Between Playfulness, Trauma, and Autofiction: Postmemories of Childhood in Dictatorial Argentina and Chile

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Supervised by Professor Omar García and Dr Rebecca Carr
Rafael Mendes - 17304919

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the dynamic between postmemory, trauma, playfulness, and autofiction in *The Rabbit House* by Argentinian writer Laura Alcoba and *Space Invaders* by Chilean writer Nona Fernández. Since the early 2000s, artists whose childhood was marked by the dictatorship have been exploring their memories of the period within a broader national effort to create a new master narrative of the past. These narratives are based on postmemory, a system of transmission of traumatic experiences, and fill the gaps of memory with autofiction, a hybrid literary genre that exists in the liminal space between fiction and autobiography. The dissertation will explore trauma at the individual and national level, describing how the threat of violence disturbed childhood but will do so by seeing trauma not as a place of suffering and victimhood but of agency and creative potential. To achieve these overarching goals, this dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter shows how trauma, postmemory, and autofiction will be employed and assess the predominant theories of each field of study. The second chapter analyses the novel *Space Invaders*, focusing on the convoluted relation between children and the adult world and children’s political activism going from playful activism to traditional modes of agency. It also explores Fernández’s multi-voiced narrator as a collective effort to remember the past. The third chapter analyses the novel *The Rabbit House*, exploring the life of a child living underground and how violence traumatised and pervaded the narrator’s vocabulary. Furthermore, it probes the conflicting relation between family, the child, and adult institutions and delves into the process of working through trauma at the national and individual levels. The conclusion presents the dissertation’s findings and proposes themes and areas for future research.
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I want to dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Luciana, who became just the second person in our family to obtain a college degree while working and raising my brother on her own.

I want to dedicate this dissertation to my little brother, Vinicius, who is now taller than me.

I want to dedicate this dissertation to my father, Cleidson, uncles, aunties and grandparents, who did not have the same educational opportunities but whose support was vital.

Para a família.
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Introduction

Y me fue imposible cerrar los ojos y no ver
aquel espectáculo extraño, lento y extraño,
aunque empotrado en una realidad velocísima:
miles de muchachos como yo, lampiños
o barbudos, pero latinoamericanos todos,
juntando sus mejillas con la muerte

Roberto Bolaño – Los Perros Románticos

The military dictatorships in Chile (1973-1990) and Argentina (1976-1983) represented attempts to halt the politicisation occurring within these countries, which ultimately put at risk the United States’ hegemony in the region (Ros 2012, 1). In Chile, the regime was led by army commander-in-chief Augusto Pinochet. In Argentina, the government was led by the military Junta, a group headed by the commander-in-chief of each of the military forces. The regimes allegedlyoverthrew their respective governments to save the country from communism and social unrest, using torture systematically to combat internal dissent and to hold onto power. Their human and civil rights abuse track record was extensive and largely documented by later governments and civil society in reports. The dictatorship lasted less than ten years in Argentina, but it was so violent that it changed the Spanish language. Desaparecido, an adjective meaning “disappeared”, became a collective noun to describe the almost 30,000 people who became desaparecido. These individuals were often maintained in Centros Clandestinos de Detención (CDC) and later flown to death in the vuelos de la muerte [death flights], where their bodies were thrown out of military planes into the sea or rivers (Maguire 2017; Ros 2012). In Chile, the dictatorship also used violence to achieve its goals. The military used two institutions to carry out
human and civil rights violations: the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) between 1973 and 1976 and the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI) during the remaining years. Chile’s dictatorship killed or disappeared more than 3,000, and an additional 40,000 suffered violence and abuse (Lira 2011; Ros 2012).

As the dictatorships ended, a series of testimonios [testimonies] were published in both countries. Based on survivors’ memories, these narratives were seen as objective accounts of what had happened, helping the public to get closer to the reality hidden by the military (Ros 2012). At the same time, testimonies, notably in Argentina, unintentionally aided the creation of an ‘epic reading of history’ (Blejmar 2016, 18), in which desaparecidos and violence survivors were seen only as victims, ignoring that many of them participated actively in the resistance against the regimes. Alain Badiou calls this narrative based on suffering and victimhood of cuerpo sufriente [suffering body], which is a body ‘separado de sus ideas, separado de todo proyecto universal’ (Badiou 2004), being reduced to their traumatic condition. To dispute this view, Badiou upholds the concept of cuerpo creador [creative body], seeing trauma not only as a locus of pain but of creation and political agency too.

