

*Portrayals of Pinochet: Historical Narratives in Chilean
Schools*

by
Katie Wright

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

Oxford
May 2016

Approved by

Advisor: Dr. Marcos Mendoza

Reader: Dr. Kees Gispen

Reader: Dr. Luanne Buchanan

ABSTRACT

How is the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship represented historically in contemporary Chilean society? To answer this question, this thesis examines the education system, with a focus on high schools and universities in Valparaíso, Chile. I argue that there are two competing discourses about the Pinochet administration - a majority, anti-dictatorship perspective and a minority, pro-regime position - which selectively emphasize differing aspects of the regime. The anti position focuses on human rights violations while the pro perspective puts greater weight on economic achievements. This maps onto Chilean high school institutions, with a majority of upper and upper-middle class students attending private schools and a majority of lower class students attending public schools. As such, the private schools are shown to adopt a highly economic discourse while the public schools are more likely to give a balanced presentation of the dictatorship, including the social issues. In contrast, Chilean universities face fewer institutional constraints, and professors have a higher degree of academic freedom; therefore, the discourse in these institutions instead depends on the individual expertise and class standing of the professors. In order to determine the prevalent historical representation, middle school and high school textbook chapters were analyzed, and interviews were conducted with both Chilean high school teachers and university professors. This study can be replicated in other regions of Chile as well as be expanded to analyze actual high school and university history lessons. The results show that a broader narrative is becoming more common, with economic-based discourses prevalent only in Chilean private high schools and select university classes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Table of Images	v
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Question & Hypothesis	2
1.3 Methodology	4
1.4 Thesis Overview	6
CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Modern Chilean Political History	8
2.3 Pro- Versus Anti- Arguments: the Economy & Human Rights	10
2.4 Democracy & Justice	12
2.5 Chilean Education	14
2.6 Historical Representation	17
2.7 Hypothesis/Contribution	19
CHAPTER 3 – CHILEAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS	21
3.1 Introduction	21
3.2 Textbook Covers & Editions	22
3.3 Differing Perspectives	23
3.4 The Political	24
3.5 The Economic	27
3.6 The Social	28
3.7 The Visual	29
3.8 The Omitted	31
3.9 Conclusion	32
CHAPTER 4 – CHILEAN HIGH SCHOOLS	34
4.1 Introduction	34
4.2 Demographics	36
4.3 Freedom to Teach	37
4.4 The Political	38
4.5 The Economic	40
4.6 The Social	41

4.7 Difficulties Among Students	43
4.8 Support for Pinochet In Education & Chilean Society	44
4.9 Conclusion	44

CHAPTER 5 – CHILEAN UNIVERSITIES **46**

5.1 Introduction	46
5.2 Demographics	47
5.3 The Political	48
5.4 The Economic	51
5.5 The Social	52
5.6 Difficulties Among Students	54
5.7 Support for Pinochet In Education & Chilean Society	56
5.8 Conclusion	57

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION **58**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **61**

ENDNOTES/TRANSLATIONS **67**

TABLE OF IMAGES

Image 1	sixth-grade textbook cover	23
Image 2	tenth-grade textbook cover	23
Image 3	Google Maps Valparaíso, Chile	35

Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

On September 4, 1970, Chile elected Salvador Allende as its first socialist president. Already having organized military coups in Brazil, Ecuador, and Guatemala, the CIA resumed their work against Allende, contacting 21 powerful Chilean military personnel to encourage the idea of a coup d'état in Chile (Rosenfelder 1996:1). The leaders of each military branch formed a Junta and began their plans to overthrow Allende.

The CIA and the Junta succeeded in overthrowing Allende on September 11, 1973 when the Moneda Palace was surrounded by Chilean military and the President shot himself rather than surrender. General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, promoted to Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army by President Allende himself months prior to the coup, assumed the role as the new President of Chile (Gjelten 2006:2). He sought to restore economic and political stability to Chile, but in doing so, General Pinochet created a state of terror. In order to restore economic stability after Allende's democratic socialist government, Pinochet utilized a neoliberal plan designed by University of Chicago graduates in economics who had trained under Milton Friedman. The plan aimed to modernize Chile by removing state intervention in the economy, allowing market forces to drive the economy, and privatizing nearly all sectors including healthcare, water, and education (Oppenheim 1999:27-28). This neoliberal shift is sometimes called the "Chilean economic miracle" as it helped to lower inflation, modernize agriculture, and create the highest GDP growth in Latin America during the 1970s and 80s (Oppenheim 1999:121,130).

In addition to providing economic stability, it is also said that Pinochet and the military

regime reestablished political stability. Before Pinochet took control in 1973, Chile had experienced the full gamut of governments, from liberal and conservative presidents and constitutions to military coup d'états, dictatorships, and most recently, democratic socialism, each lasting a maximum of 10 years ("Chile Timeline" 2012:1). Pinochet and the military regime remained in power from 1973 to 1990, marking the longest era of Chilean political stability. Furthermore, the Constitution of 1980 was unreformed until 2005 and still remains in place today (Nolte 2008:16).

These economic and political gains are often cited to justify the tyrannical reality of the dictatorship. Under the guise of restoring order to the country, General Pinochet and the military junta murdered, tortured, and exiled thousands of Chileans viewed as threats to their military regime. Within weeks of gaining power, the junta had organized the 'Caravan of Death' to eliminate political threats, allowing the military to execute 75 Chileans and exile many more (Burbach 2003:48). Pinochet also instated the DINA, or the National Directorate of Intelligence, which enforced the state of terror, killing and disappearing well over 3,000 Chileans (Ensalaco 2000:55-58). The initial military force thought necessary to restore political order and economic stability developed into something more permanent, creating a major human rights issue.

Research Question & Hypothesis

In the case of the Chilean dictatorship, like most other historical events, there are conflicting perspectives. After a mere day in the country, one notices the seriousness the subject still holds in society. The man next to you on the bus might praise the economic triumphs of Pinochet while proudly clutching his briefcase; the outspoken woman selling you an empanada might turn her nose in disgust as a recording of General Pinochet appears on the television.

Acknowledging these differing perspectives, this thesis asks: How is the Pinochet dictatorship represented historically in contemporary Chilean society?

To answer this question, this particular study focuses on high schools and universities in the region of Valparaíso, Chile. The grand metropolis, situated in a cove on the coast of Chile, includes four cities stretching from the north to the south. Each of the beach towns claims its own individual description, with Concón in the north known for its immaculate houses and numerous surf shops to Valparaíso in the south, characterized as a vivacious and dirty city. Also mapped onto this curve of Valparaíso is an enormous range of economic wealth and extreme poverty. The wealthy reside in the north of the region and consider their little cities separate from Valparaíso while the majority of the poverty stricken live in the more dangerous, industrial southern end officially called Valparaíso. This simultaneously geographical and economic spectrum plays a key role in this particular study. With the majority of pro-Pinochet citizens being wealthier, the northern part of the region contains more private schools and middle to upper class families. In contrast, the heart of Valparaíso in the south has more public schools and working class population.

I argue that there are two competing discourses about the dictatorship, the majority being anti-Pinochet and the minority being pro-Pinochet. Depending on the economic and social situation of a particular high school, historical representation of the dictatorship varies. There is no room for conversation about human rights violations in higher-income, private schools, which focus on economic triumphs, while lower-income, public schools discuss human rights violations more openly. Within universities, the historical representation will be determined by the particular professor and therefore influenced by their historical expertise and personal beliefs.

Methodology

In order to answer my research question, I conducted interviews, both informal and formal, with Chilean teachers, professors, and students in Valparaíso, Chile from March to June 2015. In addition, I was able to survey the government-issued history textbooks used in 80% of Chilean high schools and middle schools. Before conducting interviews, I completed an IRB exempt application with my intent for research and my interview questions and was approved to move forward with my research. During my initial months in Chile, I spent enormous amounts of time reaching out to schools, professors, and students in hopes of setting up interviews and gaining access to textbooks. After three difficult months, I was able to conduct interviews with high school and university professors from both private and public schools. I also conducted university student surveys and reviewed the government-issued textbooks for each year in Chilean middle schools and high schools.

In the case of high school teachers and university professors, I used formal interviews. These were conducted within the particular universities or high schools. I prepared a list of six questions to gather sociological data about the interviewees. The majority of professors pertained to the upper and middle classes, had received a master's degree in their field, and were mostly Catholic.

- Date of birth:
- Gender:
- What city are you from?
- Which social class do you identify with: lower/middle/upper?¹
- How many years of school have you completed?
- Are you religious? If yes, which?

Next, I prepared 12 basic interview questions to get an idea of how the military dictatorship is

¹ Rather than focusing on class as a more objective classifier, professors and teachers were asked to subjectively identify themselves within a socioeconomic class. I found that Chilean society places utmost importance on class, referring to wealth, education, and employment.

taught and discussed in Chilean history courses. They were as follows:

- Is your school public or private?
- How do you speak about the Pinochet administration in your history classes?
- Do the textbooks discuss the theme of the human rights violations?
- Do the textbooks teach that Pinochet was an economic hero?
- Do the textbooks say that Pinochet stopped Communism in Chile?
- Are the United States mentioned in the coup d'état of 1973?
- As a history professor, do you teach only what is in the textbooks or do you also bring other resources and opposing views?
- Is the topic of the military regime and General Pinochet polemical among students?
- Does your school allow you to talk openly about the military regime instead of teaching only what is written in the textbooks?
- Do you know anyone that was disappeared during the military regime?
- Do you think that many Chileans still support Pinochet?
- Does the education system, in general, defend the military regime?

In regards to participant observation, I had the opportunity to interact with many Chileans of all ages while studying at the Catholic University of Valparaíso, commuting on the public bus, sitting around the dinner table with my Chilean family, and interacting with locals in a running club. Through this I learned different perspectives Chileans have based on economic factors, cultural factors, and personal experiences. I participated in discussions with my host family and professors to learn more about what life was like during this era and why perspectives are so conflicting about the topic. I was able to visit the wealthier regions such as Concón and Reñaca and talk with military families about their experiences, which gave a face to those who benefitted economically from the dictatorship. I was also able to visit the Museum of Memory and Human Rights in the capital city of Santiago, which brought to reality the human rights violations and the enduring pain Chileans still experience today.

Finally, I also have copies of middle school and high school history textbook sections that deal with the Pinochet administration. These textbooks are used in over 80% of Chilean schools, both public and private. These textbooks allowed me to analyze the master narrative being constructed by the Ministry of Education in Chile. I was also able to compare them with

professor interviews. If professors have said they are not able to bring in other resources when teaching the topic, I have an idea of what they are allowed to teach.

In order to analyze the data, the interviews were both transcribed and translated, and a field notebook was created based on participant observations. Next, the data was coded in terms of key themes. This means a list of codes or themes was established to assist with sorting and drawing conclusions from the data. Basic themes included:

- Di = Dictatorship
- E = Economic
- HR = Human Rights
- GS = military coup
- SA = Allende
- AP = Pinochet

With these codes, I was able to perform qualitative ethnographic analysis of all data.

Thesis Overview

My thesis contains five sections. The first chapter gives a brief introduction to the dictatorship, the economic situation during this era, and the Chilean schools. Chapter Two then presents existing literature on the topic and articulates what I hope to contribute with my research. Chapter Three surveys the Chilean history textbooks, providing the basic framework for what is taught in the history courses. In Chapter Four, the two competing discourses are shown within the public and private high school through the analysis of interviews with professors from each type of institution. Chapter Five moves on to discuss how the university discourse differs from the trend within Chilean high schools and relies almost wholly upon the individual professor's beliefs and sociocultural background. Lastly, Chapter Six is the conclusion to my thesis, charting some of the difficulties experienced during the study and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Portrayal of Pinochet: Historical Narratives in Chilean Schools Literature Review

Introduction

Competing pro- versus anti-Pinochet discourses are apparent in Chilean society. As Chilean activist Carmen Garfias states in an interview with *Newsweek*, “Every Chilean life is shaped by the dictatorship” (Mallen 2013:1). This dictatorship era has left its footprint on Chilean society and will continue to do so. Memories are passed down from parents and grandparents to children and grandchildren, documentaries and discourses explore the implications of life under the dictatorship, and memorials and museums are dedicated to those in search of justice. As Constable and Valenzuela have argued: “Chileans remain[ed] fixated on the Popular Unity debacle and the coup as if time has stood still” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:141). Chilean society, whether pro- or anti-Pinochet, is working to reconcile itself with the dictatorship era.

Only 25 years after the dictatorship, some argue that this recent past is too current and polemical to be taught in Chilean schools (Radjenovic 2014:1). Just a basic look into documentaries, memoirs, and opinion articles on the subject shows how polarized the differing perspectives still are regarding Pinochet and his military regime; however, the topic is being taught in Chilean schools. Surrounded by all of the on-going reconciliation efforts, search for justice, and societal polarization, my research aims to answer the question: What is being taught in Chilean schools regarding Pinochet and the dictatorship era? What is the dominant historical narrative of the Pinochet administration being disseminated within the Chilean education system?

