since Pinochet*, Critical Human Rights (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2018) 183.

Appendix

The key primary sources for my project were nine interviews. All but one took place in Santiago, Chile when I was in the city with Copeland Funding for a week. Each interview lasted about 45 minutes to an hour. Interviewees took time out of their day to speak with me and shared valuable insight with me. Below is a list of the people I interviewed:

Arratia Martínez, Alejandra. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

Borna, Rosemarie. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

Cabrera Reveco, Ignacia. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 11, 2019.

Cortés, Bruno. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

Henríquez, Sebastián. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 9, 2019.

Lira, Elizabeth. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 10, 2019.

Pérez, Camila. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 12, 2019.

Pinochet, Sixtina. Interview by author. Skype, December 18, 2019.

Rammsy Garcia, Claudio. Interview by author. Santiago, Chile, October 9, 2019.

When analyzing the interviews, I noticed there were some common themes that came through. At the same time, there were also unique perspectives each interviewee gave. What follows are a series of selected excerpts from interviews to give readers additional context and further insight about the interview content or the interviewees themselves.

Chapter Two

En las trincheras: Las perspectivas de tres profesores de escuelas secundarias que enseñan actualmente la historia de la dictadura y los derechos humanos en escuelas municipales de

Santiago

Interview with Sebastián Henríquez, secondary school teacher. Below he discusses in detail some of the important aspects of secondary school teachers when teaching the dictatorship and human rights violations.

Author: ¿Cómo tú enseñas ese tema?

Sebastián: Así ya. Primero ese tema hasta hace dos años atrás se enseñaba en tercero medio, cuando los alumnos tienen en promedio 17-18 años. Ahora ese tema en particular que es como el siglo XX chileno, se enseña en segundo medio. Así que he tenido experiencia tanto en enseñando en tercero como en segundo medio. Igualmente, no ha dado solamente un año. No hay grande diferencia a la hora de enseñar. ¿Cómo la enseña? Haber, la enseñanza de la dictadura militar, yo la enseño fundamentalmente generando primero un marco cronológico general que va desde los gobiernos previos de la dictadura militar hasta el llegado de la dictadura militar de los gobiernos democráticos como son los primeros que yo intento, como insertar el período de la dictadura dentro de un marco más amplio para explicar tanto su ocurrencia como sus consecuencias. Ya. Lo segundo es utilizar fuentes históricas que permitan algo así como objetivizar lo que uno dice. ¿Por qué? Porque, como tú probablemente debes saber en Chile cada vez menos, pero antes era más, había polémicas y diferencias en torno a qué cosa había ocurrido realmente en dictadura. Así, por ejemplo, afirmar que hubo una intervención norteamericana en el gobierno de Nixon es algo que recién después del año 2003 podemos decirlo a partir de la desclasificación de archivos, por

ejemplo. Es un documento muy importante, ya. O afirmar la cantidad de detenidos desaparecidos que hubo o las formas de tortura. También es importante utilizar documentos para eso, dado que fuerzas conservadoras que apoyaron la dictadura militar se han esforzado tanto a nivel político como educacional, de relativizar todo esto en una suerte de negacionismo de los crímenes contra los derechos humanos que ocurrieron. Por lo tanto, la utilización de fuentes oficiales de Estados Unidos, del Estado de Chile, como también testimonios de personas que fueron vulnerados sus derechos, perseguía a familiares de detenidos, desaparecidos, ejecutados y torturados, eso es muy importante. Eso lo hacemos de distintas formas. Puede ser bajo un formato de leer el documento, leer un documento o trabajar con fuentes de forma individual, como también afortunadamente existe hoy mucho material audiovisual. Yo creo que sobre todo a partir del año 2013, cuando se cumplieron 40 años del golpe de Estado, la televisión en general pública logró generar mucho material audiovisual que es muy bueno. Documental basado en, por ejemplo, lo que fue la violación a los derechos humanos o los problemas internos que tuvo la dictadura militar, o como la izquierda y la Democracia Cristiana se enfrentaron a la dictadura, hoy día hay mucha más información sobre eso ya. Y lo cuarto que te podría agregar es para, aprovechar las muchas veces motivación de los mismos estudiantes por saber sobre estos temas. Yo creo que eso es algo importante, porque esto es una apreciación mía. No tengo ningún dato para corroborarlo, pero te diría que el hecho cuando los estudiantes ven que hay un tema de la historia que es polémico, les interesa saber, les interesa conocer. Sobre todo porque en Chile, sobre la dictadura en particular, se habla mucho, no en el espacio público, pero en el espacio privado no se habla. Tú en Chile, es cosa preguntar a familia tiene una persona que realmente fue torturada o que vivió algún tipo de represión política durante la dictadura y muchas veces

esas cosas se guardan y los estudiantes se acuerdan de conversaciones en su casa, de sus papás, donde hablan de la dictadura y muchas veces la familia no habla de esto. Hay que entender lo que sucedió y por tanto, los profesores de historia en Chile probablemente son los únicos agentes que le hablan a los chilenos sobre la dictadura militar y luego los medios de comunicación. Entonces, digámoslo así, de parte del Estado de Chile, la necesidad de generar una memoria histórica consciente sobre el tema de los derechos humanos bastante débil.

Author: ¿Que?