This dissertation will argue that The Rabbit House, by Argentinian writer Laura Alcoba, and Space Invaders, by Chilean writer Nona Fernández, present examples of creative bodies. The children characters use what I define as playful activism, which refers to the use of parody, a ‘form of imitation but imitation characterized by ironic inversion’ (Hutcheon 2000, 6), and children’s play to conceal, mask and perform political activities. For children, playing is a source of power or, at the minimum, ‘a kind of compensation or wish fulfillment’ (Sutton-Smith 2001, 75). Playful activism allows the characters to turn the military regime’s discourse and practices against itself, while traditional children’s games, like hopscotch, are used to hide political activism. Another claim is that playfulness is paramount to the structure of the novels, as they use ‘humor, popular genres, [and] children’s games […] to provocatively represent the dictatorship and toy with trauma (Blejmar 2016, 2). For instance, Space Invaders’ title and organisation are based on a popular arcade game. Finally, as the novels are narrated by children, the novels’ voice ‘debe ser interpretada por los lectores, invitándolos a un activo juego de
descubrimiento’ [must be interpreted by the readers, inviting them to an active game of
discovery] (Castro 2018, 161).

This dissertation sides with a recent trend in scholarship which focuses on childhood and
children’s experiences. According to Henry Jenkins (1998), cultural studies interpreted childhood
through the myth of innocence for a prolonged period. This perspective originates in Victorian
times and portrays children as asocial, pure and irrational, having their identities entirely defined
by adults and other social institutions (Kincaid 1992). Childhood-as-innocence argues that
children are subjects and subjected to politics but ignores how children are political agents, who
produce culture, resist and redefine cultural materials imposed by the adult world (Jenkins 1998;
Castillo-Gallardo and González-Celis 2015). In this context, this dissertation dissents from most
contemporary research on Chilean and Argentinian literature that sees children as passive
spectators of political and cultural movements during the military regimes. On the contrary, it
will assert that children participated in the cultural and political movements against the regime,
even if in a limited capacity due to their age. This dissertation aims to understand how children
performed agency through playful activism during the dictatorships in Chile and Argentina. The
primary texts will be analysed to understand how agency is negotiated in the complex
relationship between children and the adult world.

The need for such an approach is based on four aspects. First, among survivors, children
were one the most affected social groups as the regimes sought to shape the nation's future by
disseminating values of patriotism and order and banning specific topics from the education
system (Navarro and Garrido 2021; Moreno-Doña and Jiménez 2014; Schindel 2005). Second,
during the dictatorships, children were also subject to the triumvirate of violence, which includes
physical violence, violence infiltrated into language and the threat of violence Žižek (2008). Third,
thus far, scholarly research has overlooked childhood as agency and how playfulness is used for
political activities in these narratives (Blejmar 2016; Maguire 2017; Ros 2012; Espinosa 2019).
Third, post-dictatorship research has demonstrated children’s feelings and attitudes towards the
fallen military regimes. Drawings and letters produced by children of Chilean political activists
have singled out Pinochet’s regime as responsible for the country’s social inequality and violence
(Castillo-Gallardo and González-Celis 2015). In another study, 68 per cent claimed to have experienced violent events, and 95 per cent remembered ‘situaciones vinculadas al clima de violencia y represión’ [situations linked to the climate of violence and repression] (Magendzo, Rubio and Aubel 2000, 7). In Argentina, children grew up reporting feelings of intolerance, anxiety and disillusion about the future, having a vocabulary charged with images of death, violence, and repression (Schindel 2005). Looking at childhood perspectives offers a new path for academic studies on Chilean and Argentinian post-dictatorship literature.

