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“Teaching Them That Pain Exists”: Dilemmas Regarding Memory Transmission and Entrepreneurship in Adult Children of Former Political Prisoners 40 Years After the Coup D’Etat in Chile

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Abstract

The present study sought to identify and understand the memory transmission and entrepreneurship processes conducted by children of victims of politically motivated imprisonment and torture during Chile’s civilian-military dictatorship. A qualitative methodology was adopted, with an exploratory and analytic-relational design being used. Twelve children of former political prisoners, seven men and five women, participated in the study. Focus groups were selected as a data production technique. A content analysis was conducted following Grounded Theory guidelines. Results suggest that the adult sons and daughters of survivors have taken up memory transmission and entrepreneurship based on their parents’ memories of political imprisonment

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and torture. They engage in memory transmission and entrepreneurship by constructing exemplary memories about their parents' experiences. They transmit these memories to peers and to their own children once they reach adulthood, given the increased openness of Chilean society regarding these discussions.

Keywords

children of former political prisoners, exemplary memory, memory transmission, memory entrepreneurship

Introduction

Societies that underwent traumatic events over the last century have been forced to deal with several dilemmas associated with transgenerational memory transmission (Kaës, Faimberg, Enriquez, & Baranes, 1996). These dilemmas involve two spheres: (a) the consequences of these events for the descendants of the individuals and groups directly involved and (b) the narratives or views of the past transmitted to generations that did not experience the events (Achugar, 2011).

The memory transmission of the past to the younger generations has been a permanent source of interest for the social sciences. Researchers have studied the contents of this action, its associated operations, and the actors involved (Frigerio & Diker, 2004; Legendre, 1996; Robin, 2012). What one generation experiences is conveyed to others through explicit messages, unconscious mandates, encryption, or pathology (Davoine & Gaudilliere, 2011). The new generations either make these legacies their own in a creative manner, working through the narratives received (Blejmar, 2013; Faúndez, 2013; Hassoun, 1996), or regard them as a traumatic heritage that they are unable to process (Tisseron et al., 1997).

In the Chilean case, research over the past two decades has focused on the persistence of certain memories of the civilian-military dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). This period was marked by violent repression toward those who opposed the regime, restrictions on civic rights, and a large number of victims of forced disappearance, summary execution, exile, and political imprisonment (Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación [CNVR],¹ 1991; Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura [CNPPT],² 2004). Memories of this period have generally been expressed in private and family spheres, with limited debate in public and shared contexts (Stern, 2013). The multiple generations that remember these events dispute the legitimacy of each other's versions and roles (Cornejo et al., 2013; Reyes, 2009).

Regarding the experience of the children of political repression victims, academic inquiry in the 1980s and the 1990s focused on the mental health and social adaptation issues of these people as inheritors of a damaged legacy (Bastías, Mery, Rodríguez, & Soto, 2001; Morales & Becker, 1994). However, during the last decade, some members of this generation have become memory entrepreneurs, embracing the painful memories of the past and working through their mourning for their parents' imprisonment, disappearance, and death (Johansson & Vergara, 2014; Llanos, 2016). Memory entrepreneurs are people who demand truth, justice, and memory by keeping social and political attention actively focused on memories of political repression and violence. However, these and other entrepreneurs not only desire to advance certain causes, demand reparations, or insist on getting recognition, but they also develop rituals and commemorations while constructing or claiming symbolic markers in public places—spaces and entrepreneurship products that certainly take part in memory construction (González & Pagés, 2014).

Studies on the memories of the dictatorship constructed by this generation are preliminary and exploratory in nature (Jara, 2013). In addition, no robust theoretical constructions exist regarding the memorial entrepreneurship conducted by the children of State repression survivors. The present study seeks to identify and shed light on the meanings, contents, and addressees of the process of memory transmission and entrepreneurship conducted by children of former political prisoners (former PPs) of the Chilean civilian-military dictatorship. In response to this knowledge gap, this study is aimed at identifying and understanding the memory transmission and entrepreneurship processes in children of political prisoners during Chile's civilian-military dictatorship.

Theoretical Background

Between the Duty to Remember and Exemplary Memories

In times of political consensus, individuals in a community have access to shared memories, because they negotiate individual and collective memories to strengthen their identity and affiliation to the group (Vezzetti, 2009). These shared memories oppress marginalized versions, which emerge during crises or in response to certain listening conditions that a society can offer these previously silenced actors (Pollak, 2006). For Stern and Winn (2014), the conditions for expressing these silenced memories (Da Silva, 2011) can be constructed through legal processes, commemorations, or monuments. The memories silenced by the official narrative will insistently try to make themselves heard and will stand against the memories of the State or those of the most politically powerful groups (Christou, 2007) to demand recognition and legitimacy (Jelin, 2009).