Sebastián: Débil, *weak*. Como, no hay mucho recurso para generar una política de no sé, como va a Argentina, por ejemplo, existe un despliegue de infraestructura mucho más grande para el nunca más ocurran las violaciones a los derechos humanos, el ejercicio de la memoria histórica en la escuela, en los distintos ministerios, o sea, el mismo hecho de que los militares en Argentina fueron por lo menos los altos mandos fueron juzgados. Hay un contexto en el cual en Argentina reflexionan sobre esto. Hay una infraestructura, hay dinero, hay una disposición del Estado. En cambio que en Chile, no. En Chile porque no ha apostado que eso ocurra porque todavía hay muchas personas que participaron de la dictadura militar que tienen mucho poder, dentro de la política en Chile, actualmente dentro del gobierno ahora, por ejemplo de Piñera. Entonces, mientras los dirigentes políticos aún de la derecha sobre todo no abrazan las ideas la democrática y sigan pensando de Pinochet era algún tipo de figura importante a rescatar dentro la historia republicana de Chile estos problemas siempre van a existir. Afortunadamente en la sala de clases nosotros tenemos la libertad para enseñar esto bien.

Interview with Bruno Cortés, secondary school teacher. Below he discusses student “tomas” and the effect of the municipality, which includes a desire to depoliticize the school when students mobilize.

Bruno: En este colegio, en esta municipalidad en específico. Esta municipalidad, esta municipalidad se ha caracterizado por tener muchos paros, tomas de colegios. Los colegios de acá alrededor han tenido tomas. ¿Tú sabes que es una toma? Los estudiantes, se organizan y toman el establecimiento, echan a los profesores y se quedan ahí...Entonces, claro, se han tomado muchos colegios y ya dio situaciones muy violentas al interior de los colegios con Carabineros. Hasta al tanto movimiento de eso. ¿Ha salido?

Author: ¿Como cuando eso pasó?

Bruno: Este año, el año pasado.

Author: Un poco.

Bruno: Ya entonces ha estado bien violenta la situación. Les han pegado a profesores, había harto movimiento. Entonces, como eso ha ocurrido, se ha tratado de que los colegios se despolitizan lo más posible. Por tanto, estos son temas académicos. No se ha tratado de llevarlo solamente a la fuera aula, la sala de clases y tratar de evitar que se haga cosa más activa.

Author: ¿Es decir que la escuela, en general, es demasiado política o no bastante política?

Bruno: Depende del punto de vista, porque que se prohíba hacer política o hablar de política es un acto muy político. En ese sentido, estaría muy politizado el asunto, porque, a callar cierto...ciertas...ciertas cosas, ciertas expresiones en un acto impositivo y por tanto, político. Entonces, si existe una, existe esa tensión en el municipio es de derecha.

Author: ¿Cual? ¿Esa?

Bruno: ¿La municipalidad? Sabes lo que es la municipalidad? El gobierno local, ya. El gobierno local hoy en día en la comuna de Santiago es de la derecha.

Author: Sí.

Bruno: Entonces, eso igual responde a porqué esas cosas no pueden ocurrir acá en el liceo. Si hay mucha influencia de la municipalidad en lo que nosotros hacemos.

Author: Y eso cambia con los....

Bruno: ¿Alcaldes?

Author: Sí.

Bruno: Sí, sí siempre cambia con los alcaldes.

Author: ¿Cual es como el rol o el papel de ese cambio? ¿Como este afecta a ti? ¿En lo que tú enseñas?

Bruno: Directamente te piden que ciertas cosas no se hagan fuera del aula, fuera de las salas de clase, que no haya ciertas cosas. Como por ejemplo lo del 11 de septiembre. Son muy majaderos en decirte que tú no puedes hacer política en la escuela, que tienes que enseñar objetivamente las cosas. En el fondo siempre está ese temor de que los profesores.

Author: ¿Y como ellos te dicen esas cosas ti?

Bruno: Directamente.

Author: ¿En persona?

Bruno: Sí.

Author: Oh.

Bruno: Sí, parece que no hay censura. Sí, efectivamente te dicen que no quieren que existan estudiantes que estén movilizándose ni profesores que lo estén alentando a movilizarse.

Interview with Ignacia Cabrera Reveco, secondary school teacher. Below she discusses the role of the state and then the process of sharing her opinion with students about this contested history.

Author: ¿Cual es, como, en tu opinión, el rol o papel del estado? ¿O como la escuela en general? ¿O las otras personas afuera del aula?

Ignacia: Yo creo que el estado...hoy tiene un rol en educación concreto, que es hablar de este tema, ponerlo en el currículum, ponerlo en el texto historia. Eso ayuda a que el docente no pueda esquivar el tema, está obligado a hacerlo. Ahora el estado aún tiene muchas cosas por resolver fuera, a la justicia, pero en la escuela, al menos cumplió su rol de difundir y considerar que esto hay que decirlo así en dictadura es golpe del estado, hubo violación a los derechos humanos. Eso ayuda mucho a un profesor. ¿Y los otros actores? Yo creo que abrirse al debate sobre lo que hoy nos toca sobre la dictadura, cómo, cosas no resueltas. La herencia de la dictadura.

Author: ¿La que?

Ignacia: La herencia, el legado.

Author: ¿Y tú como, compartes tu opinión de ese tema con tus estudiantes?

Ignacia: Sí

Author: ¿Cómo...es una opinión fuerte o es más como neutral?