Fernández and Alcoba’s novels are part of a generational movement in Chile and Argentina that, since the early 2000s has turned to literature, film and the arts as mediums to investigate the past, contributing to the construction of new narratives about the dictatorial periods. Jordana Blejmar (2016) calls this generation of *huachos*, a word from the Quechuan language, to describe an orphan produced by genocide, while Ana Ros (2012) uses the term *post-dictatorship generation*. Blejmar’s term is imprecise because, despite the regime’s use of large-scale violence, its action does not fall under the United Nation’s definition of genocide, as it was not based on nationality, ethnicity, race, or religious group (United Nations 1948). Ros’ definition also stumbles because it brackets the different generations’ experiences as the same. For instance, a Chilean child born in 1970 will have experienced the dictatorship differently from a Chilean born in 2000 because the latter’s experience is far more mediated by others. This dissertation places the *Rabbit House, Space Invaders* and the artistic creations of individuals who grew up during the dictatorship as the *1.5 generation*, a concept coined to describe the ‘child survivors of the Holocaust, too young to have had an adult understanding of what was happening to them, but old enough to have been there during the Nazi persecution of the Jews’ (Suleiman 2002, 277, original italics). The salient characteristic of this generation is the age group’s distinctiveness because it depends on the lack of *total* compression of what was happening around them.

In the early 2000s, the 1.5 generation in Chile and Argentina began creating cultural artefacts based on their experiences. Writers from this generation published several works of autofiction, a hybrid genre that erodes narrative boundaries between fiction and autobiography.
(Alberca 2007). These narratives are oftentimes grouped under the label *Literatura de los Hijos* [Literature of the Children] and include works such as Alejandro Zambra’s *Formas de volver a casa*, Patricio Pron’s *El espíritu de mis padres sigue subiendo en la lluvia*, Félix Bruzzone’s *Los Topos*, Alia Trabucco Zerán’s *La Resta* and others. Although this literary movement has received extensive scholarly attention, frequently, it is portrayed as if it existed in and of itself, in a vacuum or hermetic space. This dissertation places the 1.5 generation inside a wider cultural and political context, as one of the many outcomes of Chile and Argentina’s trauma process outlined by Alexander (2004) and Jelin (2003). In that sense, its literary texts are representations of a group’s narrative.

The Chilean novel analysed here is *Space Invaders* by Nona Fernández. The author has published several accounts about the years under Pinochet’s regime. However, *Invaders* stands out for its portrayal of how the regime affected the lives of children and adolescents. Fernández’s novel challenges scholars who place *Literatura de los Hijos* [Literature of the Children] in Chile as a movement that focuses on identity and family crises arising from parents’ inaction or political activities (Espinosa 2019). *The Rabbit House* by Laura Alcoba is the Argentinian novel considered here. The dictatorship marked Alcoba’s life: her father spent years in prison, while Alcoba and her mother went into hiding and, later, into exile in France. Like Fernández, Alcoba was only recently considered a victim. For many years, in Chile and Argentina, only the children or immediate family of *desaparecidos* were seen as victims (Ros 2012; Maguire 2017). I attribute these changes in the early 2000s to the arrival of groups such as Hijos e Hijas por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (HIJOS) in Argentina and Hijos-Chile, in a broader context of a *queer reading of memory politics* (Sosa 2011), in which the transmission of trauma is not restricted to the family and includes the ‘emotional responses that might be tangential to those who have traditionally considered themselves as the “real” victims’ (ibid, 64). The 1.5 generation artistic production is yet another element of what Beatriz Sarlo (2005) calls of *giro subjetivo* [subjective turn], a development in cultural studies of cherishing previously marginal voices and giving prominence to subjective experiences.
In this context, neither Fernández nor Alcoba claim or aim to provide a final image of life under dictatorship. I declare that their works, and *Literatura de los Hijos* [Literature of the Children] at large, seek to reconstruct and imagine childhood experience using familial and affiliative postmemory (Hirsch 2008, 2012), but ultimately use autofiction to ‘compensate for the failings of memory’ (Jones 2007, 96). By sewing together memory and fiction, they suggest that a metanarrative is unattainable, and efforts of retelling may only exist in the porous borders of experience and imagination.