For Chilean memory entrepreneurs, the duty to remember—a notion first advanced by Primo Levi (2000)—involved taking to the public stage the memory of the events that the victors had silenced. Specifically, the duty to remember caused events to be presented in a literal, detailed, and sometimes excessive manner (Robin, 2012; Todorov, 2000), highlighting the figure of survivors and witnesses in legal spaces through their testimonies. In European debate, the embodiment of the duty to remember (Levi, 2000) in political space has been exercised by memory guardians, militants (Rouso, 2007; Traverso, 2011), or entrepreneurs (Pollak, 2006) who are able to organize human groups to further their cause. Their memory entrepreneurship (Jelin, 2002), in the form of legitimate versions of the past, has expressed itself within the framework of certain settings.

This setting normally adheres to a specific narrative and interpretation of the past, which constitute the view that entrepreneurs wish to transmit to those who did not experience the events directly or disagree with their interpretation (Traverso, 2011). Todorov (2000) warned against abusing this duty by transforming it into an excessive interest in remembrance. In this regard, he described literal memory as that which privileges the faithful, detailed, and accurate preservation of the event. This memory retrieves the unique, incomparable, and superlative aspects of the event; however, the specificity of these aspects prevents their critical processing.

By contrast, Todorov (2000) proposes exemplary memories, which consist in using a historical event as a model for understanding new situations. Specifically, he suggests rethinking tragic past events while considering what they can teach us. Exemplary memories consist in using remembered historical events as models for understanding new situations, adopting a position, and taking action. From this perspective, memory “does not cause the identity of the events to disappear . . . it interconnects them, establishing comparisons that can be used to highlight their similarities and differences, since extreme and everyday events have shared origins” (Todorov, 2000, p. 45).

To move from literal memory to the construction of an exemplary memory, the new generations require transmission policies and methods that connect young people with the tragedies of the past, which will enable them to understand the situations that made such tragedies possible; based on this knowledge, they should be able to interpret the present. Therefore, we can criticize the past and learn lessons from it to identify and address its possible repetitions in a new context, with other actors and in different circumstances.

Exemplary memories make values understandable, which is why entrepreneurs have the strategic role of selecting memories that serve ethical goals. Literal or saturated memory (Robin, 2012), on the contrary, causes intergenerational transmission to fail, as in this case the aim of leaving a heritage is to

keep the past alive as a generator of controversy rather than as a time to be nostalgically evoked, with no chance of further processing (La Capra, 2008).

Regarding the children of surviving victims of the Chilean dictatorship who engage in memory entrepreneurship (Jelin, 2002) based on their parents' experiences of political imprisonment and torture (PIT), it can be hypothesized that literal memory generates ritualizations and saturations of the contents, which hurts those who remember and limits interest among the addressees of memory entrepreneurship. In contrast, exemplary memories are hypothesized to enable sons and daughters to convey the value of past events when processing novel situations while also allowing them to enlist new entrepreneurs. Based on our research hypothesis, we sought to find answers to the following question: What characterizes the memory transmission and entrepreneurship processes of the children of people imprisoned for political reasons during Chile's civilian-military dictatorship?

Children as Agents of the Transmission of the Past

Studies conducted in various parts of the globe (Altounian, 2008; Kupelian, Kalayjian, & Kassabian, 1998; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Miñarro & Morandi, 2009; Rowland-Klein, 2004; Tatara, 1998) with survivors of political violence and their families have shown that traumatic situations affect not only direct victims but also several generations of descendants. This phenomenon is referred to as the *transmission of memories of the past*.

Memories of the traumatic past are dynamic: They change over time as the generations succeed one another. According to Aróstegui (2006), each generation constructs new memories of the past in response to the novel demands of the present. For Reyes (2009)—who regards memory as a dialogical construction in which remembering is a way of responding to others—this happens because each generation introduces different interpretations into intergenerational dialog.

However, not all authors regard the children of direct victims as a second generation. In the case of the civilian-military dictatorships of the 1970s in the Southern Cone, some researchers believe that descendants born before or during the violent events are part of the first generation of victims, because they were affected by the experiences of intimidation, home invasion, detention, and or/disappearance to which their parents were subjected (Minoletti, 2002). Other authors (Bekerman, Pezet, & Oberti, 2009; Brinkmann, Guzmán, Madariaga, & Sandoval, 2009) consider that the children of direct victims born during the democratic period belong to the third generation, as they were not present when political violence was taking place. To increase readability, we will employ the terms *second generation* to refer to the children of direct victims and

third generation to refer to their grandchildren. Social science researchers have characterized this second generation considering the psychological effects and pathologies associated with their status as heirs or child victims directly affected by these events (Davoine & Gaudilliere, 2011; Gampel, 2006; Kordon & Edelman, 2007; Kristal, in Van Alphen, 2006; Lansen, 1993), a perspective that highlights the transgenerational consequences of violent repression.