Ignacia: Yo pienso que un profesor respecto a los derechos humanos nunca debe ser neutral. Está mal que un profesor relativice los derechos humanos, pero yo les explico que mi opinión no es el criterio de evaluación y tampoco la opinión que ellos tienen que responder en la prueba o cuando hablan y sólo la doy cuando me la piden. Porque si ellos quieren mi opinión, yo también se las puedo preguntar a ellos. Y yo muchas veces se las pregunto. Pero cuando

se las doy, trato de que no sea solo mi opinión, sino porque llegué a pensar en eso, para preguntarles a ellos. ¿Qué hubiese hecho tú ante esa situación? Porque Yo sé que el profesor tiene un peso, su opinión tiene más peso algunas veces. Entonces no puedo decir la Colo-Colo [equipo de fútbol chileno] es lo mejor del mundo. Sé que me gustó la Colo-Colo cuando y contar un poco cómo llegué a esa decisión para que ellos descubran cómo llegar a la propia. Pero siempre me preguntan, por ejemplo, Profe, ¿usted es de derecha o de izquierda? ¿O profe, usted cree que deberían haber matado a Pinochet? ¿Profe, está justificado el golpe de estado? Y yo le digo. había otras opciones? ¿Que hubiesen hecho ustedes si hubiesen estado en contra de Allende? ¿Depende profe, ya si hubiesen sido diputados o senadores? Creo que no hay una sola opinión y yo tampoco tendría la... el coraje de decir es sí por un país entero. Y lo hago pensar en roles. Si yo hubiese sido Pinochet, si hubiese sido un soldado de servicio militar obligatorio a los 18 años como ellos, y me hubiese tocado tener un arma el 11 de septiembre y haber ido a buscar gente, este periodo abre muchos dilemas éticos. Mi opinión nunca puede ser cerrada.

Chapter Three

The World of Academia: perspectives from university professors and the dialogue between universities and secondary schools

Interview with Elizabeth Lira, a Psychology Professor at the Universidad de Alberto

Hurtado with a research background in memory and human rights. Below she discusses her opinion of the general knowledge in society of the dictatorship and human rights violations.

Author: ¿Cuál es su opinión de el conocimiento de la dictadura y los derechos humanos?

Elizabeth: ¿Cuál es el conocimiento que existe en el país?

Author: ¿En cualquier nivel, usted cree?

Elizabeth: Es que es variable, porque yo creo que hay bastante conocimiento entre la víctima y su familia. Pero también dependiendo porque hay familias donde la manera de enfrentar el problema ha sido no volver a hablar del tema. Entonces es variarlo, entre los jóvenes hay muy poco conocimiento.

Author: ¿Por qué?

Elizabeth: Porque se enseña muy poco en el país. No se enseñan mucho en la enseñanza secundaria y menos en la primaria y en la universidad es tema en algunas disciplinas y el tema para investigadores. Ahora todos los chilenos saben que hubo un golpe militar y saben que hubo violaciones a los derechos humanos, pero saben cosas gruesas, grandes temas. Pero así como quien dice los detalles, no.

Author: ¿Por qué?

Elizabeth: Porque si tú vas para saber los detalles, tienes que estudiar. Y si tú no lees, hay muchas cosas que puede leer la gente. Pero mucha gente no lee nada.

Author: ¿Y cómo eso afectaba la creación de la memoria?

Elizabeth: Mucho, porque yo creo que queda concentrada en, por ejemplo, ¿el Museo de la Memoria, que creo que era algo que fuiste?

Author: Sí, yo fui ayer.

Elizabeth: Claro, ahí está concentrada toda la información que tú puedes tener en bibliotecas, en archivo. Pero yo creo que hay un desarrollo de investigación en distintas universidades de gente que se preocupa el tema de la memoria. Entonces hay uno que escribe sobre las víctimas. Hay otros que escriben sobre los conflictos político de la época. Hay otros que han escrito sobre los militares. Es variable. Entonces hay mucho que tu puedes investigar. Hay

también expresiones de arte donde se da cuenta de la manera como se resistió a la dictadura, etcétera.

Interview with Sixtina Pinochet, Education Professor at Universidad Católica del Norte.

Below she discusses the role of memory in schools.

Author: ¿Cómo usted ve la relación entre la enseñanza y la creación de memoria?

Sixtina: Yo creo que puede jugar un rol clave. Yo...no...siento igual que la importancia de la memoria está puesta en un poco rescatar cierto discurso que han tratado de ser silenciados y siento que es como un rol ético el que tenemos, el de poder rescatar eso, ese discurso.

Entonces, creo que la educación puede jugar un rol en ese ámbito, como poder también hacer un ejercicio de poder rescatar esa memoria y que no tan solo están sujetas a este período particular de la historia reciente, sino que una serie de otras memorias más, con respecto, por ejemplo, a la historia familiar. Acá en Antofagasta, Antofagasta es un contexto de alta migración, ya de hecho de alta migración históricamente. No solamente ahora, porque acá, en una región minera, el auge del salitre durante el siglo XIX se dio acá el cobre, hay mucha entidad minera y eso siempre ha traído mucha migración. Entonces yo creo que también ahí tenemos un rol relevante, como rescatar esas memorias de la gente que llegó a vivir a este territorio, porque, además, en un territorio que desde el punto de vista patrimonial está un poco abandonado, porque precisamente ese elemento de la movilidad genera que tú no sientas apego por el territorio. Entonces también es una de las regiones más contaminadas de Chile. Entonces, siento que este trabajo con las memorias también podría aportar. Es a entender igual cuál es el aporte que las distintas comunidades han ido dando para construir lo que hoy día nosotros somos y como también nosotros podemos aportar, a construir la región

y el país que queremos más hoy día también, dónde producto de la llegada de los últimos cinco años de mucha gente de Sudamérica. Hay una gran diversidad cultural. Eso yo creo que esas memorias se trabajo con la memoria. La escuela también sirve para que esa diversidad cultural no se pierda y no se establezca una homogenización cultural.