In this literature review, I will introduce several key themes related to the polarization of

Chilean society. First, I will discuss modern Chilean political history to give an overview of why and how the dictatorship occurred. Next, I will delve into the pro-Pinochet argument, exploring the Chilean economic reforms made before and during the military dictatorship. In order to balance the perspectives, I will then give an overview of human rights violations and oppression during the military dictatorship, establishing the anti-Pinochet argument. The themes of democracy and justice will also be discussed, demonstrating the relevance the topic still holds in Chilean society. Then, I present a brief overview of the Chilean education system followed by the theories of historical representation I will use to explain my research. Finally, I will develop my argument in relation to this existing literature.

Modern Chilean Political History

When the Unidad Popular and Allende came to power in 1970, the Chilean economy was “monopolistic, externally dependent, oligarchic and capitalist” (de Vylder 1974:27). In 1960, economic sectors were controlled by 248 firms, 75% of total exports were copper, and the income distribution was severely unequal with the richest 10% of the population taking 40.2% of the wealth (de Vylder 1974:27-28). Allende proposed anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and antimonopoly reforms such as the nationalization of production and transfer of power to workers, all with the hopes of combatting extreme capitalism and redistributing wealth (de Vylder 1974:8).

In 1969, the year before Allende’s election, Chilean military officers attended a dinner in Washington with Pentagon generals. “Over dessert, one of the Pentagon generals asked what the Chilean army would do if the candidate of the left, someone like Salvador Allende, were elected” to which General Toro Mazote replied, “We’ll take the Moneda Palace in half an hour, even if

we have to burn it down” (Márquez 2013:2). After Allende’s election, President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his national security adviser, joined with the CIA to send one million dollars to be spent on political propaganda in Chile before President Allende’s inauguration (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:23). Though the period was joyful for students, the working class, and professionals, it brought economic destruction for farm owners, businessmen, and others who had benefitted from the oligarchic capitalism (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:25). Foreign investment began to flee the country, and the rich became enraged. “Conservatives openly plotted to overthrow the government, while leftist groups demanded that Allende surge ahead with the revolution and arm workers for its defense” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:27).

A coup attempt took place on June 1973 with the help of the CIA; however, General Carlos Prats, the army’s commander-in-chief, disarmed it to uphold the nonintervention policy of the military (Devine 2014:9). When General Prats resigned his position and Allende appointed General Augusto Pinochet as his successor, the CIA knew that a successful coup was now a possibility (Devine 2014:9). The leaders of the four military branches began to form a plan with the financial and logistical assistance of the CIA.

On the morning of September 11, 1973, tanks had surrounded the Moneda Palace, the navy had overtaken the port city of Valparaíso, and the armed forces had taken control of nearly the entire country (Devine 2014:10). Shortly after, the air force fired rockets at the Moneda Palace, and then Chilean troops stormed it. Rather than surrender, President Allende recognized that “they have the strength; they can subjugate us, but they cannot halt social processes by either crime or force” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:16). He knew his defeat was near and asked to be remembered as “an honorable man who was loyal to the revolution” while urging his supporters “to defend ‘but not sacrifice’ themselves in resisting the coup” (Constable & Valenzuela

1993:16). He then took his own life. Upon his death, General Pinochet and his military Junta quickly took armed control of the country, arresting, torturing, and executing supposed political enemies, instating a nightly curfew, infiltrating the schools, and developing economic reforms to reverse the road that had been taken towards Chilean socialism (Divine 2014:11-12, Constable & Valenzuela 1993:31-37).

Pro- Versus Anti- Arguments: the Economy & Human Rights

General Pinochet's economic reforms and his violations of human rights are the key categories and perspectives that create the competing discourses of the dictatorship among Chileans and within the education system. Those who benefitted from the economic reforms praise Pinochet for cleansing Chile of the "Marxist cancer" and salvaging the economy after Allende, and those who suffered under his iron fist curse his name and demand that justice be served even after his death. The two arguments are necessary to understand when working with the historical construction and representation of the military dictatorship.

In regards to economics, the Chilean "economic miracle" is largely based on the Chicago Boys and their free-market reforms. The Chicago Boys were a group of Chilean students who had been trained at the University of Chicago. Funded by the United States government and later Chilean businesses, the program allowed postgraduate students to become educated on free-market doctrines (Collins & Lear 1995:24). "Middle- and upper-class students at the Catholic University in the 1950s and 1960s, [they] shared a conservative religious background, a visceral rejection of socialism, and a contempt for Chile's free-wheeling, mass democracy" (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:167). Though they had been rejected in the years before Pinochet, the Chicago Boys became some of Pinochet's top policy makers (Collins & Lear 1995:24).

The Chicago Boys derived an economic model based on the teachings of Milton Friedman and free-market policies known as “the brick”, “a 500-odd-page plan for reversing the economic policies of Chile implemented over the previous half century (Collins & Lear 1995:25). The model sought to privatize much of the Chilean economy, allow prices to fluctuate with the market, and reduce government spending (Letelier 1976:1). When the Chilean “economic miracle” hit its stride in 1979, exports and production of produce, fish, and forestry had shown explosive growth (Collins & Lear 1995:31). Chileans were able to borrow money to purchase modern electronic goods, homes, and cars. In 1980, the Chilean economy experienced an 8% overall growth, helping Pinochet receive 67% approval in the state-controlled plebiscite (Collins & Lear 1995:32). The economy continued to grow throughout the dictatorship, with an annual GDP increase of 5% (Barro 2000:1), decreasing inflation from 375% in 1975 to 9.9% in 1982 (Gilmour 2013:3), a 22.3% increase in real wages (Dornbusch & Edwards 1991:196), and a reintroduction of foreign investment paired with a decrease in government spending (Jasper 2001:6).

The eyes of the world were upon Chile as the economy grew faster and farther than other Latin American countries. As former U.S. Ambassador to Chile, Curtis Kamman said, “It’s almost too good to be true, and people wonder where the downside is” (Collins & Lear 1995:3), at which point, the other half of Chilean society would begin to point towards the violations of human rights committed under the military regime. Under the guise of enforcing the economic changes and improving political stability, Pinochet and the military regime murdered, tortured, and exiled thousands of Chileans viewed as political enemies.

During the dictatorship, “more than 3,000 Chileans were killed or *desaparecido* (disappeared); 20,000 were imprisoned and tortured; and more than 200,000 went into exile”

(Mallen 2013:1). The initial months following the military coup were the most severe, accounting for nearly half of the disappearances and executions (Wyndham & Read 2010:33). Thousands were held and tortured in the National Stadium in Santiago, others shot and brought by the truckload to cemeteries, and still more were exiled to foreign countries or fled before they were exterminated by the DINA, the Chilean secret police (Wyndham & Read 2010:32-35). Detainees were tortured with almost fatal amounts of electric shocks, beatings with whips and clubs, and witnessing the torturing of their friends and family; women were treated equally as men, with the addition of rape (Meade 2001:129-130). The human rights abuses continued as long as the economy continued to thrive. “Since there was little official recognition of human rights abuses, it was possible for sheltered and incurious Chileans to remain ignorant of gruesome cases” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:145).

Democracy & Justice

Complying with his own Constitution, Pinochet arranged for a plebiscite to be held on October 5, 1988. In the year leading up to the poll, two campaigns emerged: YES and NO. Despite the efforts and investments of the YES campaign, the official results showed that the NO had won with 54.7% of the votes. Recognizing his defeat, Pinochet announced in his military tunic, “I... accept the verdict expressed by a majority of the citizens. [The armed forces] will firmly maintain their commitment to the principles that inspired the glorious effort of September 11, 1973” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:310). Though there was an outburst of celebration throughout the streets in Chile, the road to rebuilding democracy and justice that would follow proved more difficult than they had imagined.

Patricio Aylwin, “leader of the Coalition for Democracy – an uneasy alliance of Center

and Left elements – “ won the first free Chilean election in 19 years and became the first leader of the Concertación; however, due to newly imposed government sanctions, key institutions were now under military control (Wyndham & Read 2010:37). Before his rule ended, Pinochet “upgraded laws that banned civilian interference with military budgets, promotions, or education”, “guaranteed the armed forces a percentage of all sales of state copper;” and “reshuffled the high army command, promoting confidants and hard-liners” (Constable & Valenzuela 1993:317). As a result, the return to democracy offered little to the Chileans other than political participation and the elimination of the threat of execution or torture. The majority of resources and government services such as education, public housing, water, copper, and public transportation continued to be owned and operated by private investors and foreign companies (Mallen 2013:3).

Along with the lack of social and government reforms, “democracy also failed to provide redemption and justice for the families affected by the regime’s brutality” (Mallen 2013:3). A National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation was established by President Aylwin within his first months. The commission was meant to gather information and numbers of executions, exiles, and tortures that had occurred during the 17-year dictatorship; however, in order to insure the cooperation of the military, amnesty was granted to those found responsible for the crimes (Wyndham & Read 2010:37). In addition, according to the Constitution, Pinochet was a senator-for-life after presidency, granting him amnesty as well while in Chile (Mallen 2013:2).

Though Pinochet and the majority of military personnel responsible for the human rights violations have yet to undergo trials for their gruesome deeds, a number of memorials have been erected to honor the victims and their families. Among them are the National Stadium, in which Chile’s national soccer team still plays and won the Copa América this year; the Villa Grimaldi,

a Santiago mansion where 5,000 prisoners were brutally tortured but now commemorated as a Peace Park; and “Patio 29”, the cemetery whose back field became a mass grave. “As such, the current democratic government has fulfilled an obligation to commemorate the memory of the victims... but has not stepped into the volatile territory of drawing lessons from the brutality and human rights violations that regime carried out” (Meade 2001:126). Though the search for justice remains alive, many Chileans still cannot accept that such violence was committed within their own country, which prides itself on being highly civilized, but even as they do come to believe the horror stories, they must still be revisited in order “to build a sufficiently strong cultural barrier against the possibility of that happening again” (Correa 1992:1485).

Chilean Education

“In 1980, the Chicago Boys finally launched their education ‘reforms.’ Thanks to two decrees... Chilean education would never be the same” (Collins & Lear 1995:128). The first called for the municipalization of both primary and secondary schools. This meant that instead of being controlled and funded at the state level by the national education ministry, now the municipal schools would be run by individual cities. The second subsidized private and municipal schools, meaning that the government would pay a subsidy for each student enrolled. The government removed all university spending and demanded that they finance themselves (Collins & Lear 1995:128). Essentially, education had been partially privatized and decentralized. Today, “Chile devotes only 0.4% of its gross national product to education” (McSherry & Mejía 2011:4).

As a result of this privatization, the current Chilean education system has three types of high schools: 1) public, municipality schools; 2) schools subsidized by the government on a per-

student basis; and 3) private schools charging tuition (Collins & Lear 1995:130). The municipality schools depend on their city government for funding, which is often unavailable. This causes students to fall behind and many teachers to search for second jobs. The students who can afford it often change to a subsidized school, in which the parents pay a portion of the tuition while the government provides a subsidy for the remaining portion. The subsidy varies on the amount of days the student is present throughout the semester (Collins & Lear 1995:128). Though this sounds like a better option compared to municipality schools, “the size of the government tuition plus the tuition most parents can afford... doesn’t really pay the dividends, and therefore education has become anemic” (Collins & Lear 1995:137). Lastly, there are the upscale high schools for the students whose parents can afford tuition to an elite private school. The general trend is that students who attend private high schools come from upper and upper-middle class families while those at public high schools are from lower and lower-middle class families.

The university level institutes were also affected by the privatization. Because the government removed the majority of university funding demanding that they become self-financing, the universities were forced to charge or raise tuition. The same school entrepreneurs opening subsidized high schools began to found private universities, offering generally mediocre quality education at a hiked tuition rate (McSherry & Mejía 2011:3). Public universities have had trouble with self-financing and cannot properly pay teachers or update equipment and buildings while private schools can afford to offer poor education to students and part-time jobs to teachers because richer families see them as the best alternative to a run-down public university (Collins & Lear 1995:134).

With no funding for personal textbooks or curriculum, the majority of public and

subsidized schools use the State distributed textbooks (Oteíza 2003:642). Before the Chilean Educational Reform in History in March 2000, “[historical textbooks] generally covered only the period to 1951, continuing to silence 20 years of our history and offering only one voice: the official one” (Oteíza 2003:640). Now, the military dictatorship is covered in middle school and high school history textbooks, and the use of the word “dictatorship” was approved in 2012 (Malkin 2013:1); however, “it is clear that the emphasis is on the economic rather than the social or the political” (Oteíza 2003:642). According to Chilean university history professors Teresa Oteíza and Derrin Pinto, in post-dictatorship societies, history books attempt to maintain neutrality in order to “reinforce an image of social harmony, consent and political stability” (334). What these history textbooks portray is important as it is the “official version of history that is being passed on to a new generation” (Oteíza & Pinto 2008:333).