In Chile, the first studies on this second generation described the effects of State terrorism on children. Authors have identified bodily symptoms affecting basic functioning, including affective and behavioral disorders, with fear being a generalized aspect of their experience (Álamos, 1992). During adolescence, attempts were made to offset these difficulties via feelings of omnipotence, as children became “protectors” of their parents tasked with solving family problems (Castillo & Piper, 1996; M. Díaz, 1991, 1995; H. Faúndez, Estrada, Balogi, & Hering, 1991). This early research showed that, due to parental trauma, families focused on preserving their safety and quickly denouncing repression to the detriment of their children’s care and affective support (Castillo & Piper, 1996; M. Díaz, 1991, 1995; H. Faúndez et al., 1991). This caused children to experience emptiness, isolation, a lack of communication, and disintegration (Morales & Becker, 1994). Children took up a set of obligations and demands as a result of the traumatic events that affected their parents and became, in some cases, guards of their parents’ memory. This vigilance was aimed at preventing painful events from repeating themselves; alternatively, it has been interpreted as loyalty regarding their progenitors’ suffering (Bastías et al., 2001; D. Díaz & Unger, 2012; F. Díaz, 2006; Kovalskys & Morales, 2001; Latapiatt, Moscoso, & Zilveti, 2007).

In this context, aesthetic work has made it possible for less literal memorial narratives and constructions to emerge. In Argentina, second-generation artistic and political memorial production began in a context of impunity, with the HIJOS (children) organization constituting an iconic case (Bekerman et al., 2009; Cobas, 2013). For the victims’ children, this exercise entailed dilemmas regarding which of their parents’ struggles to remember and how, and whether to legitimize their aims or distance themselves from their discourses (Bonaldi, 2006; Cueto, 2009; Oberti, 2006).

In Chile, as previously noted, research on the memories of the children of the dictatorship’s victims is still incipient (Jara, 2013), with topics including literary fiction (Amaro, 2014) and audiovisual memory production (Llanos, 2016; Vidaurrázaga, 2012). These memorial productions introduce a new place of enunciation which allows this new generation to distance itself from testimonial rhetoric and where previous ideological assumptions begin to crumble, as children generate intimate narratives decoupled from the public and political aspects of their parents’ political affiliation, thus challenging

their projects and forms of struggle (Johansson & Vergara, 2014). This process enables sons and daughters formerly regarded as heirs of a damaged legacy to become entrepreneurs and agents who transmit not only their predecessors' memory but also new views and controversies about the recent past, as they appropriate a heritage while actively developing this legacy of pain (La Capra, 2008).

Method

Design

We chose to employ a qualitative methodology because this study strives to understand reality in a dynamic way, considering contextual and historical influences, and focuses on understanding social phenomena “from within,” with an inductive logic. This type of methodology regards the subjectivity and reflectiveness of the researcher and his or her team as an indissociable trait of scientific knowledge and thinking (Breuer, 2003; Cornejo, Besoain, & Mendoza, 2011; de la Cuesta, 2003; Flick, 2004; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). In addition, an exploratory, analytic-relational design was employed (Krause, 1995). This exploratory approach was adopted because few studies conducted in Chile have examined the memories of children of former PPs (Jara, 2013). The analytic-relational nature of this study resulted from our desire to construct theoretical knowledge about the meanings, contents, and addressees of the memory transmission in which children of former PPs engage.

The present study is novel inasmuch as it covers a topic that remains comparatively unexplored in the social sciences despite being a rather common phenomenon, as nearly 40,000 people have been recognized by the Chilean State as victims of PIT during the dictatorship (Comisión Presidencial Asesora para la Calificación de Detenidos Desaparecidos, Ejecutados Políticos y Víctimas de Prisión Política y Tortura, 2011). Therefore, it can be estimated that a large number of people are children of PIT victims.

Participants

Twelve children of direct victims of PIT during the civilian-military dictatorship took part in the study, of whom five resided in the Metropolitan Region and seven in the Araucanía Region. These regions were studied because both had high rates of State terrorism victims during the civilian-military dictatorship relative to their total population (CNVR, 1991; CNPTT, 2004, 2005). In 10 cases, the father was a victim of PIT; in one case, it was the mother; and in one case, both parents.

Most parents experienced PIT in the 1970s, as formal members of left-wing parties. In two cases, paternal uncles were also PIT victims. Five women aged 19 to 38 and seven men aged 19 to 41 participated in the study. Their current average age is 28.3 years. Participants are not members of dictatorship victim organizations, nor are they affiliated to any political party. They have all completed their higher education, are enrolled in a higher education institution, or have professional careers. Four of them have had children.

In qualitative studies, sampling is conducted upon the basis of the relevance of the cases examined, rather than on their representativeness. Thus, we chose to use typical case sampling (Patton, 1990), a purposive sampling technique, with the following inclusion criteria:

- a. Participants had to be children of political prisoners during the Chilean civilian-military dictatorship who had testified before the CNPPT and whose cases had been qualified by this agency.
- b. Participants had to be between 20 and 40 years old, as we sought to recruit adults only.