Interview with Camila Pérez Navarro, doctoral candidate in Education at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. She holds two master's degrees and is a professor of education in various universities. Below she discusses her teaching experience in the various universities, noting the ideological differences among the universities.

Author: ¿Cómo tu ves, como la enseñanza de la dictadura hoy?

Camila: Es muy complejo porque yo lo veo, bueno, yo, si bien he trabajado con escuelas, nunca he trabajado como profesora de aula escolar. Los siete años, siete u ocho años que llevo enseñando en la universidad es formación de profesores, pero en aula universitaria. Entonces, desde ahí me impacta un poco en el sentido que cuando llegan los estudiantes y trabajo en diversas universidades, la Católica, en la USACH, que es más de izquierda, la Católica, de una universidad mucha más conservadora, en la universidad O'Higgins, que una universidad pública nueva. A mí me llama la atención que hay mucho desconocimiento por parte de los estudiantes del superior en particular. Por ejemplo, me pasa que siempre al inicio de cada semestre, yo tengo que explicar y explicitar a los estudiantes y las estudiantes, porque yo utilizo el término dictadura, el concepto dictadura. ¿Por qué no hablo de régimen militar? No hablo de gobierno, no hablo... No utilizo otro concepto. Entonces es interesante porque cuando digo en términos teóricos esto es una dictadura por tales motivos. Recién ahí yo creo que les hace sentido y porque me lo han dicho, porque ellos en el colegio

generalmente utilizaban el concepto de régimen o de gobierno autoritario y no dictadura. Y también el segundo, el segundo paso es explicar que una dictadura civil militar y no solo una dictadura militar desde el inicio hay grupos de funcionarios civiles si están apoyando la intervención. Entonces recién ahí hay cierta sensibilización respecto al periodo y de ahí en adelante significa explicarles las violaciones a los derechos humanos, el cambio del modelo económico, todas las transformaciones que desde la historia de la educación tienen un correlato en una historia que es mucho más institucional y de transformación del estado finalmente. Por lo tanto, cuando yo les enseño el período complejo en el sentido que vienen con muy pocas herramientas que les permitan entender el período más que la polarización entre oye, yo soy de la derecha y de la izquierda. Entonces me pasó que yo como profesora tuve que hacer todo un ejercicio previo a sensibilizar a mis estudiantes de la Católica, por ejemplo, que traían un montón de prejuicios porque vienen de colegios particulares pagados en donde nunca habían escuchado la palabra dictadura, por ejemplo. Entonces, para ellos era un gobierno autoritario donde se había cambiado esto, pero siempre me acuerdo de un estudiante que vino a una charla hace dos o tres años que me dijo profesora, yo nunca, yo nunca supe que la dictadura mató gente. ¿Y son estudiantes de 18 años y que uno queda bien con lo que o bien impactado porque como no sabían? También las familias ahí ejercen un rol fundamental, como en términos de no sé si proteger, pero sí ocultar u omitir las violaciones, sobre todo las violaciones a los derechos humanos.

Chapter Four

Outside the Classroom: Linking education and action through the contributions of experiential spheres of memory formation

Interview with Alejandra Arratia Martínez, current executive director of Educación 2020.

Below she explains that the new curriculum can only do so much as it is a problem that goes beyond the school. She shares that there is a political crisis, just a week before the protests break out.

Author: ¿Así que ese cambio como las personas que apoyan son de educación? ¿O, no sé quien como apoya ese cambio o quien como no apoya?

Alejandra: ¿Cual cambio? El cambio de que hubiera una...

Author: La asignatura, sí.

Alejandra: Hubo mucha presión de la sociedad y de educación también.

Author: Sí.

Alejandra: Mucho depende del mundo político, mucho.

Author: Sí.

Alejandra: Mucho del mundo político también.

Author: ¿Ese cambio es... tiene motivos políticos, como de la izquierda o la derecha o todos?

Alejandra: Mi visión personal es distinta, pero la otra es mi visión, es que hay una crisis de legitimidad de la política.

Author: ¿Hay una crisis de que?

Alejandra: Crisis de legitimidad. Ya hay una crisis de legitimidad de la política por razones bien profunda y a veces hay como un pensamiento un poco como *over* optimista de que eso se va a solucionar con la asignatura. ¿Me entiende?

Author: Sí

Alejandra: Creo que eso corre el riesgo de *under estimate* las críticas más sustanciales que ponen que cuestionan la legitimidad de la política. ¿Me entiendo?

Author: Sí

Alejandra: Entonces creo que hay ahí hay una intención de pedirle a la escuela que resuelva un problema es de otro ámbito.

Interview with Claudio Rammsy Garcia, Museum Education director of the El Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos. Below he speaks more about the cliental that comes to the museum and what the museum does when students visit.

Author: Hay una ley o algo así que dice las escuelas tienen que ir acá o opcional?

Claudio: No, no, no hay una obligación.

Author: No hay. ¿Hay algunas escuelas que nunca vienen acá?

Claudio: Ay sí, muchas escuelas y...

Author: Porque?