Oteíza conducted a study on the language used in Chilean middle schools textbooks when teaching contemporary history, from the military coup to the end of the dictatorship. She compared the specific language used when detailing the events of the military coup and the military dictatorship and discovered the emphasis on economic policies and growth during the time rather than a fair criticism of the dictatorship (Oteíza 2003:642). She employs linguistic analyses such as the analysis of grammatical structure and word use to reveal the subjectivity regarding the issues. For example, she discovers the use of “and” frequently instead of a “more explicit and specific logical relationship between clauses” (Oteíza 2003:646). Overall, her text analysis shows that the middle school textbooks present “the military coup as a necessity due to the ‘generalized disorder’ and ‘political and economical crisis’ of Allende’s government” (643).

Oteíza also conducted additional research with Pinto on the portrayal of the dictatorship and democratic transitions in Spanish and Chilean history textbooks. The same linguistic

analysis is applied, this time to two high school textbooks. Though both acknowledge the differing perspectives of the dictatorship, they refer to the time leading up to the dictatorship as variations of “Democratic Rupture” (Oteíza & Pinto 2008:337). In addition, “the term ‘military regime’ alternates with ‘military government’, but the word ‘dictatorship’ is mentioned only once in quotation marks” (Oteíza & Pinto 2008:337). These language choices distance students from and even avoid mentioning the events while “the human rights violations are presented in a nominalized manner,” leaving out the names of those that committed the violations (Oteíza & Pinto 2008:344). Overall, the studies are used to show how language different choices in textbooks construct historical narratives.

Historical Representation

Many scholars, such as Comaroff and Kosselleck, have written about sociocultural influences on historical representation, which produce different perspectives, interpretations, and readings of past events (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; Kosselleck 2002). This study of historical representation in the Chilean educational system draws from the recognition that history is always being reframed, always presenting “partial truths” (Clifford 1986:423). Beyond assembling the differing histories told about the dictatorship, I attempt to understand the social and cultural positioning of teachers and students, analyzing how they present partial truths shaped by class and institutional affiliations.

“By the careful choice of what facts to include or exclude, it is possible to construct arguments that can be wholly one-sided, yet can be asserted to ‘fit the facts’” (Romanowski 1996:1). Though his study pertained to the representation of minorities in U.S. history textbooks, Michael Romanowski explores the idea that textbook authors are influenced by their personal

beliefs, both moral and political. Ultimately, it is concluded, “textbooks can communicate biased assumptions and judgments” (Romanowski 1996:1). In my study, the research subjects come from different religions, class, and military/civilian backgrounds.

Because of the partiality of historical representation, it is important to look at different representations and perspectives in addition to the master narrative or the status quo. In a study of historical narratives in China, Prasenjit Duara suggests that historical identities are “dynamic, multiple, and contested” (16). As Sir George Clark, an English historian, argued, there is no ultimate history. Rather, “knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, has been ‘processed’ by them, and therefore cannot consist of elemental and impersonal atoms which nothing can alter” (XXV). Historical representation is permeated by the subjectivity inherent to the different social standings of people, reflecting their class, racial, or gender backgrounds. David Wishart suggests that historical representation can be emancipated by the rejection of the possibility of objectivity (117). “Together a variety of versions of history must surely resemble history as it occurred better than a single dogmatic version” (Wishart 1997:117). Historical narratives are not exact duplicates of what actually happened in the past, but rather, a symbol of what historians believe to have happened through the selection of facts (Wishart 1997:114-116). While complete objectivity is an illusion, this should not lead us to believe that all historical narratives are equally valid. Rather, we should aim to take into consideration social backgrounds or experiences that influence particular narratives, as we strive to present more robust theories of historicity.

The history taught in Chilean schools is hardly neutral. “Teachers develop in their students a sense of historical perspective, helping them to enter the patterns of the past and see through the eyes of the people who were there” (Brophy and VanSledright 1997:31). My

analysis focuses on how institutional settings – public versus private schools – shape the historical narratives about the dictatorship.

Contribution

Though prior research has been done on the language use in Chilean textbooks by Teresa Oteíza and Derrin Pinto, I move beyond their work to examine what is actually being taught in Chilean history classes. The two professors brilliantly analyzed how particular word-use is employed to distance students from the dictatorship, but my study looks more directly at the content of the history textbooks and lessons.

My argument is that there are two competing discourses in Chilean history courses and textbooks, pro- Pinochet and anti-Pinochet. As shown in the literature above, the pro-Pinochet argument chooses an economic argument while the anti-Pinochet side takes a more social stance, focusing on the human rights violations and repression. I further argue that a different narrative is presented based on the particular institution and its constraints. Within private schools, a majority of students come from an upper class or military background. As a result, history teachers are not able to speak openly about differing perspectives because of curricular and parental constraints. Instead, they are limited to an economic narrative when discussing the dictatorship. Within public schools, there is a wider range of social backgrounds and teachers are generally permitted to freely discuss the two competing discourses about the dictatorship. Within universities, there is less regulation. The main narrative depends on the particular professor and his or her class position or civilian/military status. University professors with an upper class, religious, and/or military background tend to focus more on the economic aspects of the dictatorship while those with a middle class, non-religious background are more likely to

highlight the human rights violations and social repression experienced during the dictatorship.

My research provides the first study of educational histories of the dictatorship through a narrow focus on schools and teachers in Valparaíso, Chile. This study could be repeated in other nations that have faced similar oppression.

Chapter 3

Portrayal of Pinochet in Chilean History Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter examines recent history textbook editions used by Chilean middle schools and high schools. The majority of Chilean middle schools and high schools employ the history textbooks issued by the national government. A survey of these two different textbooks will show the basic framework of the military government used in Chilean history classes. After dividing the textbook sections into individual sections on the political, economic, and social content as well as the images used, the analysis will show that the textbook sections give a generally balanced overview of the military government from the coup and the economic reforms to the human rights violations and the plebiscite vote; however, analysis will also show the lack of responsibility assigned to actors such as President Augusto Pinochet.

The textbooks play an important role in setting up future discourse within the classroom. Although they have undoubtedly learned of the subject beforehand, Chilean students are introduced to the military regime in a school setting for the first time in the sixth grade at the age of 12. As this is their first intellectual encounter with this period of contemporary Chilean history, the textbooks present the material in a way that allows students to consider many aspects of the military government and to develop an understanding of the conflicting perspectives. The next encounter with the period of the military government is in the tenth grade at the age of 15. At this age, students are more mature and will be able to take in more details about the time period. The textbooks for this age group offer a little more analysis of the political, economic, and social aspects of this time period. By this age, students have likely developed their own personal opinion on the time period or have been strongly influenced by family and friends. The

textbook histories help them to understand their personal views as well as the opposing views.

Textbook Covers & Editions

Before delving into the content sections strictly pertaining to the military regime and Pinochet, it is interesting to consider the textbook covers of each book. In the case of the sixth-grade textbook, the table of contents suggests that throughout the book, themes of political and economic transitions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be discussed; however, the cover does not pertain to any particular time in history that is discussed in the book. Rather, the authors have chosen very ahistorical images of Chilean nature and indigenous celebrations. A picture of the Moneda Palace is included perhaps to add a small historic aspect to the cover. The table of contents of the tenth-grade textbook suggests a more complete overview of Chilean history; however, the book cover only includes one image. The image represents the early half of Chilean history, avoiding an image that would suggest more current history. Like those of the sixth-grade textbook, aside from the clothing worn and the use of a horse, this image also cannot be pinpointed to a particular era in Chilean history.

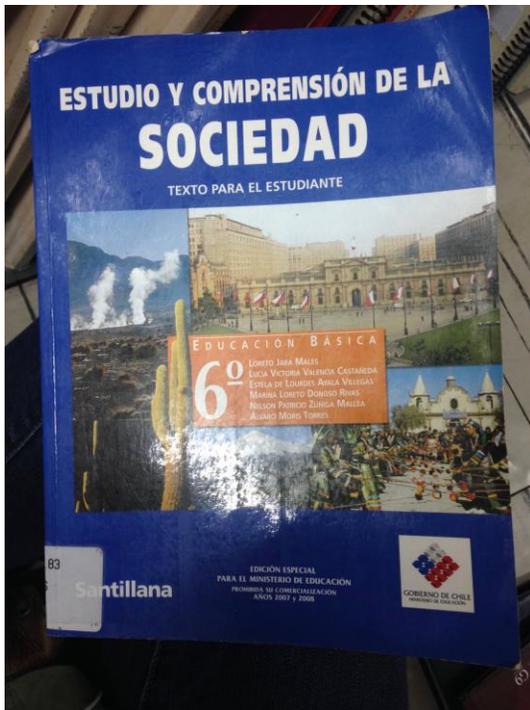


Image 1 – sixth-grade textbook cover

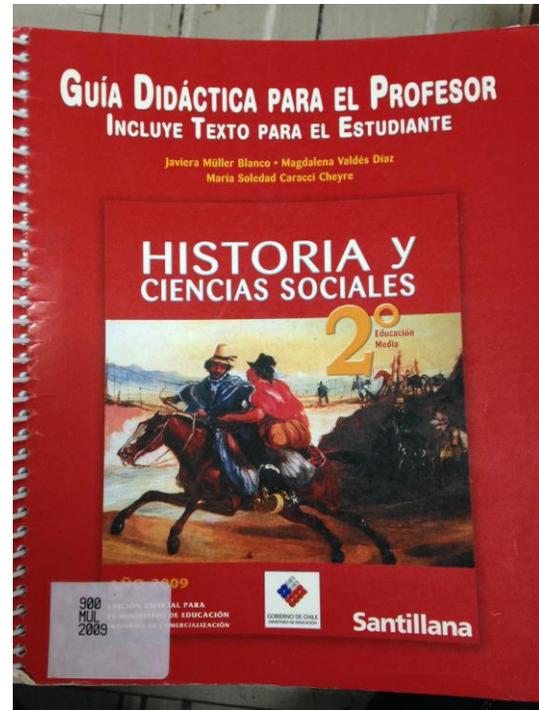


Image 2 – tenth-grade textbook cover

Differing Perspectives

Both textbook sections include a surprising acknowledgement of the conflicting perspectives regarding the military regime before further exploring the time period. Whether the authors explicitly or implicitly express the existence of differing perspectives, each of the textbook sections recognizes the fact that there is not one single historical narrative that encompasses the view of the majority. Students are asked to consider opposing views.

As the sixth-grade textbook is written for a younger age group, the authors have chosen to explicitly state that the topic is polemical among Chileans, historians, and researchers alike:

Even though a consensus exists about its historical importance, the significance assigned to it is very diverse. Historians and researchers also have different opinions, and even though they analyze the same sources, their interpretations vary depending on which factors they deem most important and their personal political convictions.¹

The authors recognize that the perception of the impact of the military regime differs in Chilean society, representing a time of persecution for some and an end to chaos for others. This sets the stage for teachers and students to have an open discussion about the different perspectives. In addition, the authors include that even historians have differing opinions, suggesting that what is written in this particular section may differ from an outside source the teacher may use or from another book students may read for another class. Before reading this particular explanation of the time period, students are asked to understand that differences in opinion are expected when studying such a controversial time.

Likewise, the tenth-grade textbook also asks that students understand that there are differing opinions, but it does so implicitly. Rather than stating that the topic is controversial, the authors offer five distinct visions of the military regime from differing historians and sociologists. Some suggest that the crisis was caused by the industrial economic model and would have happened with or without Allende as president, while others suggest that Allende's reforms caused the bond between the political right and the military. While none of the views offered are very strong either way, they demonstrate to students the possibilities of differing interpretations.

The Political

How does this dialogic history present the causes of the military coup? What changes were made under Pinochet? Is there any mention of the new constitution? As the causes given for the military coup generally shape the rest of the narrative, it is necessary to establish these basic frameworks and to determine what further information is given about political changes during the time period as it demonstrates the type of narrative being woven.

Regarding the cause of the coup, the sixth-grade textbook states:

This historical rupture is the result of the great division through which Chilean society lived since the previous decade and of the inability to peacefully resolve its conflicts.²

Although the explanation is very brief, it suggests that Allende's presidency was marked by chaos and division in society. The "historical rupture" to democratic government, which is ultimately the military coup, seems to be justified by the fact that Allende's government had created this chaos and was deemed incapable of solving it. The authors do not acknowledge alternatives to the historical rupture.

In the same way, the tenth-grade textbook also points to Allende's government as responsible for the breakdown of democracy:

Beginning in the second year of the Allende government, Chilean society began to face an evident crisis. Economic indicators were negative and the implementation of structural reforms radicalized their position through protests. The magnitude of the crisis appeared during the last months of Allende's government with an increasingly reactionary opposition, differences between the government parties, social chaos and the action of paramilitary groups on the left.³

In this explanation, the authors give more detail about the causes of the chaos such as economic regression and protests, but there is very little detail provided to explain the causes of the differences between the government parties, the reasons for the protests, or the efforts taken by Allende's government to alleviate the disorder. Instead, the disorder is brought to the students' attention to justify the coup as necessary.