Procedure

FONDECYT project no. 11140137, which made it possible to produce and analyze the data, was reviewed and approved by Universidad de Valparaíso's Institutional Bioethics Committee for Research on Human Beings. Afterward, participants were contacted via key informants: people with a personal or professional trajectory linked to the defense and promotion of human rights. Those who agreed to participate were informed of the aims of the study, the research technique used, and the ethical considerations related to their participation. Group meetings were held, which were audio recorded and then transcribed in full by psychology undergraduates who joined the research team. The research team comprised four psychologists, three psychology undergraduates, and one holder of a bachelor's degree in history. To safeguard the rigorosity of the study and increase the density of the analyses performed (Cornejo & Salas, 2011), reflective notebooks were generated by researchers and transcribers (Cornejo et al., 2011).

Data Production Device

Two focus groups were conducted with children of former PPs, one in Santiago, the capital of the country, and another in Temuco, a city located in the south of the country. Focus groups have been defined as a type of group interview centered on the participants' lived experience (Canales, 2006; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). Participants join focus groups because they feel

that they have a shared experience. Utterances in focus groups follow an external order established by researchers, who select the topics discussed and regulate speaking turns.

The focus groups comprised women and men from the same generation—in this case, children of PIT victims. This homogeneity enabled them to engage in fluent conversation and open up to various topics of their experience as children of former PPs. Five children of PIT victims took part in the focus group held in Santiago (four men and one woman). Seven people participated in the Temuco focus group (four women and three men).

The focus groups conducted sought to explore memory transmission and entrepreneurship by observing the participants' interaction in their shared space (Kitzinger, 1995). The prompt used in the focus groups was "Tell us about your experience of being children of former political prisoners." Even though narrating their memories as children of PIT victims during the dictatorship could have elicited emotional symptoms and/or difficulties in some participants, this did not happen. The focus groups were conducted by researchers trained to perform tasks of this type: a psychologist with clinical experience and a feminist historian, both of whom had previously interviewed other victims of the dictatorship. In addition, both researchers were committed and sensitive regarding this subject, which enabled them to engage in wide-ranging listening and develop "empathic unsettlement" (La Capra, 2005). The above measures were aimed at ensuring the participants' well-being.

Data Analysis

The analysis performed was inspired by Grounded Theory principles (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 2002). The analysis began with a detailed individual reading of each focus group to review each participant's subjective experience regarding their experiences of memory transmission and entrepreneurship. After reviewing each text individually, content and thematic analyses were performed through open and axial coding processes. The initial categories were then grouped into concepts and relationships were established among them according to the axes of analysis. Theoretical and interpretative notes were generated during the analysis process (Strauss & Corbin, 2002), which were reviewed during the joint analysis meetings held by the research team (Cornejo et al., 2011).

Results

The participants talked about instances of memory transmission and entrepreneurship associated with their status as children of PIT survivors. The participants narrated their own life experiences; therefore, a variety of memories of

State terrorism and the dictatorship were collected on account of the heterogeneity of the repression against their parents. Three of the sons and daughters included in this study were born before their father's detention and eight were born after their father was detained. In one case, the participant's mother was pregnant with him during her PIT experience.

During the analysis process, we paid close attention to possible differences regarding memory transmission and entrepreneurship in connection with the participants' gender, their parents' gender, and the participants' age at the time of their parents' detention; however, no significant differences were found. Our analyses show that sons and daughters engage in common memory transmission and entrepreneurship actions regarding this experience. These common aspects can be grouped into six dimensions: (a) Breaking the silence: social recognition and affiliation; (b) That which still cannot be transmitted: a pact of silence about torture; (c) That which is transmitted is appropriated: struggle, survival, and loyalty to one's ideals; (d) The addressees of one's words: generational dialog; (e) The meanings of memory entrepreneurship: "Never Again" and the relief of clarifying things; and (f) The limits of transmission: fatigue and legitimacy.

These dimensions refer to aspects associated with the transmission process (Legendre, 1996) inasmuch as it involves conveying a message to achieve certain aims in a person's memory entrepreneurship.

Breaking the Silence: Social Recognition and Affiliation

The participants narrate scenes of their life as children and adults when they concealed their identity as sons or daughters of victims of the dictatorship. In some cases, their parents forbade them to speak about their status to protect the family from potential threats:

it was totally forbidden for me to say I'd been born in Cuba . . . only after '95 was I able to say "Hey, no, I was born in Cuba" because everyone thought I'd been born in France, I couldn't understand why I couldn't say anything about Cuba." (Mirta, FG1, 62)³

In some cases, this restriction was voluntarily adopted to avoid eliciting pain or rejection in others. Thus, the repressive experience was hard for the participants to share within their family and peer networks:

I hardly ever talk about it, if the subject doesn't come up . . . and I think I've never said I'm the daughter of . . . in front of . . . with my friends . . . it's just the topic has never come up . . . for me it's . . . I mean, it's quite painful . . . (Graciela, FG2, 757)

This initial cautiousness has changed substantially in the last decade, particularly due to the opening up of discourse in Chilean society. The participants mention the Valech Commission Report, the commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the coup in 2013, and the construction of monuments to honor the victims as events that have generated a social climate where their narratives can be better received. This is particularly highlighted by younger women, whereas older men are fiercely critical of such constructions. The latter regard official policies as “dead memory”:

the issue of human rights... what has been the official policy? . . . it's been . . . building memorials, monuments . . . but . . . there's no living memory . . . living memory is not part of these policies . . . and so . . . it's been impossible to . . . transform . . . no . . . society can't be changed yet. (Nestor, FG2, 148-159)