Claudio: Sí, porque no tenemos capacidad y muchos se repiten año a año. O sea, el profesor que vino con el año pasado y el antepasado tiende a repetirse porque puede cambiaron el alumno entonces viene con otro grupo de alumnos y entonces tenemos una cantidad de clientes frecuente, podemos hacer, pero tenemos comunas que no tienen ningún colegio acá ni nada tenemos, y allí estamentos de educación como la educación privada, la pagada esas, vienen muy poco. Y la universidad sí se vienen más. Las universitarias estudiantes necesitan. Ellos conocen más y vienen más.

Author: ¿Los estudiantes de la universidad?

Claudio: Claro, la educación superior, universidad

Author: Si. ¿Y porque tu crees que las escuelas privadas vienen menos?

Claudio: Porque su familia, su ambiente cultural, es muy ajeno a esta temática del derecho humano, su familia, seguramente son de altos recursos y son posiblemente de posiciones más conservadoras. Entonces deben tener una posición frente a los derechos humanos más negacionista. ¿Me entiende? Entonces los chicos son formados también en eso llega con mucho prejuicio.

Author: Y como, cuando las escuelas vienen acá, ¿que hace con los estudiantes?

Claudio: ¿Que se hacen?

Author: Si.

Claudio: Se les hace dos cosas, una visita guiada mediada, nosotros tenemos programas para escolares de básica, para escolares de media y también para universitarios. Pensando en la básica y media, se le hace una visita con distintos énfasis y con distinta extensión. En el caso la básica que es más corta y se apunta a los grupos más experienciales de la experiencia. En cambio, en el caso de los de la *high school* se aborda un contenido mayor y más profundo y se les hace dialogar más.

Author: Y es solamente la visita guiada, sí? Cuando los estudiantes vienen.

Claudio: Vienen hacemos eso y otras veces hacemos alguna otra actividad. Por ejemplo, hacemos cine documental, le ofrecemos después de la visita o ante la visita, que pasen al auditorio, van a exhibir un documental que se refiere a alguna fecha emblemática. Por ejemplo, el 5 de octubre, la semana pasada conmemoramos acá. Entonces a los colegios se les invitaba a ver unos documentales de la campaña de televisión, pero paralelamente, en el

relato de los mediadores se puso énfasis en el tema de la recuperación de la democracia, y en el plebiscito sin costo que dio inicio a la transición.

Interview with Rosemarie Borna, human rights activism and political aid of congresswoman Carmen Hertz. Rosemarie was a 23-year-old lawyer when the golpe occurred and ever since worked for human rights. Below, she shares her memories from the golpe and later, other factors that shape a person's memories, especially the importance of oral history.

Rosemarie: Aquí ya te voy a hablar como chilena común y corriente. Yo tenía para el golpe 22 años, 23 años, estaba recién con mi título profesional de abogado. En Universidad de Concepción era y sigue siendo una buena universidad en que tú te conectas con todo, llegamos la cultura y las distintas tendencias, y como en la década del 60, fue una época de los años sesenta, fue una época muy con hechos históricos, muy marcadores. Ya teníamos el Che Guevara en Bolivia. En fin, la revolución cubana fue la crisis con los misiles, todas esas cosas. La sociedad chilena era una sociedad, yo te diría que no está dormida. Y nos sentíamos, y eso nunca más lo voy a volver siquiera a pensar. Ya nos sentíamos nosotros, los chilenos, como un modelo ya en América Latina, y nos mirábamos un poco, bastante, digamos, negativamente y con cierta superioridad a los países que, como decíamos, en lo que era que había un golpe y gorilas les llamamos a los dictadores. Y eso nunca había pasado en Chile y defendíamos que no sólo no éramos países caribeños, que no son nuestra, nuestra tradición democrática, civil, etcétera. En circunstancias que así se nos enseñaba la historia y no es tan así. Después aprendimos que en Chile hubo interrupciones de la democracia antes del 73, más breve, no sanguinaria. Ya, pero no era un ejemplo para nada. Bueno, pero yo, como cualquier joven, ya. Que la invasión allá del año 65 a República Dominicana, no

nosotros jamás. Estados Unidos cuando invadió el año 1965 República Dominicana, yo estaba en la universidad. Ese día, separadoras la clase, los profesores pararon la clase diciendo ha ocurrido algo muy grave, blah blah blah, Chile tiene una tradición, pobre esa República Dominicana, pero nosotros no. Y ocurrió pues y pasó.

Author: Y porqué tu crees que...

Rosemarie: Yo pensaba, yo no me imaginaba que podía haber un golpe así.

Author: Si.

Rosemarie: No estaba en mi cabeza.

Author: ¿Porque...como...había una...?

Rosemarie: Por nuestra tradición pues, o la que creíamos era nuestra tradición.

Author: ¿Y tú crees que eso puede como pasa otra vez?

Rosemarie: Sí, yo creo que puede volver a pasar. ¿Si ya pasó una vez, por qué no va a pasar otra?

Author: ¿Tú ves una deferencia entre las generaciones del conocimiento de la dictadura y los derechos humanos?

Rosemarie: Sí, claro. Mira, todo depende como la educación no sé...no existe. Todo depende de la tu familia, de tu, de tus amistades, de tu círculo, de, o sea. Pienso que en general se ha avanzado, pero se avanza muy de a poco, pero por ejemplo mis hijos que ya son adultos, mis nietos, ya los hijos y los nietos de mis amigas, porque yo ya soy abuela, ya, es decir que la transmisión oral es muy importante. Lo que tú escuchas también en la escuela, en la universidad. O sea, realmente no puedo compararlo con el periodo de la dictadura. Lo que me encuentro insuficiente porque no ha permeado la sociedad en su conjunto. También mucho

depende del alcance que tu tenga una persona pobre, ya que no tenga acceso al libro o al cine, también influye, también influye, ya. La televisión muestra mala de repente y algún programa, así como una cada en tres meses. Ya está hecho, pero tampoco hay apertura. Todo el mundo se cuida de no parecer pegado en el pasado.