Following the justification of the coup, both textbook sections recognize the social and political restrictions employed by the military government; however, only the sixth-grade section highlights the repressiveness of the changes. Before stating more about the military government, the authors state, "the following years are marked by repression", while the authors of the tenth-grade textbook immediately turn to the juntas' attempts to reconstruct the country:

In order to reconstruct the country, a series of steps were implemented, such as: the closure of the National Congress; the leftist parties were declared in recess; written, televised, and radio press was censored; the universities and public administration were purged; and all of the people suspected of being opposed to the regime were ejected from these institutions.⁴

Rather than representing these measures as restrictive of Chilean rights, they are presented as measures deemed necessary by the military regime to reconstruct the country after the disorder caused by Allende's government.

On the other hand, the sixth-grade textbook presents these measures much more controversially, calling them social and political restrictions. Instead of stating that Chileans suspected of opposing the military regime were removed from their jobs and positions, this section states, "all authorities that before were elected by popular vote were now nominated by the State" and that student organizations and unions were prohibited. This suggests that the military regime not only took political authority into their own hands, but they also prohibited basic rights allowed to students and workers. In addition, according to this section, the military junta suspended the action of the center and right parties along with the prohibiting leftist parties, not allowing any government but the military regime. While the sixth-grade textbook suggests that the military regime was responsible for the measures taken, the tenth-grade textbook places the blame on the United States and its urgency to combat socialism.

Lastly, both textbook sections mention how the new constitution was created by the military regime. In regards to the troublesome reasoning, the tenth-grade section recognizes the fact that the government used the constitution to remain in power: "it was necessary to create a legal body that legalized a government that had not gained power by popular vote." The sixth-grade textbook questions the approval process used: "a plebiscite in which no electoral register existed and the opposition to the military government did not have possibilities of freely

expressing its position.” In turn, although each textbook places blame on Allende’s government for the historical rupture of democracy, they also acknowledge that the military regime led by repression.

The Economic

In addition to the political aspects of the military government, the textbooks also explore the economic reforms made. The sixth-grade textbook briefly mentions the privatization process and the decrease in government spending on things such as health, education, and housing. No real economic indicators are given to judge the success of the changes made by the military regime. The sixth-grade textbook also seems to highlight a sense of Chilean pride in the neoliberal economic model. Before mentioning what the neoliberal model entails, the authors emphasize, “Chile was the first Latin American country... to apply an economic model that presently dominates in almost the whole world.” Regardless of what the ramifications were, there is a certain pride that Chile led the rest of Latin American towards neoliberalism.

In contrast, the tenth-grade textbook, directed at an older audience, further delves into the economics of the time period. It explains that the Chicago Boys introduced the neoliberal economic plan within the first few years of the military regime, calling for the privatization of public companies, deregulation of the markets, and the opening of the economy to external markets. While the authors acknowledge that the economic reforms helped to lower inflation and the fiscal deficit, they also question the validity of the Chilean “economic miracle” spoken of during this time: “However, the neoliberal model was put in check when the 1982 economic crisis exploded.” The section later states that the economy regained its rhythm and continued to grow, but that this presented another problem: the unequal distribution of wealth.

The reforms also implied a high social cost, due to the reduction in social spending, increasing unemployment... The process of privatization worsened the differences between rich and poor, which meant that around 1978, 5 economic groups controlled almost 40% of the country's 250 companies... This led to the people having to organize to save themselves from the crisis, creating soup kitchens.⁵

In this section, the authors lead students to consider both sides of the economic reforms. They acknowledge the economic indicators that led to belief in the Chilean “economic miracle,” but they also highlight what the economic miracle meant for the lower class Chileans.

The Social

In order to completely explore the textbook narratives, the discourse on the social aspect of the military government must also be analyzed. In the case of the sixth-grade textbook, the authors recognize that the rights of many Chileans were abused, noting that more than 3,000 Chileans died while thousands more were exiled or tortured; however, there is little mention of who was responsible for these human rights abuses. Two times in one short paragraph the authors remove the state from direct involvement. Instead, “Organisms of the State,” such as the military, are deemed responsible for the deaths, tortures, and exiles, and later, the authors assert that the abuses were done “under protection of the State.” Though the government does appear as an actor, one that allowed for the protection of those committing the violent acts, they are not viewed as directly responsible for the human rights abuses.

Likewise, the tenth-grade textbook also acknowledges the human rights abuses; however, the authors go into more detail on the actors responsible for the violence. The military regime is divided into three stages. The first, from September 11, 1973 until December 1973:

was characterized by the cruelty and violence of the detentions and interrogations, which sought to suffocate all forms of resistance... The human rights violations in this period included torture, sentences without trial, and murders of opponents,

whose bodies... were buried in mass graves, dynamited, or thrown into the sea.⁶

In this period, although the authors recognize the horrors of the months surrounding the military coup, they do not assign any subject to the action of the human rights violations. There is a sense that the period was marked by repression and an implication that the military regime was involved, but nobody is held directly responsible for their actions.

The remaining two stages do assign an actor. During the second stage, from 1974 to 1977, the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA) is described as having been responsible for the continued elimination of enemies of the military government and more than 300 additional disappearances through special operations. In the third and final stage, from 1978 until the end of the military regime in 1989, the National Information Center (CNI) assumes responsibility after the dissolving of the DINA. The authors express that although the CNI did not have the same amount of power as their predecessor, they did mimic the repression strategies used. Marking the DINA and CNI as responsible for the human rights violations allows the authors to avoid accusations of the military government leadership.

The Visual

As images serve as a different means of telling a story or creating a narrative, it is also important to see what the images included add to the narrative being told. Although the images avoid images of leaders during the time, they help to illustrate the harsh realities of the time period.

In the sixth-grade edition, very few images are included. In the introduction, there is a montage of images, from the Moneda Palace being bombed to protests for human rights, none of which seems to portray the military government in a particularly positive light. However, the

proceeding page presents a pie graph in which Chileans were asked if the military coup on September 11, 1973 is a date that divided, still divides, or never divided their closest friends and family. The responses are as follows: divided 22%, still divides 26%, and never divided 52%. Although 'still divides' holds a slightly higher percentage than 'divided', 'never divided' demonstrates a majority of the votes, suggesting that the military coup is not as controversial as other researchers, historians, and the majority of Chileans believe. The following page includes an image of the military junta with no special recognition of General Pinochet, a campaign poster for human rights, and a news article demonstrating the censorship exercised by the military government. Lastly, the section on the economy presents two images: one showing an occupation plan utilized during the economic crisis in the early years of the dictatorship, and the other showcases a woman working at a soup kitchen during the economic crisis. The images in this case seem to address the trials of the time period, while the written narrative gives a more basic overview of the events.

In the tenth-grade section, similar images are shown to present the government censorship and the repression, but the authors also include images that represent a strong sense of order during the military government. In the introduction, an image is shown to demonstrate the chaos during Allende's government; however, it is followed by an image of young men being detained by the army during the military coup. On the following pages, there is a back and forth of images, one page showcasing the long lines due to lack of basic goods during Allende's presidency, the next showing the streets of Santiago patrolled by military tanks, and the next highlighting an abundant department store full of clothing made possible by the opening of the economy during the military regime. The back and forth continues into the economic section, with one page suggesting that the economic indicators increased over time while the following

page demonstrates working class women preparing food at a food kitchen. The authors of this section use the images to suggest both the good and the bad of the military regime, presenting to students both the repression and order caused by the military rule as well as the improvements and suffering caused by the economic reforms.

The Omitted

As suggested in the section on the social aspects of the textbooks, the authors avoid using the military government or its leaders as direct actors in describing the events. Throughout both of the sections, there is limited mention of the military regime leaders, but, most noteworthy, there is almost no mention of Augusto Pinochet himself. Pinochet escapes responsibility throughout each narrative, with scarce appearances in both images and the text.

An image of Augusto Pinochet dressed in his traditional military uniform appears among a collage of images at the introduction of the sixth-grade section on the military regimen. There is no caption, but he needs no introduction; however, upon turning the page to explore the military government more in depth, his name is found a mere four times throughout the section. The first is a brief quotation given by General Pinochet on his vision of the military coup. The small quotation gives him no introduction and serves as one of three documents meant to show differing perspectives of September 11, 1973. The second is in a photo with the other three leaders of the military junta, in which he is introduced as one of its first members. The third and final appear closely together, with the mention of his presidency from 1980 to 1988 followed by the explanation of the plebiscite that ended it. Pinochet is not directly tied to the political, economic, or social narrative told in this textbook section. He disappears from the action of the military coup, his role in the military junta is reduced, and he is absent in the violations of human

rights.

Likewise, in the tenth-grade textbook, Augusto Pinochet is mentioned minimally. In the beginning of the section, he is highlighted as the Commander-in-Chief of the army and part of the military junta that led the military coup. He accepts a slight amount of responsibility for his involvement in the military coup at this point; however, his name does not appear again until the end of the section regarding the change in constitution that prolonged his presidency and the plebiscite that ended it. He again escapes responsibility for either the economic changes or the violations of human rights. He receives a brief introduction as the head of the army in the beginning, and an even briefer introduction as president, and then he exits the scene without being assigned responsibility for the events that occurred during his military government.

In addition, in neither textbook is the military government addressed as a dictatorship. Both sets of authors refer to the period as “military regime” or “military government”, not recognizing that the military rule is considered a dictatorship. Even Pinochet himself is referred to as either “Commander of the Army” or “President of the Republic.”

Conclusion

Overall, each of the textbook sections explores different sides of the military regime, introducing both the economic and the social as well as the political events of September 11, 1973 and the end of the junta’s rule. Although the actors are already known to the majority of Chilean students, the authors avoid the use of specific names. Pinochet is not established as president during the military government until the end of each section, the economic and constitutional reforms suddenly appear with little mention of the Chicago Boys or action by the government, and the human rights violations occur with no one to take responsibility. These

textbook sections work to create a balanced but partial history of the military regime by including a basic overview of the two sides, economic and social; however, they assuage the controversy of the theme by generalizing the actors. The narratives permit Augusto Pinochet and other key leaders during the military government to play a minimal role in the events that presently continue to divide Chilean society, avoiding overt condemnation. The next chapter explores how the high school discourses are both shaped by and differ from these textbooks' narratives.

Chapter 4

The Portrayal of Pinochet in Chilean High Schools

Introduction

In Chile, there exist three types of high schools. As outlined in the literature review, there are traditional public high schools financed by each municipality, high schools subsidized by the government based on enrollment, and private, often elite high schools, which charge tuition (Collins & Lear 1995:130). Within the greater Valparaíso metro area, each individual municipality contains the various types of high schools; however, in the northern part of the region, students in cities such as Reñaca and Concón are more likely to attend private schools as their parents can afford the tuition. Students residing in the heart of Valparaíso, in the southern part of the region, are much more likely to attend municipality schools that do not require a tuition be paid. Some may attend a subsidized school if their parents are able to pay a smaller tuition. As a result of the financial differences between the cities, the poorer cities like Valparaíso have less money to devote to their municipality schools although they have more students that attend them.

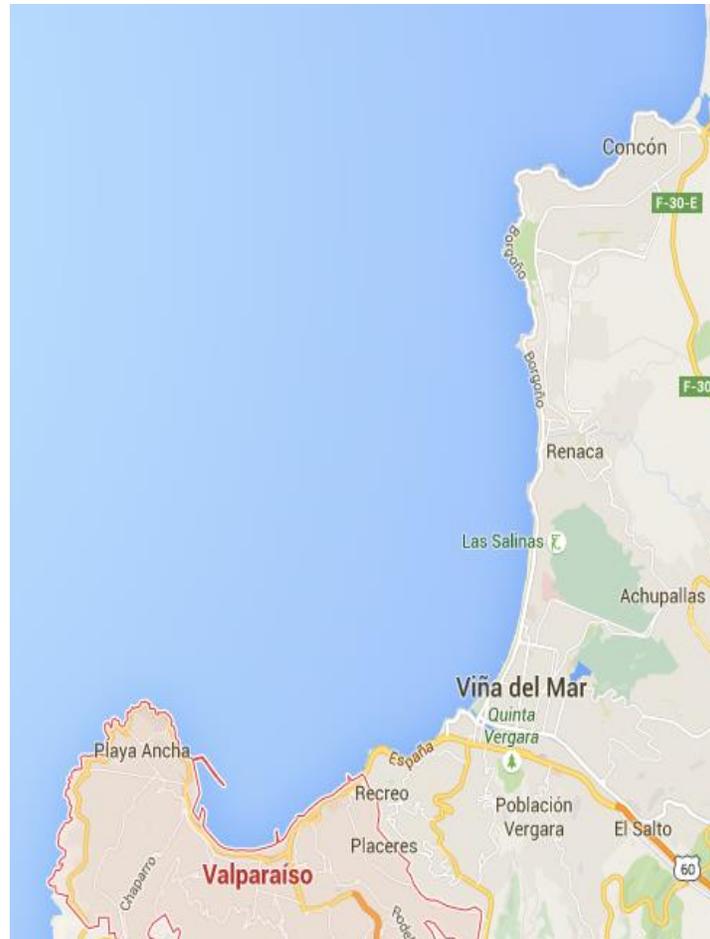


Image 3 – Google Maps Valparaíso, Chile

I argue that the portrayal of Pinochet in Chilean high schools in the Valparaíso region reflects urban financial status. In the northern cities where there are more upper- and upper-middle class families and more private schools, there is also generally more focus on the economic aspects of the dictatorship. Meanwhile, in the southern part of the region, where most families pertain to the working class and most students attend public schools, the teachers have more freedom to discuss the dictatorship without emphasizing only the economics. Thus, the competing pro- versus anti- Pinochet discourses are apparent within the private and public high

school institutions.²

This chapter is based on interviews with two Chilean high school teachers. Unfortunately, the section will be limited as I was unable to conduct interviews with more teachers; however, the two interviews give sufficient evidence to support the argument that public high schools will allow more discussion of the social aspects of the dictatorship while private high schools will emphasize the economic aspects. The following analysis of the two interviews will show the stark contrast between discourse in public and private high schools.