The children of PIT survivors know part of the hidden history of the country and therefore position themselves as protagonists authorized to challenge the official versions uttered by others. Their parents' experience—and therefore their own experience—bestows on them a “faculty” that others lack. Being a child of former PPs enables them to engage in memory entrepreneurship.

you've talked a lot about this in the past, and you keep talking about it when you discuss it with your classmates, with people anywhere . . . through the actions you perform in certain, I don't know, in certain organizations and it's like . . . it's part of your experience. And it's not like you're always saying: “I'm a daughter of a former political prisoner,” but it's a burden, I mean, it's like something that gives you the faculty to say, “I know about this . . . because my dad experienced it and I know how it was.” (Martina, FG1, 264)

“I feel it's necessary to do this . . . to tell this story, make it known . . . this cannot be left unpunished . . . I mean, this is what the military goons wanted . . . to divide society . . . break families down. . . and, in the long run, hide us . . . We need to keep doing this . . . this task, we need to say it.” (Graciela, FG2, 115)

Contextual aspects are strengthened by the adult position adopted by sons and daughters. The politicized environments that they begin to inhabit after they come of age and the university or work environments that they join have enabled them to transmit these memories and engage in entrepreneurship. Leaving behind their private environment of childhood authorized them to convey their family narratives.

The adult children of PIT victims are challenged by their own descendants, the third generation, who encourage them to transmit the family history of PIT. The participants admit that it is necessary for the third generation to know

the suffering of their grandparents, given that political repression is part of their personal identity, the family's biography, and Chilean history. However, they admit that this form of entrepreneurship is not straightforward and state that they engage in it only when they are directly asked about the past by their children, giving them enough time to process the new information:

that would still affects other generations in one way or another. . . my children, though they're living a normal life . . . they already know that . . . something happened to their grandmother . . . that their father is also a recognized victim . . . and that he's taking action and struggling to do something. (Ricardo, FG2, 197)

For the participants, being the child of a survivor is a burden, because they regard themselves as bearers of a painful message in the chain of intergenerational discourse. Their parents, directly affected by PIT, have remained in silence for many years, and this sorrowful story which also touches them compels them to address others via memory entrepreneurship.

That Which Still Cannot Be Transmitted: A Pact of Silence About Torture

The participants know the Valech Report. In their opinion, this document is valuable because it gives official recognition to Chile's painful past and enables direct victims to talk about PIT. However, they do not consider the information contained in it to be relevant, because they report having prior knowledge of what their parents had gone through. This generation found out about this issue by hearing their parents talk about it with others or by accidentally seeing signs of torture on their parents' bodies:

I never asked my dad anything, except once when I saw him in the bathroom. He was taking a shower, and I saw it. He had . . . my dad has scars on his back and on his head. Um, I saw that once and I asked him why he had that on his back. It's a very deep scar, it's quite big. (Maitén, FG1, 157)

According to the participants, their parents have not shared literal narratives of their suffering directly with them. They presume that their parents have chosen to remain silent to protect them from harm and resentment. They, as children, have implicitly honored this pact. "Knowledge" of what happened to their parents, that which they do not utter directly, is based on assumptions. It is not necessary for parents to narrate their experiences for their children to imagine them:

I've found out little by little, through other people . . . it's more or less what you imagine. . . but parents . . . at least in my case . . . my mom hasn't . . . she still hasn't told me everything . . . so you, as a son, you must live with . . . with that doubt . . . what happened . . .? (Ricardo, FG2, 232)

“. . . my dad's thing is also quite private and also lonely sometimes because he . . . he keeps everything inside, he does not talk about his experiences, his history . . . my dad didn't tell me what he went through, he never . . . told me his whole story . . . he never did. He's never told us anything. I remember finding out through my mom, she told me what had happened . . . so I would understand why he was so distant, so . . . I'm not saying he wasn't affectionate, he had a different way of showing affection to me . . . I don't know, it was weird . . . (Maitén, FG1, 23)

The second generation has speculated on what their parents went through through displaced narrations. The testimonies of other survivors have enabled the children of former PPs to understand the effects of torture on their parents' biography and, therefore, on their own upbringing. This imagined, untold torture makes it possible for children to understand their parents' choices after enduring PIT, their strict upbringing practices, their physical ailments, and, in more complex cases, the withdrawn personality of their fathers.

That Which Is Transmitted Is Appropriated: Struggle, Survival, and Loyalty to One's Ideals

When second-generation family members transmit their parents' experience to others, they narrate their parents' ideological commitment to social change. Sons and daughters defend the need to remember and transmit their parents' memories to improve their struggles; consequently, they adopt an ideological position aligned with the search for social equality, thus expressing their wish to rehabilitate their ideals:

finding out about all that . . . um . . . it makes the relationship between us . . . um . . . it's like . . . it's colored by all that . . . I mean . . . there's respect . . . pride too . . . and understanding. Because . . . actually what many . . . of our parents experienced was tough. Much tougher than what we've gone through. (Néstor, FG2, 93).