Annotated Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Carretero, Mario, and Marcelo Borrelli. "Memorias recientes y pasados en conflicto: ¿cómo enseñar historia reciente en la escuela?" *Cultura y Educación* 20, no. 2 (enero 2008): 201–15. <https://doi.org/10.1174/113564008784490415>.

Psychology Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Education at the Universidad de Madrid, Mario Carretero and Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad de Buenos Aires Marcelo Borrelli, examine the teaching of recent history in Argentina, Spain, and Chile. The article is comparative as they discuss problems and proposals on how to teach recent memories in schools in each of the three countries. They do not use field work but draw on previous works of others. The authors show the importance of memory and school, arguing that schools play a crucial role in transmitting social memory. This article is useful as it allows me to understand some of the challenges with teaching recent history.

Collins, Cath, Katherine Hite, and Alfredo Joignant Rondón, eds. *The Politics of Memory in Chile: From Pinochet to Bachelet*. Boulder, Colorado: FistForumPress, 2013.

This multiauthor book examines the interpretation and use of memory by the political community in post-dictatorial Chile. The book is a compilation of various articles by political analysts, such as Katherine Hite, Cath Collins, Alfredo Joignant, Alexander Wilde, Elizabeth Lira, Brian Loveman, Carlos Huneeus, and Sebastián Ibarra. The book is binded together by three main arguments in that there is a generational difference in interpreting political events, interpretations of memory vary due to political ideology and partisanship, and that there is a desire of a collective memory to "convey national unity and peace" (7). The book has a heavy focus on politics and political elites but is one of the most recent works that focuses solely on post-dictatorial Chile. This work is useful for my project as it provides contemporary arguments and shows the importance of politics in memory, therefore allowing me to place my argument in a larger context.

Jelin, Elizabeth. *Los Trabajos de La Memoria*. Colección Memorias de La Represión 1. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores: Social Science Research Council, 2002.

Sociology Professor Elizabeth Jelin of the Universidad de Buenos Aires explores various approaches on memory, focusing principally on the Southern Cone while drawing from Japanese and European examples. Her work does not have an argument or introduce innovative concepts but is exploratory and reflective in nature with an aim to open a memory dialogue. The book employs a variety of scholarship from the disciplines of sociology, history, cultural studies, political science, anthropology, and psychology. With such a broad perspective, her book does not go into specifics such as race or class and does not draw from primary sources. At the same time, the broadness of the book allows for greater applicability and subsequent books on memory often cite Jelin. This is useful for my project because it deals with multiple visions of memory and the transmission of memory which fits with how

education changes over time and looking at how education is a tool for the transmission of memory.

Lazzara, Michael J. *Civil Obedience: Complicity and Complacency in Chile since Pinochet*. Critical Human Rights. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2018.

Lazzara is an associate professor of Latin American literature and cultural studies at the University of California, Davis. Published in 2018, this is one of the most recent books on the topic of memory in Chile. The book offers an interdisciplinary view, grouping history and politics in one group and literary and philosophical in another. Lazzara's premise is that often the focus is on "victims" and less on "perpetrators" in memory studies so therefore this book aims to look only at perpetrators. He argues that Chile "is a product of complicity and complacency," in that the complicit subjects created the conditions of today's Chile in the 1970s and 1980s, and that complacent subjects have propagated Pinochet's legacy in the 1990s (6-8). Lazzara uses individual case studies to demonstrate and analyze a vast range of responsibility when thinking about varying levels of complicitness and complacency. Lazzara draws from Karl Jaspers and Hannah Ardent with a focus on individuals taking responsibility for their own actions. The book is part of the "Critical Human Rights" series which is in connection with Steve Stern as he is one of the series editors. This book is useful for my study because it allows me to rethink the individual roles in memory building and to understand if the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights also reflects the complicitness and complacency in society.

Magendzo, Abraham, and María Isabel Toledo. "Moral Dilemmas in Teaching Recent History Related to the Violation of Human Rights in Chile." *Journal of Moral Education* 38, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 445–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240903321923>.

María Isabel Toledo and Abraham Magendzo are academics from Chile. María Isabel Toledo is a professor of Education at the Universidad Diego Portales and Abraham Magendzo is the academic director of Education at the Universidad de la Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. This article discusses the various moral dilemmas that arise when teaching the dictatorship. The article discusses the impossibility to stay neutral, generational difference, language choice, and emotional responsibility. Their data includes classroom observations in Santiago schools, questionnaires, and short interviews with students and History and Social Science teachers. They conclude that while it is impossible for teachers to be completely objective, teachers are to facilitate an open discussion with a diversity of opinions and create a positive space for students. This article is useful for my project as I consider these challenges when I interview secondary school teachers and analyze the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights in the secondary school classroom.

Toledo, María Isabel, Abraham Magendzo, and Renato Gazmuri. "Teaching Recent History in Countries That Have Experienced Human Rights Violations: Case Studies from Chile." *Perspectives in Education* 29 (2) (June 2011): 19–27.