Demographics

In the case of Chilean high schools, the demographic aspects of the individual teachers will not play as integral a role in determining the type of discourse given because high schools are more regimented than universities. High school teachers do not have the same freedom to determine what is taught about the dictatorship that the university professors do. Instead, the institutional setting is the more salient structural feature in determining the content of the historical discourse. However, it is still interesting to note age and regional demographics, which suggest that the teachers must put aside their personal beliefs and perspectives in their high school classrooms. The two teachers interviewed will be given pseudonyms.

Paulina Soto, teacher at a private high school in the Valparaíso region, was born in 1987 and belongs to the middle class. In addition, she was raised in Calama, a city in the north of Chile in which many were executed during the period. The general trend in Chile is that the older and more upper-class individuals show more support for the military dictatorship while the

² According to 2002 national statistics, “only 53 percent of students were still being educated in municipally run schools.” This means that the high school student population is nearly split in half between public and private institutions. <http://educationnext.org/scaling-up-in-chile/>

younger and lower/middle-class actors tend to recognize the repression during Pinochet's rule. According to this logic, Ms. Soto would be more likely to focus on all aspects of the dictatorship if she had the freedom to do so; however, her interview responses show that she is required to focus heavily on the economic and political rather than the social aspects of the dictatorship.

Similarly, Catalina Jara, teacher at a public high school in Valparaíso, was born in 1985 and also belongs to the middle class. She is also a part of the younger, middle-class generation that tends to be more open-minded towards differing perspectives and finds it necessary to talk about the social aspects of the dictatorship. Because she works in a public school that allows her to talk about the dictatorship rather than the military regime, she uses this freedom to explore the human rights violence and repression of the era.

Though the teachers were not asked to give their personal opinions of the dictatorship, it is interesting to compare the interview responses of two teachers who attended the same public university. It can be deduced that high school teachers, especially in the private school setting, must be willing to silence their personal beliefs for the sake of their jobs. This will be shown in the analysis below.

Freedom to Teach

Before asking questions about specific aspects of the era, each teacher was asked whether or not her school permits her to speak openly about the dictatorship. This will help distinguish between beliefs of the professor and the discourse required by the particular school with the sections to come.

Paulina Soto of the private high school suggests that there is a line that she is not meant to cross.⁷ She teaches at a high school in which many of the children's parents are members of

the military, especially the Navy. She continues, “They do not allow me to speak freely, no, but objectively, yes.”⁸ As found in her responses to later questions, this suggests that she is urged to place more emphasis on the economic events rather than other aspects of the dictatorship, though these cannot be omitted altogether.

On the other hand, Catalina Jara says that because her high school personally experienced the repression of the dictatorship, she is lucky as a professor to be able to present the period as a dictatorship. “It is present in the history of the high school, and I have the luck of being able to remember it as it is. As a dictatorship. But that is luck because, in other cases, they cannot even mention the dictatorship. It is the military regime.”⁹ In the public high schools especially, such as that of Ms. Jara, professors were pursued, fired, and sometimes executed for their ideologies and personal convictions. Public high schools thus are more likely not to omit specific details of the repression Chileans faced under the dictatorship.

The analysis of the responses to this one, simple question shows that there is a definite difference between private and public high schools regarding the freedom to explore aspects of the dictatorship. It is evident that Ms. Jara of the public high school not only has more freedom to develop discussion about the dictatorship as she sees fit but also that the school understands the need to discuss both the economic and social aspects in history classes. As the case of Ms. Soto shows, private schools contain a larger majority of children whose parents are part of the military or whose parents pertain to the upper-class. This means that the teachers must teach more selectively about the dictatorship so as not to upset children and their parents.

The Political

Next, the two teachers were asked how they talk about the dictatorship in their history

classes. This is done before asking specific questions about the economic and social aspects of the dictatorship in order to determine the political orientation of the teacher or the high school. The responses help to show what is expected of them as professors or what freedom they have to develop the discourse that they deem fit.

Paulina Soto's response further illustrates the controlled discourse allowed in her private high school. She prefaces her response by giving a justification, stating that the majority of the students at her school are children of military members. She then goes on to say, "It is, in this context, very regulated in a way... For example, one does not speak of the dictatorship or the coup d'état nor do they acknowledge the figure of Pinochet as a dictator."¹⁰ She acknowledges that the discourse given is a vision that emphasizes the economic and political aspects of the era. Although this is to be expected in private schools with heavy enrollment of military children, it is important to note the difficulty this can cause teachers. As Soto mentions, "There is something along the lines of an acceptance on my part of certain principles."¹¹ In this situation, the history professor must comply with the rules of the particular institution instead of offering a different perspective. Instead of allowing for the exploration of diverse views, the high school, with likely influence by the parents, insists on the use of a particular master narrative.

On the other hand, Catalina Jara says, "In my classes... we talk about the dictatorship because, to be honest, the Ministry of Education already discusses the concept in curriculum, textbooks. Also, the consensus is that we had a dictatorial regime, so it is openly treated as a dictatorship in Chile."¹² She later mentions that her students find it odd when textbooks highlight other sources that talk about eliminating the Marxist cancer. In this case, the children are allowed to question and explore different ideologies and perspectives surrounding the dictatorship. Also, in this public school setting, the discourse follows that of the Ministry of

Education – that the period was in fact a dictatorship – instead of “shielding” the children and using pro-Pinochet political terminology.

Based on the responses to this question, it seems that within the private school setting there is much less academic freedom. Paulina Soto is expected to stay within the guidelines given by the school even if this is no longer the popular narrative. In contrast, Catalina Jara is given the freedom to present the narrative dominant within Chilean education. This is not to say that she has complete freedom to present her personal beliefs or to omit aspects of the time period; however, she is not urged to emphasize one particular aspect.

The Economic

Next, the teachers were asked if Pinochet is often presented as an economic hero. Again, the responses given differ from one another; however, the difference is not as drastic. In this case, both teachers acknowledge the trend of praising the economic successes of the era.

Paulina Soto first establishes, “Yes, he is not praised as a super hero, but as someone that could reestablish the economy after Allende’s government.”¹³ In this case, Pinochet is given the glory for “saving” the economy of Chile. Although the Chicago Boys were responsible for financial reforms made, in this setting, Pinochet receives that applause. As Ms. Soto goes on to say, “It was he [Pinochet] who rescued us from this process of enormous inflation that we were experiencing.”¹⁴

In contrast, Catalina Jara recognizes the actions of the Chicago Boys, not attributing the “economic miracle” to Pinochet. She responds, “I don’t know if they present him as an economic hero, but sometimes one finds the economic miracle presented as the greatest success of the implementation of neoliberalism. But it isn’t credited to Pinochet because we talk about the

concepts of the Chicago Boys or neoliberalism.”¹⁵ She also mentions that the economic miracle is often overstated. She says that the “economic miracle” is often created by Pinochet supporters and associated with the military regime in order to justify omitting “the other part.”¹⁶ The other part here is that although the Chicago Boys reduced inflation, the military regime created a state of terrorism and repression. She admits that the economic changes were not necessarily part of the military regime although it is often presented that way.

Both teachers believe that Pinochet is often praised for the economic changes made during the dictatorship. However, in the private school setting, Ms. Soto recognizes the figure of Pinochet as the one who salvaged Chile’s economy while, in the public school setting, Ms. Jara believes that the praise is inaccurately given to him. Jara explores the topics of neoliberalism and the Chicago Boys, accrediting the economic success to these factors, while Soto teaches that Pinochet saved Chile with the “economic miracle”.

The Social

Next, both teachers were asked if the human rights violations are discussed in their classes and history textbooks. In the private school setting, after having learned in the section above of the heavy emphasis on economics, Ms. Soto’s response follows the trend of the upper class, military beliefs. However, in Ms. Jara’s classroom, the human rights violations now serve as a lesson on the importance of life.

First, Paulina Soto highlights something very important in her response. She says, “In the case of our high school, the students do not use standard textbooks. They use study materials that we ourselves, the professors, design with the intention of going into depth in certain aspects.”¹⁷ Although there is no explanation given as to why this is the case, when comparing the discourse

presented in standard textbooks with the responses given by Soto, deductions can be made. Ms. Soto then says, “This is a part of the reality of the political and social history of Chile that one cannot omit. In other words, it is an enormous mark, and it is not something that we can overlook. No, that happened. So, yes, it is mentioned but very gently.”¹⁸ Here, she recognizes that the human rights violations is not a topic that can be ignored in history; however, she also admits that in her classes it is a topic that is handled very delicately, as the students’ parents often support Pinochet and/or the military.

Catalina Jara references her school and standard textbooks, saying that now they cover the topic of human rights violations. Years earlier the topic was omitted; however, as Jara says, “luckily we have understood that it is important not simply to remember for the sake of remembrance but to remember in order to construct a civic structure where there is not only a love and a conception of human life, protection, non-infringement of human rights, but now, the books are much more in depth and talk openly about the violation of human rights. Maybe not in as much depth as they should, but yes, explicitly.”¹⁹ Jara recognizes the necessity of teaching about the human rights violations, and she also signals that in her history classes and in the history textbooks, the topic is gradually becoming more and more open.

Because the violation of human rights is a more recent topic in history classes and textbooks, many schools are still adjusting their curriculum. Although the Chilean Ministry of Education does allow its discussion, many schools tailor their material to avoid the topic altogether or to cover it as gently and quickly as possible. The controversial topic seems to be more openly discussed in public schools, and the history is used to cultivate an appreciation for human lives and to assure that the oppression does not return. In contrast, Paulina Soto indicates that while the human rights violations are not something that can be omitted from discussion,

they can be briefly acknowledged without any in-depth exploration.

Difficulties Among Students

After answering questions to identify what is being taught about the dictatorship, the teachers were asked whether or not these topics are polemical among their students. Due to the recent addition of topics such as human rights violations and words such as dictatorship, it is found that the discussion can cause difficulties between students. However, both teachers indicate that there is no official history and that they try to present the topic to their students in the best way possible.

Paulina Soto says that even among her private school students there are proponents and opponents of the dictatorship. Many times the differences are rooted in connotations of the language used; some students use words such as “the coup” or “the dictatorship” while others do not understand why it is called a dictatorship. To help bridge the gap, Soto says, “The exercise that I decided to do was like this... History comes from many points of view. Therefore, we take more of a center position. We understand that there is not an official history, but rather, that history is manmade.”²⁰ Here, it sounds as if she offers the children many different perspectives, embracing a position we might call “historical relativity.” However, based on earlier responses, we see that her private school often limits her to a more economic viewpoint. The students more familiar with the terms “military coup” and “dictatorship” are likely to have disagreements with this type of discourse, searching for inclusion of other aspects of the dictatorship.

Catalina Jara agrees that the topic is polemical among students, and she highlights that this is often because of our personal history and beliefs. She says that the majority of her students come to class with prior knowledge of the subject; therefore, they often have already developed

an opinion. Instead of trying to modify their beliefs, it is her job as a professor to amplify their beliefs by always presenting and comparing both the positive and the negative aspects of the dictatorship. This way, despite their prior beliefs or knowledge, they can learn about the dictatorship in other ways. Although her students may have opposing beliefs, she uses this as a tool to present different perspectives surrounding this part of Chilean history.

Support for Pinochet Within the Education System and Among Chileans

Finally, each of the teachers was asked if they sense existing support for Pinochet in Chilean society or the Chilean education system. Both of the professors agree that after decades have passed, the Chilean education system no longer supports Pinochet; however, they also agree that support for Pinochet still exists in Chilean society. Although the Chilean education system has agreed to use words such as “dictatorship” and “military coup,” there are still people, and surprisingly many young people, who defend Pinochet’s actions as dictator. Paulina Soto hints that oftentimes these young people are simply parroting their parents or they have little knowledge of the subject, while Catalina Jara worries that many simply omit that Pinochet is associated with human rights violations and military violence.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that there is more curricular control within the private school setting. As shown by Paulina Soto’s responses, there is a tendency to focus intensely on the economic aspect of the dictatorship rather than to offer different perspectives and to speak more openly about the oppression that went hand in hand with the political and economic changes. In contrast, in Catalina Jara’s public school classroom, the opposing discourses are both presented to the

students in order to offer a more thorough exploration. Although the majority of Chilean high schools use the standardized textbook, some schools, such as Soto's private school, opt to develop their own study materials. In the same way, the teachers are expected to adhere to the discourse expected by their particular school. While Ms. Jara has more freedom to explore different aspects of the dictatorship and opposing perspectives, Ms. Soto must accept that her school does not allow this sort of freedom. This ethnographic data draws attention to institutional setting (public versus private) and class privilege as integral to the shaping of competing discourses of the dictatorship: with less academic freedom, teachers must subordinate their own personal beliefs to the classed institutional setting.