I had a good dad, because he raised me as a person who is able to think, that's what he conveyed, that's what he gave me. He gave me the courage to think and say the things I believe without fear, to communicate with others without fear, to talk without fear. (Maitén, FG1, 169)

In general, their parents' struggles are transmitted to others when discussing Chile's past—more specifically, when analyzing current political initiatives in the fields of education, work, and everyday life. For the interviewees, their acts and opinions must be consistent with their parents' legacy regarding solidarity, loyalty to one's values, and nonviolent political action:

it defines your way of life or your own struggles. Although we don't share the same experiences or historical contexts, it makes us see life differently. An idea of . . . justice that will always be present . . . and ourselves . . . I speak in the plural, but . . . in my case, for instance, when I was a student . . . a student leader . . . I was always trying to channel my own ideas . . . (Néstor, GF2, 435)

I'm not going on and on about it, saying "I'm the son of . . ." it's not like that . . . but . . . generally . . . I try to . . . For example, I took a taxi yesterday . . . and we started talking and the driver started complaining about the police . . . and the system . . . so I told him my family history. (Ricardo, FG2, 364)

These ideals are also admired by sons and daughters, who recognize that their parents' PIT experiences could have "broken them down." Most participants acknowledge that their parents' experiences caused suffering in their family, particularly due to the material consequences of political persecution: needing to go into hiding, living in poverty, and being unable to find a job. Nevertheless, they still value their ideological consistency, which led them to risk their own lives to save their comrades:

in my case there's some anger and some recognition of how patient they were to resist torture. Because despite being in pain, they remained silent . . . I mean, they didn't give any information about their comrades . . . (Claudio, FG2, 160)

The participants state that they have seldom talked to their peers or friends about their parents' PIT experiences. Only a few sons exercise this literal memory and want it to be told to others for posterity:

It's also important that this can be transmitted to new generations. How they struggled, how they were tortured . . . so they get the information. (Claudio, GF2, 239)

I've always conveyed this to students . . . I taught in a rural school, a countryside school . . . then in larger high schools. (Roberto, FG2, 321)

Some participants have joined political parties or have become leaders in their workplace, incorporating the memory of PIT into their struggles and

demands. Thanks to these political actions, they have been able to talk with their parents about their past and their specific political affiliations.

The Addressees of One's Words: Generational Dialog

The participants acknowledge that memory entrepreneurship depends on the presence of others who are willing to listen to their life experiences. However, all participants report that they have only encountered a few of these addressees.

Some sons and daughters engage in individual entrepreneurship actions to recall their parents' experience as they are not part of any political groups, nor do they work together with their siblings. Participants do not see their own brothers and sisters as a source of mutual support in their task of conveying what happened to their parents.

The younger participants mention the intellectual curiosity of the potential addressees of their memories of PIT, but state that there is no human interest in their second-generation experiences. Thus, those who ask them for information have academic or political motivations and prefer to hear about their parents' experiences:

Yes . . . the thing is we're only their children, just that. Because it's always focused on our parents. I'd never felt like . . . like a daughter, I mean . . . the daughter of a tortured prisoner, that's not who I am . . . (Martina, FG1, 374)

In a different vein, the participants criticize the pathologizing approach to their situation as children of former PPs adopted in the social sciences, especially in psychology. Given these descriptions, the participants adopt a position based on the desire to engage in memory entrepreneurship. They conclude that the transgenerational nature of the harm that affected them is a subject that does not interest society, yet they can see its relevance given the existence of reparation programs:

I was surprised to find out that PRAIS⁴ gave coverage to three or four more generations . . . and I'd say "why is that?" but now I get it. (Mauricio, FG1, 75)

Their closest addressees are their own children and grandchildren, their siblings, and their peers, friends, or colleagues. These instances of memory entrepreneurship have required them to negotiate meanings, especially those of the literal memories of the generation directly affected by PIT.

The participants recognize that their memory entrepreneurship has aims that differ from those of the generation that experienced PIT directly. Their

parents convey their memories for legal reasons and to give evidence of their point of view regarding past events. The participants do so to highlight their parents' survival and bravery. Thus, their second-generation narratives have a different value: They are not transmitted by a victim or a direct witness, but rather by an agent of an exemplary memory.