In another article written by Toledo and Magendzo with the addition of Education Professor Renato Gazmuri of la Universidad Diego Portales, they look at how the military dictatorship is taught in secondary schools in Chile. Their data includes six Santiago schools, classroom observations, questionnaires, and short interviews with History and Social Science teachers and students. Through their research, they identify four teaching models concerning the teaching of the dictatorship which include Constructivism, Development of meta-cognition, Historical discourses, and Moral discourse. In this short article, they first briefly explain each of the four models in a paragraph which is followed by their observations in the classroom with little analysis. The authors conclude that the variety of models is not negative, but that not all models achieve what they perceive to be the purpose of teaching history based on the Ministry of Education standards. With this, the authors recommend further research regarding teacher resources and more tools for teaching recent history, specifically human rights violations. This work is useful for my work because I consider these four models while conducting and analyzing my interviews with secondary school teachers.

Osorio, Jorge, and Graciela Rubio. *El Deseo de la Memoria: Escritura e Historia*. Santiago, Chile: Escuela de Humanidades y Política, 2006.

Two professors from the Universidad de Valparaíso, Jorge Osorio of the school of psychology and Graciela Rubio of the faculty of humanities, wrote an extensive, didactic book on memory for a general audience, not tied to a specific region or country. The book is composed of six separate articles with no further organization of the information or argument. Two useful articles for my project include “El Tiempo de los sujetos: Pedagogía de la Memoria” and “Educación para los Derechos Humanos y Pedagogía de la Memoria”. In the first article, the authors argue that memory pedagogy is a radical resource against forgetting the past and that it acts as a defense and promoter of human rights and democracy. To support their argument, they rely on the scholarship of Tzvetan Todorov and works from Europe, specifically Spain and the post-Holocaust era. The second article by Graciela Rubio argues for a modern education which includes a pluralistic approach with new methods of education in a democracy so that students learn to resolve problems peacefully in a diverse world. The author advocates for Human Rights Education and highlights the connection between Human Rights Education and historical memory. These articles are useful to my project because they allow me to further understand the importance of memory pedagogy when teachers describe how they teach the dictatorship and human rights violations in the classroom and as curriculum changes to be deliberate in citizen formation.

Pagès, Joan, and Jesús Marolla. “La historia reciente en los currículos escolares de Argentina, Chile y Colombia. Desafíos de la educación para la ciudadanía desde la Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales.” *Historia Y MEMORIA*, no. 17 (August 14, 2018): 153–84. <https://doi.org/10.19053/20275137.n17.2018.7455>.

Joan Pagés and Jesús Marolla are both Education professors in History and Social Sciences from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. The article focuses on the didactics of history and social sciences among various Latin American countries. The authors identify the various challenges in curriculum in these three countries. The article includes an introduction and conclusion with the bodies of the article being separated by country profile. For Chile,

the curriculum challenges include passing on patriotic values driven by elites and those in power, the traditional focus on political and economic history, the lack of pedagogical tools, and the inability to promote critical reflection of recent history. This source gives my project insight into the challenges to consider when analyzing interviews regarding the development and implementation of curriculum.

Rosemberg, Julia, and Verónica Kovacic, eds. “Educación, memoria y derechos humanos: orientaciones pedagógicas y recomendaciones para su enseñanza.” *Ministerio de Educación y Organización de los estados Americanos*, no. 55 (March 2010).

A multinational project published by the Argentine Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Organización de los Estados Americanos, the didactic book focuses on memory pedagogy and teaching of human rights in Argentina. The book points to the Holocaust as the opening for memory pedagogy which carries over to contemporary Latin America, specifically Argentina. The book deals with challenges on how to teach the atrocities of the past and the debate that surrounds it. Through memory pedagogy, students can critically think about the past to open new questions on confronting the past in relation to the current reality. In memory pedagogy, teachers should utilize a variety of sources such as photos, videos, fictional narratives, and testimonies to include multiple perspectives. The article is useful for my project as it defines memory pedagogy in a contemporary Latin American context which is central to my argument.

Stern, Steve J. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile, bk. 1. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Steve Stern is an Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His trilogy “The Memory Box” is one of the most well-known scholarly works on memory in post-dictatorial Chile. At the beginning of each book, there is the same chapter on the introduction of Stern’s concept called “the memory box.” He claims that the box can be opened or closed at times and that it is collective and active piece as people are constantly drawn to it as they struggle to decide what memories belong in the box. He draws upon written documents, video archives, photojournalism, radio transcripts, interviews, field notes, and oral history. He argues against the Faustian bargain of forgetting, arguing that it is incomplete and misleading. Instead, he argues that by the mid to late 1990s, Chile had a culture of “memory impasse.” Stern’s first book combines historical context and theoretical concepts to introduce his memory concepts of salvation, rupture, persecution and awakening, and a closed box. He concludes that the making of memory in Chile was symbolic, included a struggle of legitimacy and primacy, and that the “making of silence” happened in parallel. While Stern acknowledges other scholars on memory such as James Young and Pierre Nora, he emphasizes that he has coined his own conceptual language and theories. This work is useful to my project as it provides an extensive framework when looking at the memory struggle in the larger context of Chilean society beyond education.

Stern, Steve J. *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*. Latin America Otherwise. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Stern's third book looks at how Chile has dealt with the construction of memory throughout the ongoing transition to democracy. Stern analyzes the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Rettig and Valech reports, legal cases against military officials, and the actions of the Concentración to support his top-down and bottom-up narratives. Stern claims that the Chilean democracy is in a rolling impasse due to power struggles but is attempting to look beyond a pacted transition and to keep an open 'box', especially regarding human rights violations. This book is dense and serious, evading simple conclusive arguments to show the complexity of memory. For my research, the work allows me to understand the larger context of the creation of a national memory in Chile and the struggles throughout this process in post-dictatorial Chile.