Amongst the questions this dissertation intends to respond to are: how children use playful activism to claim agency in the resistance against the military regimes; how trauma is portrayed from the perspective of a *cuerpo creador*; how postmemory and autofiction are used to reconstruct the authors’ childhood; how Fernández uses playfulness in *Space Invaders*’ narrative and form; how Alcoba’s postmemory is aided by the outcomes of Argentina’s trauma process. To achieve these objectives, this dissertation is divided into three chapters and the conclusion. The first chapter lays out the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the novels; the second chapter makes a close reading of Fernández’s *Space Invaders*; chapter three makes a close reading of Alcoba’s *Rabbit House*; the last section concludes the dissertation, summing up its findings and areas of future research.
Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

1.1 Trauma Studies

In the aftermath of the dictatorships in Chile and Argentina, the two countries went through a process in which opposing narratives disputed the hearts and minds of the population: truth and reconciliation or truth, reconciliation and justice. On the one hand, governments sought to leave the past buried, passing laws of impunity and official amnesties (Stern 2010; Maguire 2017). On the other hand, families of desaparecidos and survivors pursued not only the facts on what had happened but also criminal charges against perpetrators within a more comprehensive ‘political struggle about meaning, about the meaning of what went on and also about the meaning of memory itself’ (Jelin 2003, xviii). Despite their differences, both narratives orbited around trauma. Scholars of memory studies have been exploring trauma, its implications, and its effects on individuals and societies for decades. These studies are divided into two leading schools of thought: psychoanalysis and constructivism.

Cathy Caruth is one of the leading voices of the psychoanalysis school. She defines trauma as a ‘response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or events’ (1995, 4) or as a wound ‘inflicted upon the mind’ (1996, 3). Taking from Freud, she emphasises trauma’s belatedness, not an individual’s perception of the event. The response to trauma is crystallised as ‘re-peated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors stemming from the event’ (ibid 1995, 4). Elizabeth Jelin (2003) has a similar understating, arguing that trauma ‘involve[s] a fixation or a constant return: the compulsion to repeat or to act out, the inability to detach oneself from the lost object’ (ibid, 5). If Caruth focuses on the individual level of trauma, Kai Erikson puts forward the idea that trauma creates communities, as it groups individuals who feel they are different because of their traumatic experiences, as trauma ‘serve[s] as a source of communality in the same way that common languages and common backgrounds can’ (Erikson 1995, 186).
According to the constructivist school, trauma is a social construction defined as a ‘horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways’ (Alexander 2004, 1). Individuals will claim an experience as traumatic against the backdrop of the group’s perception of the event. Unlike Caruth, constructivists like Antonius Robben and Jeffrey Alexander claim that events ‘do not, in and of themselves, create collective trauma,’ but are instead ‘socially mediated’ (Alexander 2004, 8). The shattering effect may happen as the event unfolds, after it, or, in some cases, even before it. To assess if an event is traumatic, it must have three characteristics: a) a negative impact; b) an enduring influence; c) threatens the group’s existence or one or more of its values (Smelser 2004). To summarise, ‘trauma is thus a wound to the social body and its cultural frame’ (Robben 2005, 125).

Once an event is established as traumatic through a groundswell of personal artefacts documenting how the experience was traumatic, the group will go through a trauma process. Trauma process involves the creation of a narrative that is ‘a complex and multivalent symbolic process that is contingent, highly contested, and sometimes highly polarizing’ (Alexander 2004, 12). This process facilitates the group’s determination of an event as traumatic but also enables the creation of opposing narratives. To succeed within the group, but also to engage with individuals outside it, the narrative must convey the nature of the wound, who has been affected by it, how directly affected individuals and the wider audience are related, and who carried out the violent actions that caused the trauma (ibid).

The process of conceiving a new narrative is never entirely completed. Often the narrative evolves as the group’s priorities and necessities shift. Nevertheless, as the event becomes more distant in time, trauma is alleviated, and the group’s identity becomes attached to rituals and places of remembrance, facing future social problems with the traumatic experience as a point of reference. Exemplary remembering ‘enables exploring other aspects of the past that are relevant to a broader range of present concern, thereby keeping the past central to the public sphere’ (Ros 2012, 8-9). In Argentina and Chile, creating new narratives was highly controversial.
because the military either denied or undermined their crimes, excluding any possible traumatic claim from civilians.