Chapter 5

The Portrayal of Pinochet in Chilean Universities

Introduction

In order to understand the narrative being taught about Pinochet and his dictatorship in Chilean universities, interviews were conducted with professors at both private and public universities. In Chile, much like the United States, public universities receive government funding while private universities do not, making enrollment and program offerings generally smaller.²¹ Because many private universities cannot offer such a wide range of programs and majors, oftentimes the social sciences and humanities are omitted as options; however, there are a few private universities that do offer history courses and degrees. In this study, three interviews were conducted with public university professors and two with those from private universities.

The university professors will be identified with the following pseudonyms:

Institutional Setting	Name
Public 1	Eduardo Jiménez
Public 2	Felipe Campos
Public 3	Diego Pérez
Private 1	Lucía Díaz
Private 2	Antonio Errazuriz

In contrast to Chilean high schools, the evidence shown by the interviews with the university professors indicates that in the university setting the narrative being taught is not strictly shaped by institutional standards. These professors are not given a set curriculum, textbooks, or a government-issued textbook to guide their teaching. Instead, they have much

more academic freedom to approach the subject as they see fit. At this level, the students are older and more serious about their studies of history, and they have developed their own personal beliefs or positions regarding the military regime. Thus professors at the university level are able to mold the topic, presenting their own personal beliefs and promoting analytical discussion and thinking about differing sides of the dictatorship, both economic and social. This chapter argues that the historical narratives of the dictatorship depend on the individual expertise and the socioeconomic standing of each particular professor. Upper-class, older professors present an economic-focused narrative, while middle-class, younger professors generally present a more balanced or even aggressively social narrative.

Demographics

Before delving into the specifics of the interview, it is important to note the demographics of the professors involved. The general trend in Chile is that the upper-class and older segments of society more strongly approve of Pinochet and the military dictatorship. Among the professors interviewed, Lucía Díaz and Eduardo Jiménez were born during the dictatorship while Antonio Errazuriz, Felipe Campos, and Diego Pérez were all born before 1970. Felipe Campos was born in 1940, meaning that he experienced as an adult the times before Allende, the government of Allende, and the military dictatorship. In addition, Felipe Campos is the only professor identifying himself as part of the upper class, the rest claiming to be part of the middle class. Given this data, one might predict that Felipe Campos is more likely to be a Pinochet supporter than the other professors interviewed.

All of the professors have completed their doctorate in history, placing them among the most highly educated segment of Chilean society. Their religious preferences vary, with Lucía

Díaz, Antonio Errazuriz, and Diego Pérez identifying as nonreligious, Felipe Campos identifying as Catholic, and Eduardo Jiménez identifying as Presbyterian. This means that although there will not be differences among education level, there may be distinguishable differences based on religion. It is interesting to be aware of possible differences among the professors based on their nonparticipation in religion or their participation in a church other than the Catholic Church, as practicing Chilean Catholics most often belong to the older generations. As the professors at the university level have more academic freedom, their particular approaches depend more upon personal upbringing, beliefs, and experiences.

The Political

Before analyzing what the professors specifically teach about the economic and social aspects of the dictatorship, the study will first examine the basic political stance of the professors and how they teach their particular classes or what they experienced in their university classes as students. Professors were asked how they present the dictatorship in their history classes. This section shows that there is a continuum of approaches, ranging from a condemnation of social wrongs to an almost wholly economic point of view with a more moderate or even neutral stance in between.

Lucía Díaz sits on the highly social end of the spectrum. For her, the period is divided into two aspects: 1) the government and its political, economic, and social conditions and 2) human rights. The first is taught by surveying all of the possible definitions and explanations: dictatorship, democracy, military regime, etc. She states, “In the first, a posture of neutral values is adopted, and in the second, a belligerent stance because it is a topic that can only be condemned.”²² This suggests that while she understands the historical importance of examining

all sides and explanations of the dictatorship, she also stands strong in the belief that there is no justification for the human rights violations committed during Pinochet's rule. In much the same way, Antonio Errazuriz teaches with "great social awareness of the events."²³

Eduardo Jiménez represents the more neutral end of the spectrum. He notes that although there is much more freedom in the way professors speak about the military regime, using words such as dictatorship and discussing human rights violations, there is still a tendency to focus on the causes that led to the dictatorship rather than what the dictatorship meant and means for Chile:

It is called the military dictatorship. Now, from my point of view, there is still a strong emphasis placed on analyzing the causes of the military coup and the dictatorship, more than the dictatorship itself. There are divided studies, right? Like the culture of the dictatorship, the policies of the dictatorship, or the economy, but not necessarily about the dictatorship as such.²⁴

Here he speaks to the fact that oftentimes the dictatorship is studied from particular angles to create a narrative that either it was bad because of the human rights violations or good because of the economic success. In his classes, he believes it is important to study the dictatorship as a whole, examining the overall situation of the country surrounding the changes in economics and the changes in human rights. There is no denial that the economic situation improved. However, there is also no justification for the errors that were committed by the military. Unlike Lucía Díaz and Antonio Errazuriz, Eduardo Jiménez aims to teach the military dictatorship as a holistic period of history, rather than divide it into specific aspects.

Similarly, Diego Pérez first teaches the military regime from a conceptual vision as what it is: a dictatorship. "First, because it is not elected. Second, because it achieved power through violent means and created a violent political situation. And it's a dictatorship because all of the liberties were repressed during the 17 years... There were no elections at all."²⁵ Next, he seeks to

outline the historical reasons that caused the dictatorship, which he explains saying “our vision is that it occurred because it was a political crisis.”²⁶ This suggests that Diego Pérez understands the historical importance of showing both the social and economic sides of the dictatorship, but he also stresses the situations that led to it, justifying the need for a change with a political crisis. In these two cases, the professors are less influenced by their personal experiences and upbringing and rely more heavily on their historical expertise than Lucía Díaz and Antonio Errazuriz.

On the other end of the spectrum, Felipe Campos takes a firmly economic approach. He begins his introduction to the teaching of the military dictatorship by stating:

I have the best opinion of the military government... I have the impression that without the military government, I would not be here talking with you because I have the impression and I am convinced that Chile was marching directly towards a mode of life like that of the Cubans... For all that September 11th meant for me and for my family, I am grateful for the military government.²⁷

He then highlights the importance of the military government in preventing a civil war in Chile between right and left. In addition, it is suggested that the thousands of people who were disappeared were the necessary social cost to put an end to the power of the Communist Party in Chile. In comparison to the more neutral professors, he is highly influenced by an anti-Marxist ideology as well as his political and economic beliefs.

In these cases, it is evident that the university professors have much more freedom of personal interpretation when it comes to teaching the military dictatorship. Lucía Díaz and Antonio Errazuriz tend to more aggressively condemn the errors committed by means of human rights violence while Eduardo Jiménez and Diego Pérez take a more liberal stance, teasing out both sides of the argument. Felipe Campos does not hide his stance and seems to teach more based on personal experience rather than delving into historical analysis. In all five

circumstances, the professors have the liberty to express their own views and teach the military dictatorship era as they see most fitting.

The Economic

Next, the professors were asked if Pinochet was often presented as an economic hero. Although the responses vary slightly, there is a consensus that there is often a strong focus on the economic successes during the period. Again, the range of condemnation and support for the regime is present in the responses.

From the position of condemnation, Antonio Errazuriz explicitly states that Pinochet is not and should not be portrayed as an economic hero. No further explanation is given; however, it seems that in his history classes, a stronger focus would be given to the social consequences of the economic reforms if mentioned in depth.

More neutrally, Lucía Díaz and Eduardo Jiménez indicate that while Pinochet may not explicitly be praised as an economic hero, there is great importance placed on the economic reforms made during his dictatorship. However, Eduardo Jiménez states the necessity of thorough economic critique:

But I think that critical views of the model are still lacking also because if we only look in terms of economic development, that is super positive. But if we look in terms of effects, in reality, Pinochet would not be a hero, but he would be the producer of an economy with a lot of inequality.²⁸

Again, he relies more heavily on his historical expertise and analysis rather than his personal beliefs and experiences. He understands that there is good that came from the economic reforms made during the dictatorship; however, he also recognizes the need to look at the different perspectives surrounding the economic aspects of the dictatorship.

Moving towards a more economic standpoint, Felipe Campos acknowledges, “What I

normally emphasize is the economic restoration.”²⁹ He justifies his position, highlighting the poor economy created by the government of Allende and the need for change.

Rather than delineate his specific approach, Diego Pérez responds that there is a difference between what the textbooks say and what is taught in the classroom. He states that at the university level, the way the economics is approached, praised, or negated almost entirely depends on the specific professor and his or her political position, supporting the argument that the professors in these institutions have much more academic freedom.

While most professors recognize the amount of emphasis generally placed on the economic aspects of the dictatorship, it is also important to acknowledge that at the university level, as Diego Pérez highlighted, there is freedom to present the economics as the professor deems appropriate. Thus, there are more mild professors such as Lucía Díaz and Eduardo Jiménez who work to present the good of Pinochet’s economy but also notice a need for critique, there are professors like Felipe Campos who proudly place more emphasis on the crisis that led to an extreme economic shift during the military regime, and there are also those who do not wish to praise the economic reforms made during the dictatorship at all. The perspective depends on the professor rather than the institution.

The Social

Professors were also asked whether or not the human rights violations were discussed in their textbooks and history classes. The responses follow the trend of those given to the question of economics, with some professors stressing the importance of showing the horrific realities of the human rights violations, some admitting disappointment with the lack of its emphasis and the division between economic and social aspects, and others viewing the deaths and disappearances

as something that naturally happens during times of political chaos.

Both Lucía Díaz and Antonio Errazuriz are more hardline advocates for the importance of the social aspects of the dictatorship. They both acknowledge and appreciate the mention of human rights violations in the majority of historical discussion about the dictatorship. Lucía Díaz suggests that most of the textbooks do not include extensive information, but many professors bring outside sources and testimonies to aid in teaching this aspect of the dictatorship. She also indicates her strong personal stance on the matter: “On the topic of human rights, I adopt an aggressive position and show sources that present the horror of the events.”³⁰ In this case, her strong personal views combine with her historical expertise to place more emphasis on the social aspects of the dictatorship. Similarly, Diego Pérez expresses his issues with the terminology used to teach of those disappeared, testifying, “I do not like that ‘missing detainees’ is taught as something abstract. These [people] have faces, names, last names. And the majority of them were not politically aware.”³¹

Adopting a more neutral, cautious standpoint, Eduardo Jiménez acknowledges these weaknesses that still exist in the teaching of the human rights violations while he expresses the difficulties of doing so. He indicates, “Yes, but it is still very minor and perhaps marginal in some cases because very few historians are confronting the problems of the rights... in the universities it is very uninformed, or, it is recently appearing.”³² Like the majority of history professors, he works to add materials to his courses that speak about the human rights violations, but he also recognizes the difficulty that is teaching the social aspect of the dictatorship. “Very few people know how to do it.”³³

In contrast to the aggressively social viewpoints, Felipe Campos begins by restating his great emphasis placed on the economic transformation. He follows saying, “But I do not omit

[the human rights] because it is very evident that human rights were attacked.”³⁴ However, it is apparent that his personal beliefs about the economic triumphs of the dictatorship influence the way in which he teaches about the human rights violations. He continues, deeming the human rights violations part of the social cost that had to occur in order to restore democracy, order, and economic progress.

Again, professors seem to have freedom to present the human rights violations as they choose. With the history being still so recent and so tangible in Chilean society, more mild professors struggle with the appropriate way to discuss and analyze the social errors committed by the military regime. Other more politically opinionated professors such as Lucía Díaz and Felipe Campos each seize the teaching liberties granted to them and teach more aggressive, personal positions.

Difficulties Among Students

After establishing a basis for how the professors present the different aspects of the dictatorship, they were asked if the topic of the military dictatorship was polemical among students. Although the general consensus is that the topic is not as upsetting or problematic as it was in earlier years, there is also a recognition that students also come with their personal beliefs and experiences. In this, the professors mention the ways that they work to present the dictatorship in a peaceful manner.