Zúñiga, Carmen Gloria, Thomas O'Donoghue, and Simon Clarke. *A Study of the Secondary School History Curriculum in Chile from Colonial Times to the Present*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-926-5>.

Carmen Gloria Zúñiga is a professor of Education of History, Geography, and Social Sciences at Universidad Católica de Valparaíso who received her doctorate from The University of Western Australia where the other two authors, Thomas O'Donoghue, and Simon Clarke, hold faculty positions at in the Graduate School of Education. This extensive book looks at the general history curriculum in Chile over a large time span. There are multiple sections which include concerns for teachers, comparative contexts, literature reviews, research methodology, historical background, and current developments. There are several comprehensive frameworks that are important for my research. The first is the framework of content which includes the knowledge content, the skills content, and the value content when teaching history. Another framework explains the two historical methods to teach history, the "Great Tradition" and "The New History." For my research, I use these frameworks when evaluating curriculum and how educators teach the dictatorship and human rights in the classroom.

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Curriculum Nacional. MINEDUC. Chile. "Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 2° medio." Accessed February 22, 2020. <https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/614/w3-propertyvalue-120096.html>.

This is the official, current curriculum of the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights that takes place in the second year of secondary schools. The Ministry of Education publishes the official curriculum and includes four units to cover, including the teaching of the dictatorship. The curriculum includes the student objectives, abilities, and attitudes for teachers to meet. Each unit also includes what the purpose is, a couple of additional resources, and the hours teachers should spend on each unit. The curriculum emphasizes critical thinking, analyzing a variety of sources, and respecting the diversity of others. This source is important to my project as numerous teachers, professors, and curriculum developer referred to it in the interviews. The curriculum outlines the guidelines educators must adhere

to and provides insight to the tone of the state regarding the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights.

Ministerio de Educación de Chile. “Nuevo Currículo Escolar 2020.” Accessed February 16, 2020. <https://nuevocurriculum.mineduc.cl/#PlanFormacionGeneral>.

This is an informational page by the Ministry of Education that briefly outlines the new curriculum changes that will take effect in 2020-2021 school year. The most important change regarding my topic is the addition of the subject “Educación Ciudadana” in the third and fourth year of secondary school and the subject of “Historia, Geografía, y Ciencias Sociales” will become an option for a required elective. Along with outlining the other changes, the frequently asked questions section reassures readers that in the new curriculum, students will continue to learn history and think critically. This source is important for my project as numerous interviewees spoke about the new curriculum, mentioning the impact on their teaching and the relationship between the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights violations and the new subject “Educación Ciudadana.” This source allowed me to ask them questions about the new curriculum and better understand the impact of curriculum changes in teaching history.

Quintana Susarte, Sebastián, Sandra Castillo Soto, Nataly Pérez Cisternas, Cristina Moyano Barahona, and Luis Thielemann Hernández. “La Dictadura Militar.” In *Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales 3° Medio*. 1537. Santiago, Chile: Departamento de Estudios Pedagógicos de Ediciones SM-Chile., 2013.

This is the unit about the dictatorship and human rights violations from the national textbook for the third year of secondary school. The textbook is published by the Chilean Ministry of Education in 2013 and is free for schools to use. The focus chapter is Unit 5, titled “La dictadura militar” which consists of 41 pages. The unit includes perspectives from various political scientists and historians to explain events and causes. There is a lot of focus on the political history, with the Human Rights violations that took place during the dictatorship and the implementation of a neoliberalist economy. Overall, the unit is ambiguous and evades any strong position or opinion. This textbook is important for my research as it allows me to see first-hand the resource teachers use and how the Ministry of Education frames this history.

Professors and faculty of La Universidad de Alberto Hurtado. *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*. (2013-2017). http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_71/anteriores.html.

The Universidad de Alberto Hurtado Department of Education publishes the *Cuaderno de Educación*. The articles in the journal are typically written by professors and staff of the university. The journals started in 2008 and are published monthly or bi-monthly. The volumes I selected focus specifically on the teaching of the dictatorship and human rights. The selected volumes discuss challenges in the education of the topic, the relationship between history and memory in schools, and the university’s relationship with museums which includes the Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos. The journals give sample

lesson plans and other teaching recommendations. These journals are useful for my project as they are journals produced by educators and for other educators to utilize. The articles complement my interviews and help to further understand the perspectives from the world of academia and university professors and how they teach the dictatorship to prospective teachers.

Selected articles

- Sepúlveda, Ximena. "Pasantías En Museos, Espacios de Memoria e Instituciones Culturales: Experiencias Laborales de Docentes En Formación En La Educación No Formal." *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 77 (June 2017). http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuadernos_educacion_77/documentos/Apoyo%20al%20docente_77%20PPP%20final.pdf.
- Pancani, Dino. "Cobertura televisiva a los 40 años." *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013). http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_55/pdf/instrumento_2-55.pdf
- Vargas, Daniela. "Guía para trabajo en clases: El golpe de Estado en Chile, una reflexión desde los relatos y memorias." *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013). http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_55/pdf/instrumento_1-55.pdf.
- María Teresa Rojas. "La enseñanza del golpe de Estado y la dictadura en Chile: Un diálogo entre historia y memoria." *Cuaderno de Educación de Universidad Alberto Hurtado*, no. 55 (September 2013). http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/cuaderno_educacion_55/pdf/articulo55.pdf.