This dissertation will refute the psychoanalysis schools' instance on trauma's belatedness. Although the manifestation of traumatic experiences may be delayed, haunting individuals in dreams and repetitive actions, it is not an element found in every traumatic instance. As it will be demonstrated, trauma in _Space Invaders_ and _Rabbit House_ often surfaces soon after the traumatic event. At the group level, despite failures and mistakes, Argentina and Chile’s process of working through trauma began soon after the military ended (Robben 2005; Stern 2010; Lazzara 2011). This dissertation defends that the declaration of trauma is ‘dependent on specific political, national, and historical circumstances’ (Robben 2005, 127), and not on the event itself. Finally, the most problematic aspect of Caruth's theory is her claim that trauma resists ‘full theoretical analysis and understanding’ (Caruth 1995, 10). On the contrary, the concept of trauma can be systematised. Therefore, the framework created by Alexander (2004) and other representatives of the constructivist school will be the primary tool of analysis used here.

1.1.1 Trauma process in Argentina

The trauma process in Argentina was highly disputed as it opposed two main narratives about the dictatorship. The military tried to justify, downplay and deny its crimes. In contrast, the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP), survivors, families of victims and human rights groups tried to uncover the crimes (Robben 2005). However, as previously mentioned, there were also opposing views within the second group.

In 1984 the CONADEP released the report _Nunca Más_ [Never Again] with testimonies of thousands of survivors and victims’ families. The report claimed that 8,960 people had become _desaparecidos_ while other human rights organisations put this figure at around 30,000 (Maguire 2017). Between 1987 and 1990, presidents Alfonsin and Menem used a series of laws to pardon most military personnel from punishment, which made healing and the construction of a
narrative based on the acknowledgement of the crimes impossible. In 1995 navy captain Francisco Scilingo broke the military silence as he ‘acknowledged the abduction, torture, and murder of the desaparecidos and his own participation in the—until then denied—“flights of death”’ (Ros 2012, 20). Scilingo’s confession was an early step from within the military to admit its crimes. Although Scilingo was not motivated by remorse, his account of nightmares in which he threw people from planes indicates that violent perpetrators are also subject to become traumatised.

The construction of a narrative based on the acknowledgement of crimes and trauma advanced after Scilingo’s confession, with many officers taking the same path. Jelin (2003) identifies the period between 1995 to 2003 as the “boom of memory”, with acts of remembrance thriving. Scholars like Blejmar (2017), Ros (2012) and Maguire (2017) have a similar conclusion, as they recognise the growth of groups like HIJOS and Néstor and Cristina Kirchner’s administrations (2003-2015) with the boom of 1.5 generation narrative. HIJOS amplified the “ownership” of trauma, enabling individuals who were not directly of violence to share their stories, in a process Cecilia Sosa (2011) defines as a queer reading of trauma, which ‘endeavors to add to the debates that seek to enlarge the understandings of the resonances of trauma’ (ibid, 64). HIJOS advanced debate on the figure of the desaparecidos, pushing for a reading in which desaparecidos are seen as militants, politicising memory and trauma, echoing the idea of cuerpo creador [creative body] that challenges the conception of trauma as victimhood (Badiou 2004).

1.1.2 Trauma process in Chile

According to Lazzara (2011), Chile began its search for justice during the years of Pinochet’s regime. By 1985 Chile was going through a moment of political opening in which the opposition was organised, with constant protests taking place (Barraza Morelle 1995). However, the turning point was the 1988 plebiscite that ousted Pinochet from power and ushered Patricio Aylwin to the presidency.
The Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, established in 1990, was based on the moto Verdad y Justicia, and was an early effort of trauma being inscribed into institutional arenas (Alexander 2004). As in Argentina, there was a narrative dispute between the military and human rights groups, survivors, and families of the victims. The commission failed claims for justice as it ‘detailed the dictatorship’s crimes against humanity but did so without naming the perpetrators directly or giving sufficient treatment to the reality of torture as state policy under Pinochet’ (Lazzara 2011, 87). Efforts to establish the truth and punish criminals remained limited since Pinochet remained commander-in-chief until 1998, exercising power through ‘veiled or open threats’ (Lira 2011, 121).