The Meanings of Memory Entrepreneurship: "Never Again" and the Relief of Clarifying Things

The participants state that the transmission of painful memories constitutes an act of freedom, because they cannot impose univocal and plaintive narratives to addressees belonging to new generations. Such an imposition would involve burdening others with meanings alien to them and which could cause rejection; therefore, they consider such actions to be useless. Nevertheless, participants hold that it is necessary for the new generations to learn about past events so that they never happen again. They talk about their parents' experience to explain human suffering and the value of tolerance, but especially to describe how people can commit atrocious acts against others on ideological grounds. The latter aim constitutes a fundamental challenge for the participants who engage in memorial entrepreneurship:

knowing that our father went through this will also teach them that pain exists and that some really horrible things happen and that some things . . . you just can't do them, no matter the philosophy or ideology behind them. (Maitén, FG1, 46)

The participants mention their need for subjective relief. They feel that they carry a painful burden due to their background and that the silence around it causes them to be unfairly stigmatized by Chilean society. The act of transmitting memories enables sons and daughters to understand their identity and fears. Narrating the history of PIT victims frees them from their burdens and concerns:

. . . these are things nobody talks about and knowing that there are other people like you . . . who went through the same things. It's shocking because maybe you don't know what to attribute it to . . . you don't want to be like this. So . . . then you understand there's a story behind this, a cultural trauma, a social trauma. And knowing you're not the only one, I think that helps you understand it better. (Julio, FG1, 364)

Some participants have talked in their own places of work or study or in those of their children just to be transparent to their peers, and also for their experiences to be protected and supported by those with whom they interact.

The Limits of Transmission: Fatigue and Legitimacy

The participants acknowledge that talking about torture hurts not only speakers but also listeners. They note that the act of giving testimony overwhelms the direct victims and themselves as transmitters of these narratives. The participants long to be relieved of these duties and consider that society as a whole, and especially the education system, should be tasked with dealing with these issues that exceed their individual capabilities. Furthermore, sons and daughters state that it is impossible to relate the torture experienced by a loved one; therefore, memory transmission and entrepreneurship are limited in terms of the horrid events that can be remembered:

I think it's not possible to explain to someone you love so much that you suffered, that you almost weren't born. How can you explain to someone else how painful it is? (Maitén, FG1, 211)

but history says that they even put snakes and mice in women's vaginas . . . so . . . how can I tell that (to my children)? (Ricardo, FG2, 230)

Participants who avoid talking about past events to their children intend to protect them. In their view, to talk is to harm, as sharing these experiences could transmit pain and damage from one generation to the next. Thus, they silence their experiences to avoid hurting the younger generation:

I think it's natural to protect your children . . . it's a way to break your chains, but unfortunately that wound is still open. (Ricardo, FG2, 195)

I've been telling my children about this gradually. My eldest daughter first . . . (Ornela, FG1, 7)

The participants ponder their role as transmitters of this experience, regarded as a family burden. They are aware that survivors are either old or are starting to die, which means that it is their duty to carry the torch passed on to them. Thus, the second generation will speak out to honor the dead when they are no longer able to transmit their memories. This generation must deal with feelings of guilt and fear connected with their own memories. Guilt is connected with the possibility of hurting others or being disruptive, while fear is linked to the threat of being excluded or penalized in educational and work environments. In this context, sons and daughters of PIT victims emerge both as bearers of a secret and as protectors of Chilean society in general.

Discussion

Theoretical Discussion of the Results Obtained

The present study suggests that the children of people subjected to PIT during the Chilean civilian-military dictatorship have accepted the task of transmitting their painful past. This is done by constructing exemplary versions about their progenitors' experiences and using them to engage in memory entrepreneurship, as described in the literature (Pollak, 2006; Todorov, 2000).

As pointed out in the "Theoretical Background" section, most of the studies that have enrolled children of surviving victims of Chile's civilian-military dictatorship have focused on describing and characterizing the damaged legacy of intergenerational transmission between parents and their descendants. In this study, we warn that sons and daughters are not passive recipients of the traumatic memories of their parents; rather, thanks to the passage of time and the willingness to listen of certain communities, they have become entrepreneurs who put forward exemplary memories of the past. According to the participants' discourse, this involved moving from silence and fear to a place of active enunciation, so that, as pointed out by Pollak (2006), entrepreneurship was presented as memory work.

Their parents' PIT experience is the main component of the transmission conducted by the second generation. However, when referring to the meanings of the act of remembering, sons and daughters mention aims that differ from those of the literal memory (Todorov, 2000) of this experience. For the second generation, talking to others, especially their peers, has enabled them to understand their painful childhood experiences and fears, especially to acknowledge that their family experiences linked to their parents' political affiliation were exceptional and risky. In a different vein, sons and daughters transmit their parents' PIT experiences to others to perform an ideological rehabilitation of the values of their political affiliation, such as loyalty, solidarity, and social justice.

The results obtained support the view that the second generation of PIT victims, in adulthood, engage in memory entrepreneurship for posterity. Second-generation victims are aware that their parents are old or near death, which means that it is their duty to carry the torch passed on to them. Thus, the memory of PIT can be enunciated when participants settle in an intermediate place within the intergenerational transmission chain (Bonaldi, 2006; Hassoun, 1996; Kaës et al., 1996; Kordon & Edelman, 2007).

The participants regard their memory entrepreneurship as an individual and noncollaborative task. They note that their own brothers and sisters, unlike themselves, do not engage in memory entrepreneurship. In addition, there are no associations of sons and daughters affected by the Chilean dictatorship, which further

hinders their struggle for the validation of their demands. In Argentina, on the contrary, the second generation has established itself as a relevant political stakeholder in the struggle for memory and justice even in a context of impunity (Cobas, 2013; Cueto, 2009). These elements hint at the presence of cultural and historical differences linked to the intergenerational impact of State terrorism.