According to Eduardo Jiménez, the trouble among students is the strong opinions they have based on the stories and personal experiences passed on to them by their grandparents and parents:

A few generations have arrived since those that experienced the dictatorship. Or, the grandparents of the students lived through the dictatorship. Therefore, there is

transmission of memory, that is not necessarily the history, but all of the students arrive with some notion of what the dictatorship was. We find students who think that Pinochet was a hero, and others will think that he is the worst in the world and committed genocide. So, yes, there is controversy. But that is not a difficulty, the opposite... It is necessary to try finally to show the students that history perhaps can be very different from what they have heard.³⁵

Because of this, Eduardo Jiménez aims to be impartial when it comes to the dictatorship.

Although it is impossible to omit all personal opinions, beliefs, and ideologies, he believes it is important in his role as a history professor to present different visions and perspectives that are held regarding the time period.

Similarly, Lucía Díaz suggests that although the topic is less controversial, there is still some difficulty among students. To prevent this, she also agrees that it is important that students recognize differing perspectives. Rather than presenting differing views by means of articles, testimonies, and documentaries, she assigns her students different aspects of the military dictatorship to investigate. After investigation, a debate is held, and the students participate in a discussion, thinking like the actors that they are assigned. Some students represent the Popular Unity Party of Allende, others represent the military junta, and still others represent a family of a disappeared person. By doing this, she says that students learn to defend views they may not agree with, walking in the shoes of another person and using proper language and evidence to support a particular perspective.

Other professors, such as Felipe Campos, decide that it is their responsibility as a professor of recent history to present the students with their personal experiences and views. Felipe Campos introduces the topic to students, declaring, "I lived the happiest years of my life with Pinochet... Thus, my interpretation could be for you all a one-sided interpretation."³⁶ He feels it is his job to provide them with his personal impression although others might have a very different impression. Rather than presenting different perspectives, he sees his view as a

differing vision that the students need to hear.

Antonio Errazuriz and Diego Pérez both state that the topic is not controversial among students, and Diego Pérez believes the main issue is that the majority of professors never address the military dictatorship. This is not because they do not want to, but rather that there is not sufficient time in the semester or school year, and there are very few classes offered specifically about the military dictatorship. Because the most recent history comes at the end of the year, students are often tired even if the subject is reached. Overall, he believes that professors and students do not have adequate time to tease out and analyze the different aspects of the military regime.

Each professor reaffirms that the topic is very rarely controversial among students although they do possess their own opinions and beliefs. The majority of professors seem to strive to present differing visions held of the time period; however, there are others that use their classes to teach more strongly based on their personal experiences and views. Again, the particular professor decides the direction of the discussion in his or her classes.

Support for Pinochet Within the Education System and Among Chileans

Lastly, professors were asked whether or not they sense support for Pinochet within the education system and/or among Chilean society. All of the professors agreed that their universities allow them to speak openly about the military dictatorship, and likewise, there is consensus that the education system does not support Pinochet or his military regime; however, the professors do indicate that there is support for Pinochet that still exists in Chilean society today. Although much of the support has become less explicit and more hushed after Pinochet was found to have robbed the country, it is believed that many Chileans miss the order and sense

of social stability established by Pinochet and the military.

Conclusion

Decades after the dictatorship has ended, how it is being portrayed in schools and universities is becoming more open. Although in high schools there is still strong content control enforced by the particular institutions and government-issued textbooks, in the university setting, professors have near complete or complete academic freedom to present the controversial time period as they deem appropriate. The universities play little or no role in guiding the instruction, and instead, professors may teach whichever aspects they find most important. Because of this, conservative, pro-economics professors can be found in public universities, and likewise, professors that focus on the social aspects of the dictatorship can be found in private universities. The narrative presented depends on the historical expertise and personal opinions of the professor.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study has sought to determine what is being taught in Chilean schools concerning the history of the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship. To answer this question, I focused ethnographically on the region of Valparaíso, Chile. Previous research has been conducted on language choice in history textbooks and the linguistic presentation of the dictatorship; however, this thesis reaches beyond a linguistic approach to further argue that the narratives in Chilean high schools and universities are affected by institutional constraints and individual beliefs and expertise of the professor, respectively.

My study began by analyzing the history textbooks issued by the Chilean government. As many of the students first encounter the intellectual analysis of the dictatorship within these textbooks, the material ideally would present all different aspects of the time period to the students in order to begin to understand conflicting perspectives. Overall, the textbooks are shown to present an unbiased, impersonal overview of the military dictatorship. The textbook sections cover everything from the economic and military aspects of the dictatorship to the more controversial human right issues. In doing so, they seek to reconcile the opposing perspectives surrounding the military regime and perhaps offer a more centered view.

Next, I conducted interviews with high school teachers and analyzed them in order to determine differing narratives in public and private schools. Overall, public schools allow more discussion of the social aspects of the dictatorship while private schools put more emphasis on the economic and military aspects. This is due to the fact that high schools are more regimented in the teaching of the dictatorship. The narrative varies according to the type of school and its institutional and parental constraints.

High schools generally follow the trend of financial status within the cities. As outlined in the introduction, the more northern cities in Valparaíso region are more affluent and contain more private schools. Therefore, the private schools focus much more on the economic aspects of the dictatorship. In contrast, the majority of public schools are located in the heart of Valparaíso, which is home to more working-class families. Teachers in these schools have much more academic freedom to discuss the dictatorship, including both the social and economic aspects.

Lastly, I conducted and analyzed interviews with history professors from Chilean universities. In this case, the historical expertise and personal beliefs of the professors proved extremely important, as institutional constraints are few. Because professors at both private and public institutions have the liberty to approach the dictatorship in their classes as they see fit, demographic factors helped me to understand what determines the particular discourse of each professor. The upper class and older group of society are generally more pro-Pinochet while the younger and middle class segments tends to be more anti-Pinochet. In line with this, the oldest and only upper-class professor of those interviewed gave the most extreme answers in support of the dictatorship. His history classes have a stronger focus on his personal experiences and opinions, each praising the dictatorship era, while the responses of the younger and middle-class professors suggest either a more balanced approach or an aggressive focus on the social aspects.

Overall, we see that the trends in both the high school and university settings follow the societal trends. High schools are more regimented, facing both institutional and parental constraints. These institutions, private and public, map onto the urban financial status of the region. Private schools support a more economic view in order to cater to upper class and military families and public schools adopt a more rounded approach, reviewing both the

economic and social aspects of the dictatorship. Within the universities, professors have almost complete liberty to choose their approach to the dictatorship. Because of this, it is much more important to consider their personal beliefs and individual expertise rather than the geographical location and economic audience of the institutions. In doing so, we find that the older and more affluent professors tend to offer more praise for what are considered Pinochet's economic triumphs while younger and middle class professors either take a more social stance or analyze both perspectives more evenhandedly. Overall, the Pinochet dictatorship is discussed more reasonably than I had expected in educational settings; however, the division between classes and perspectives seems to be perpetuated by the differing institutions, especially at the high school level.

This research provides the first study of educational histories of the dictatorship through a narrow focus on schoolteachers and professors in the Valparaíso metropolis of Chile. For further research, I recommend an expansion of the methods applied here. To do so, expansion to other metropolises would be appropriate, such as a study of Santiago. On a larger scale, the expansion also could include even more of the country, interviewing in larger cities as well as small, rural regions in the north and south of Chile. In addition, I would also recommend research of classroom history lessons. This would allow the researcher to witness firsthand what is being taught within the classroom and how the professor responds to questions or critiques. This process would require intense pre-planning with contacting professors and schools and also getting IRB approval but would complement the current research well.

Works Cited

Main Sources

Barro, Robert J. "One Pinochet Legacy That Deserves to Live." *Economic Viewpoint* (n.d.): n. pag. Harvard University, 17 Jan. 2000. Web. 01 Oct. 2015.

<http://scholar.harvard.edu/barro/files/00_0117_pinochet_bw.pdf>.

Blanco, Javiera Müller, et. al. "Chile En El Siglo XX." *Historia Y Ciencias Sociales. Gobierno De Chile*, 2009. 87-113. Print.

Brophy, Jere E., and Bruce VanSledright. *Teaching and Learning History in Elementary Schools*. New York: Teachers College, 1997. Print.

Burbach, Roger. *The Pinochet Affair: State Terrorism and Global Justice*. London: Zed, 2003. Print.

"Chile Timeline." *BBC News*. BBC, 14 Aug. 2012. Web. 03 Oct. 2015.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/country_profiles/1222905.stm>.

Clark, Sir George. "Frontmatter." Introduction. *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: U, 1957. I-Xxxiv. Print.

Clifford, James. *Partial Truths*. 1986. *Readings for A History of Anthropological Theory*. Ed. Paul A. Erickson, Liam Donat. Murphy, and Paul A. Erickson. 4th ed. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2001. 423-42. Print.

Collins, Joseph, and John Lear. *Chile's Free-market Miracle: A Second Look*. Oakland, CA: Food First, 1995. Print.

Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder: Westview, 1992. Print.

- Constable, Pamela, and Arturo Valenzuela. *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*. New York: Norton, 1993. Print.
- Correa, Jorge. "Dealing with Past Human Rights Violations: The Chilean Case After Dictatorship." *Notre Dame Law Review*. N.p., Apr. 2014. Web. 02 Oct. 2015. <<http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2062&context=ndlr>>.
- Devine, Jack. "What Really Happened in Chile." *Foreign Affairs*. N.p., July-Aug. 2014. Web. 04 Oct. 2015. <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/chile/2014-05-22/what-really-happened-chile>>.
- Dornbusch, Rudiger, and Sebastian Edwards. "The Socialist-Populist Chilean Experience, 1970-1973." *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1991. 176-97. Print.
- Duara, Prasenjit. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1995. Print.
- Ensalaco, Mark. *Chile under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 2000. Print.
- Gilmour, Matthew. "The Pinochet Regime and Chilean Politics." *E-International Relations*. N.p., 3 Apr. 2013. Web. 2 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.e-ir.info/2013/04/03/the-pinochet-regime-and-chilean-politics/>>.
- Gjelten, Tom. "Pinochet's Chile." *NPR*. NPR, 11 Dec. 2006. Web. 03 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6608670>>.
- Jasper, William F. "General Augusto Pinochet in Perspective." *The National Observer*. N.p., Winter 2001. Web. 03 Oct. 2015. <http://www.nationalobserver.net/2001_winter_109.htm>.

- Koselleck, Reinhart. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*.
Trans. Todd Samuel. Presner. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2002. Print.
- Letelier, Orlando. "The Chicago Boys in Chile: Economic Freedom's Awful Toll." *The Chicago Boys in Chile: Economic Freedom's Awful Toll*. The Nation, 28 Aug. 1976. Web. 01 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.ditext.com/letelier/chicago.html>>.
- Males, Loreto Jara, et. al. "Régimen Militar Y Transición a La Democracia." *Estudio Y Comprensión De La Sociedad*. Gobierno De Chile, 2007-2008. 146-57. Print.
- Mallen, Patricia Rey. "The Joy Is Coming." *Newsweek*. N.p., 17 Oct. 2013. Web. 01 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.newsweek.com/2013/10/18/joy-coming-243692.html>>.
- McSherry, J. Patrice, and Raúl Molina Mejía. "Chilean Students Challenge Pinochet's Legacy." *NACLA*. N.p., Nov.-Dec. 2011. Web. 03 Oct. 2015. <<https://nacla.org/article/chilean-students-challenge-pinochet%E2%80%99s-legacy>>.
- Meade, Teresa A. "Holding the Junta Accountable: Chile's "Sitios De Memoria" and the History of Torture, Disappearance, and Death." *Project MUSE*. Radical History Review, Winter 2001. Web. 1 Oct. 2015. <<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/30212>>.
- Márquez, Gabriel García. "Why Allende Had to Die." *NewStatesman*. N.p., 3 Apr. 2013. Web. 2 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2013/04/why-allende-had-die>>.
- Nolte, Detlef. "Constitutional Change in Latin America: Power Politics or Symbolic Politics?" (n.d.): n. pag. German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 11 Apr. 2008. Web. 04 Oct. 2015. <<https://verfassungswandel.files.wordpress.com/2008/10/13-nolte-paper.pdf>>.
- Oppenheim, Lois Hecht. *Politics in Chile: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development*. Boulder: Westview, 1999. Print.

- Oteiza, T., and D. Pinto. "Agency, Responsibility and Silence in the Construction of Contemporary History in Chile and Spain." *Discourse & Society* 19.3 (2008): 333-58. *Sage Journals*. Web. 06 Oct. 2015. <<http://das.sagepub.com/content/19/3/333.short>>.
- Oteiza, Teresa. "How Contemporary History Is Presented in Chilean Middle School Textbooks." *Discourse & Society* 14.5 (2003): 639-60. *Sage Journals*. Web. 06 Oct. 2015. <<http://das.sagepub.com/content/14/5/639.short>>.
- Radjenovic, Angelica. "Issues with Teaching the Recent Past." *Then Hier*. N.p., 19 Oct. 2014. Web. 02 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.thenhier.ca/en/content/issues-teaching-recent-past>>.
- Romanowski, Michael H. "Problems of Bias in History Textbooks." *Point of View* (1996): n. pag. Mar. 1996. Web. 03 Oct. 2015. <http://www.brianscollier.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Problems_of_Bias_in_History_Textbooks1.pdf>.
- Rosenfelder, Mark. "U.S. Interventions in Latin America." *Zompist*. N.p., 1996. Web. 01 Oct. 2015. <<http://www.zompist.com/latam.html>>.
- Vylde, Stefan De. *Allende's Chile: The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Unidad Popular*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974. Print.
- Wishart, David. "The Selectivity of Historical Representation." *Science Direct*. *Journal of Historical Geography*, Apr. 1997. Web. 04 Oct. 2015.
- Wyndham, Marivic, and Peter Read. *From State Terrorism to State Errorism: Post-Pinochet Chile's Long Search for Truth and Justice*. 1st ed. Vol. 32. N.p.: U of California, n.d. *JSTOR*. Web. 02 Oct. 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2010.32.1.31?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents>.