The people who participated in this study displayed tensions associated with their own authority to speak in their parents' name. However, they resolve this tension by acknowledging their own suffering derived from the impact of PIT on their family life. Thus, recognizing the effects of their parents' PIT on their lives enables them to engage in memory entrepreneurship.

The narratives of the past that the participants transmit to others, as pointed out by Wikinski (2016), are limited by factors related to the very act of giving testimony about horrific events. Sons and daughters highlight the value of memory entrepreneurship, given that narrating their experiences brings their relevance to the fore, situating them in their historical and biographical context. The victims' sons and daughters, like their grandchildren (Faúndez, 2013), do not include the torture experienced by their parents in their narratives. Instead, the participants refer to their parents' political affiliation before the coup, their bravery and resistance during their PIT, and their subsequent survival. This is consistent with the findings of studies with samples of direct victims (Van Alphen, 2006) and grandchildren of former PPs (Faúndez, 2013; Faúndez; Brakelaire & Cornejo, 2014). Thus, memory setting (Traverso, 2011) adheres to a specific narrative and interpretation of the past, which is the version transmitted by entrepreneurs.

The participants state that although they are aware of what happened to their parents during their PIT, they found out not through direct narrations but via displaced ones. They value the fact that their parents talk or write about their memories, but prefer these acts to address others. For children, it is painful to deal with their parents' suffering. When the participants transmit memories to others, they do so referring to the periods before and after their parents were tortured; they conceal and silence torture to avoid hurting others and themselves. This finding is in line with Jara (2013), who notes that knowledge about others' torture experiences is silenced as if that truth were "poisoned knowledge" (Jara, 2013).

Contributions, Limitations, and Projections

First, this study grants visibility to a phenomenon that occurred in Chile and has been socially and scientifically silenced. Second, it contributes to the construction of useful knowledge for understanding the immediate and long-term consequences of torture.

The results obtained in this study provide psychological knowledge about memory transmission and entrepreneurship in children of surviving victims of PIT, a phenomenon that has received little scientific attention in our country.

Similarly, we expect that both the theoretical-methodological approach adopted and the results obtained will help develop broader lines of research, aimed at understanding intergenerational memory transmission and memory entrepreneurship in connection with a variety of traumatic events of family history and their impact on personal histories.

The present study revealed no gender-related differences in the discourses of sons and daughters regarding the act of transmission, its contents, aims, or addressees. Similarly, sons' and daughters' discourses did not differ in connection with the gender of the parents who suffered PIT. We suggest that new studies be conducted using methodological designs that make it possible to compare second-generation discourses according to the gender variable.

The discussions presented can be limited by the exploratory nature of this study. Understanding the establishment of the descendants of former PPs as legitimate actors in memorial debates about the past requires further research on their characteristics and the processes that they undergo. In addition, the present study may be limited by the small number of cases analyzed and the fact that most participants referred to the experiences of their fathers. It would be advisable to conduct studies capable of identifying potential differences linked to upbringing, gender roles associated with fatherhood/motherhood, and political affiliation. We also suggest conducting individual, social, and political studies on survival after experiencing PIT, given that such research would shed light on the silences and memories of the first generation.

We expect the results obtained will prove useful in orienting public policies for delivering treatment and reparations to the surviving victims of the dictatorship. In addition, we expect to provide useful elements for analyzing and understanding the place of traumatic social events of the past in the personal histories of Chileans. In this regard, the present study is also an attempt to contribute to the construction of social memory using scientific parameters.

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Notes

1. The National Commission of Truth and Reconciliation was an organism created in Chile in 1990 by President Patricio Aylwin Azócar to contribute to the global clarification of the truth about the serious human rights violations committed between September 11, 1973, and March 11, 1990. The commission was headed by the lawyer and politician Raúl Rettig; therefore, it is commonly known as the Rettig Commission, and its outcome is the Rettig Report.
2. The National Commission on Political Prison and Torture, presided by Monsignor Sergio Valech (and called the Valech Commission), was a Chilean organism created to clarify the identity of people who were deprived of their freedom and tortured for political reasons, due to acts of State agents or people at their service, in the period between September 11, 1973, and March 10, 1990. On August 18, 2011, the commission—presided by María Luisa Sepúlveda after the death of Sergio Valech on November 24, 2010—presented a second report where Chile officially recognized a total of 40,018 victims, with 3,065 dead or missing.
3. Quotations from the transcripts have been included. They specify the participant's pseudonym, the focus group number (FG1 and FG2), and the paragraph number within the transcript. All names of people and places have been changed.
4. The Reparation and Comprehensive Health Care Program (Programa de Reparación y Atención Integral en Salud, PRAIS), implemented by the Ministry of Health, represents the Chilean State's commitment to the people affected by human rights violations between September 1973 and March 1990.

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