Additional Sources

Abernathy, Susan. "Developing a "Theory of Instruction": Teaching History in the Middle Schools." *Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange*. University of Tennessee, 1998. Web. Sept. 2015.

<http://trace.tennessee.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1028&context=utk_interstp2>.

The Battle of Chile. Dir. Patricio Guzmán. Unifilm, 1978. DVD.

Bodzin, Steven. "Chile Textbook Controversy: Pinochet's Rule Now a Military 'regime,' Not a 'dictatorship'" *The Christian Science Monitor*. The Christian Science Monitor, 06 Jan. 2012. Web. Sept. 2016. <<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/Latin-America-Monitor/2012/0106/Chile-textbook-controversy-Pinochet-s-rule-now-a-military-regime-not-a-dictatorship>>.

Burns, E. Bradford. "The True Verdict on Allende." *The Nation*. N.p., 03 Apr. 2009. Web. Sept. 2015. <<http://www.thenation.com/article/true-verdict-allende/>>.

Cociña, Matías. "Encuesta Casen 2006: Por Qué La Concertación Y No La Derecha." *De La República*. N.p., 11 June 2007. Web. Sept. 2015. <<http://blog.delarepublica.cl/2007/06/11/encuesta-casen-2006-por-que-la-concertacion-y-no-la-derecha/comment-page-1/>>.

Cooper, Marc. "Pinochet's Legacy." *The Nation*. N.p., 14 Dec. 2006. Web. Sept. 2015. <<http://www.thenation.com/article/pinochets-legacy/>>.

"A Cuarenta Años Del Golpe Militar." *Barometro CERC* (n.d.): n. pag. *Universidad De Chile*. Sept. 2013. Web. Nov. 2015. <<http://radio.uchile.cl/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Revisar-el-Barometro-de-CERC-aqu%C3%AD.pdf>>.

Elacqua, Gregory, Dante Contreras, and Felipe Salazar. "Scaling Up in Chile - Education Next." *Education Next*. N.p., 11 May 2008. Web. 15 Apr. 2016.

Govan, Fiona. "Chile Accused of Airbrushing Augusto Pinochet History." *The Telegraph*. Telegraph Media Group, 5 Jan. 2012. Web. Aug. 2015.
<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/southamerica/chile/8994862/Chile-accused-of-airbrushing-Augusto-Pinochet-history.html>>.

Kozy, John. "Despotism, Neoliberalism and the "Chilean Miracle"." *Global Research*. N.p., 10 Feb. 2015. Web. Aug. 2015. <<http://www.globalresearch.ca/despotism-neoliberalism-and-the-chilean-miracle/5430393>>.

Malkin, Bonnie. "Push to Have Pinochet's Dictatorship Written into Chile's School Textbooks." *The Telegraph*. Telegraph Media Group, 5 Oct. 2013. Web. Sept. 2015.
<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/southamerica/chile/10357687/Push-to-have-Pinochets-dictatorship-written-into-Chiles-school-textbooks.html>>.

Mallén, Patricia Rey. "Chile Since Pinochet: On The 25th Anniversary Of The Dictator's Ouster, Is He Among The Disappeared?" *International Business Times*. N.p., 04 Oct. 2013. Web. Sept. 2015. <<http://www.ibtimes.com/chile-pinochet-25th-anniversary-dictators-ouster-he-among-disappeared-1414248>>.

Minte, Andrea R. "Recent Historiographical Work on Chilean History Textbooks." *SpringerReference* (n.d.): n. pag. Jan. 2014. Web. Sept. 2015.
<http://www.edumeres.net/fileadmin/publikationen/beitraege/2014/EB_Minte_ChileanT.pdf>.

No. Dir. Pablo Larraín. Network Releasing, 2012. DVD.

Wadi, Ramona. "Destroying the Ability to Think Historically in Chile." *Upside Down World*.

N.p., 22 Feb. 2012. Web. Sept. 2015. <<http://upside-downworld.org/main/chile-archives-34/3469-destroying-the-ability-to-think-historically-in-chile>>.

Endnotes/Translations

¹ Aunque existe consenso sobre su importancia histórica, el significado que se le ha dado es muy diverso... Los historiadores e investigadores tienen también diferencias de opinión, y aunque analicen las mismas fuentes, sus interpretaciones varían, dependiendo de los factores a los que asignen más importancia y de sus propias convicciones políticas.

² Este quiebre histórico es el resultado de la gran división que vivió la sociedad chilena desde la década anterior y de la incapacidad de solucionar pacíficamente sus conflictos.

³ A partir del segundo año del gobierno de Allende comenzó a manifestarse la crisis por la que atravesaba la sociedad chilena. Los índices económicos eran negativos y la aplicación de reformas estructurales radicalizaron su posición, mediante protestas. Los últimos meses del gobierno de Allende mostraron la magnitud de la crisis ante una oposición cada vez más reaccionaria, diferencias entre los partidos de gobierno, desbordes sociales y la acción de grupos paramilitares de izquierda.

⁴ Para [reconstruir el país], se implementó una serie de medidas, tales como: la clausura del Congreso Nacional, los partidos de izquierda fueron proscritos y los restantes fueron declarados en receso, se censuró la prensa escrita, televisiva y radial, las universidades y la administración pública fueron purgadas, y a todos los sospechosos de ser opositores del régimen se les expulsó de estas instituciones.

⁵ Las reformas también implicaron un alto costo social, debido a la disminución en el gasto social, aumentando el desempleo... El proceso de privatización agudizó las diferencias entre ricos y pobres, lo que significó que hacia 1978 cinco grupos económicos controlaron casi el 40% de las 250 empresas del país... Ello llevó a que las personas se tuvieran que organizar para salvarse de la crisis, creando comedores populares y ollas comunes.

⁶ se caracterizó por la crudeza y la violencia de las detenciones y los interrogatorios, ya que buscaba sofocar cualquier tipo de resistencia... Las violaciones a los derechos humanos en esta etapa abarcaron desde la tortura, sentencias sin juicios hasta el asesinato de opositores, cuyos cuerpos... fueron enterrados en fosas comunes, dinamitados o arrojados al mar.

⁷ "Yo diría que es como... que hay una línea"

⁸ "No permite como hablarlo libremente, no. Pero sí, desde la objetividad."

⁹ "Está presente en la historia del colegio y yo tengo la suerte de poder acordarla como tal. Como una dictadura. Pero eso es una suerte porque existe en otros casos donde ni siquiera hablar de la dictadura. Se habla del régimen militar."

¹⁰ "Entonces, funciona muy, en ese marco, normativo en cierta manera... Por ejemplo, uno no se habla de dictadura ni del golpe de estado ni saluda a la figura de Pinochet como un dictador."

¹¹ "Hay algo que tiene que ver con una aceptación por parte mía de ciertos principios."

¹² “En mis clases... se habla de la dictadura porque, en verdad, el ministerio ya se habla del concepto en los programas de estudios, en los libros de texto, ya este consenso también de que tuvimos un régimen dictatorial entonces es abiertamente tratado como una dictadura en Chile.”

¹³ “Claro, es cierto... si bien es cierto que no se ensalza como un súper héroe, sino alguien que pudo restablecer la economía después del gobierno de Allende.”

¹⁴ “Fue él que nos salvó en este proceso de inflación enorme que estábamos viviendo.”

¹⁵ “No sé si lo plantean como un héroe económico, pero a veces uno encuentra depende obviamente de cada texto y algunas versiones, el milagro económico, lo mejor de la implementación del neoliberalismo. Pero no se atribuye tampoco eso acto heroico a Pinochet porque nosotros hablamos de, no sé, los conceptos de los Chicago Boys o neoliberalismo”

¹⁶ “sabemos que es una parte del régimen donde se consolida desde el mito económico, quizás la figura dictatorial, porque obviamente hay como esta suerte de un sueño de que esto fue durante el régimen pero omitimos la otra parte.”

¹⁷ “En el caso de nuestro colegio, no se utilizan textos de escolares. Se utilizan material de estudio que elaboramos nosotros mismos, los mismos profesores, porque tienen como esta intención de profundizar en aspectos”

¹⁸ “Es una parte de la realidad de la historia política y social de Chile que uno no puede omitir, o sea, es una marca enorme y que no es algo que podemos pasar por alto. No, eso pasó. Entonces, sí, se ve, pero muy suave.

¹⁹ “O sea, por suerte nosotros hemos comprendido que es importante no simplemente recordar por recordar, sino que recordar por construir también una cultura ciudadana donde exista no solo un amor y una concepción de la vida humana, la protección, la no violación de los derechos de las personas, pero ahora se trata con mucho mayor profundidad los libros y se habla abiertamente de la violación de los derechos humanos. No con la profundidad que quizás sea la mejor pero sí se explicita.”

²⁰ “el ejercicio que yo decidí hacer fue como esto, como la historia está reflejada de distintos puntos de vista. Veamos entonces una posición más del centro. Como entender que no hay una historia oficial, sino que la historia es de los hombres y ellos la construyen.”

²¹ Rolwing, Kevin. "Higher Education in Chile - WENR." WENR. N.p., 06 Dec. 2013. Web. 27 Nov. 2015. <<http://wenr.wes.org/2013/12/introduction-to-the-higher-education-system-of-chile/>>.

²² En el primero se adopta una postura valórica neutral y en el segundo beligerante porque es un tema sobre el que sólo se puede condenar.

²³ Enseño con gran conciencia social acerca de los hechos acaecidos.

²⁴ Se llama dictadura militar. Ahora, desde mi punto de vista, todavía hay una fuerte énfasis en analizar las causas del golpe de estado y la dictadura, mas que la dictadura en si mismo. Hay estudios como parcelados, cierto? Como la cultura de la dictadura, la política de la dictadura, o la economía. Pero no necesariamente sobre la dictadura como tal.

²⁵ Primero porque no es elegido, segundo porque logró el poder de forma violenta, y hizo una situación política violenta. Y es dictadura porque durante los 17 años fueron reprimidas todas las libertades... No había elección de nada.

²⁶ Nuestra visión es que ocurrió porque fue una crisis política.

²⁷ Yo tengo la mejor opinión del gobierno militar... yo tengo la impresión de que sin el gobierno militar, yo no sentiría hablando contigo, y porque yo tenía la impresión y estoy convencido de que Chile marchaba directamente a vivir un modo de vida como el cubano... Por consiguiente,

por todo lo que significó para mi, el 11 de septiembre y para mi familia, yo soy un agradecido del gobierno militar.

²⁸ Pero creo que todavía faltan algunas miradas críticas del modelo también porque si solo vemos en términos de desarrollo económico, eso es súper positivo. Pero si vemos en términos de efectos, en realidad, Pinochet no sería un héroe, sino sería el forjador de una economía con mucha desigualdad.

²⁹ Lo que yo normalmente enfatizo es la recuperación económica.

³⁰ En el tema de los derechos humanos adopto una posición beligerante y muestro algunas fuentes que muestran el horror de los hechos.

³¹ A mi no me gusta que enseñe “desaparecidos detenidos” como algo abstracto. Esos tienen rostros, nombres, apellidos. Y la mayoría de ellos no tenían un conocimiento político.

³² Sí, todavía eso es muy menor y quizás marginal en algunos casos porque historiadores muy pocos se van enfrentando los problemas de los derechos... en las universidades todavía es muy insipiente, o sea, está surgiendo recién.

³³ Muy poca gente sabe hacerlo.

³⁴ No omito por todo porque es demasiado evidente que hubo atentado los derechos humanos.

³⁵ Ya llegamos un par de generaciones desde las que experimentaron la dictadura. O sea, los abuelos de los estudiantes vivieron la dictadura. Por lo tanto, hay transmisión de memoria, que no sería necesariamente la historia, pero todos los estudiantes llegan con alguna noción de lo que era la dictadura. Encontramos con unos estudiantes que piensan que Pinochet era un héroe y a otros pensarán que es lo peor del mundo y un genocidio. Por lo tanto, sí, hay controversia. Pero eso no es una dificultad, lo contrario... hay que intentar finalmente mostrar a los estudiantes que la historia quizás puede ser muy distinta de lo que escucharon.

³⁶ Yo pasé los años más felices de mi vida con Pinochet... así que mi interpretación puede ser por ustedes una interpretación segada.