The commission culminated in the 1991 Rettig Report. President Aylwin aimed at recognition, repair, and justice, but the Armed Forces dismissed the report’s conclusions, which argued they saved Chile from the communist threat. The report significantly impacted Chilean society, as it ‘consolidated a cultural majority that framed military rule as an era of rupture and persecution’ (Stern 2010, 90). However, efforts to punish criminals were limited since Pinochet remained commander-in-chief until 1998, exercising power through ‘veiled or open threats’ (Lira 2011, 121). The Supreme Court’s unanimous decision on the constitutionality of the Amnesty Law halted claims for accountability.

The period between 1998 and 2001 was marked by a ‘culture of swings between prudence and convulsion’ (Stern 2010, 211). Chile underwent judicial, military and political reforms, which enabled a new push for justice. Chile’s second official attempt to create a new master narrative started with the commission Mesa de Diálogo [Dialogue Table] in 1999, and gained more force with the 2004 Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura and its Valech Report under the adage No hay Mañana sin Ayer [There is no Tomorrow without Yesterday]. The report confirmed that more than 30000 had been arrested, and 94% of those individuals had been tortured (Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura).

Fuelled by Pinochet’s arrest, the 1.5 generation renewed its interest in constructing a new narrative for Chile. Influenced by HIJOS in Argentina, Hijos-Chile also expanded its understanding of trauma with a queer reading (Sosa 2011). However, Ana Ros claims that different from the
Argentinian counterpart, Hijos-Chile did not need ‘to unbury the political commitment of their parents— eclipsed by the figure of the innocent victim’ (Ros 2012, 123), because the military had overthrown an elected government and, prior to the coup, there had not been guerrilla movements in Chile.

1.2 Postmemory

Since the Holocaust, memory studies has been investigating how memory and trauma are transmitted through generations. Recently, scholars have been investigating how the second and 1.5 generations relate to and remember their parents’ trauma and childhood.

In her seminal, The generation of postmemory (2012), Marianne Hirsch, studying artists from the Holocaust 1.5 generation, demonstrates how they created art artefacts based on their memories and experiences. Hirsch calls this relationship of postmemory, a ‘structure of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience’ (Hirsch 2008, 106, original italics). Postmemory is the connection the second and 1.5 generations have to their ancestors’ remembrances, a connection so deep they call memory, and by extension, that it can be transmitted. As Maurice Halbwachs (1992) described, memory is constructed, shaped and recollected in relation to social groups. Thus, postmemory is the legacy of a group’s trauma.

Hirsch makes the case that postmemory does not equal memory because

Certainly, we do not have literal "memories" of others' experiences, and certainly, one person's lived memories cannot be transformed into another's. Postmemory is not identical to memory: it is "post"; but, at the same time, I argue, it approximates memory in its affective force and its psychic effects (Hirsch 2012, 31)

Postmemory is an individual and collective process of reassessing the past. The generational removal makes postmemory an ‘unfinished, ephemeral process’ (Young 2000, 2). The “post” in
postmemory indicates a bridge between past and present, the continuity of the traumatic experience into the present.

In this dissertation, I will pay closer attention to the 1.5 generation, individuals who did not fully grasp what was happening around them because they were children but were there during the violent period (Suleiman 2002). As Hirsch (2008) explains, in postmemory trauma was not experienced or, if it was, only in an oblique way, through ‘stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up’ (ibid, 106) because to ‘be dominated by narratives that preceded one’s birth or one’s consciousness, is to risk having one’s own stories and experiences displaced, even evacuated, by those of a previous generation’ (ibid, 107). Postmemory does not aim for redemption. Rather than a continuum, fluidity is what postmemory work aspires to because these artists will, at most, try to fill or challenge the empty spaces of memory.

Another critical theoretical advance Hirsch offers is her idea of familial and affiliative postmemory. Familial postmemory is an ‘intergenerational vertical identification of child and parent occurring within the family’ (Hirsch 2012, 36). As previously mentioned, this dissertation makes a queer reading of memory and family, extending the family nucleus to border beyond blood lineage and heteronormativity (Sosa 2011). The idea of queering memory studies may be traced back to Halbwachs (1994), as he claimed that remembering, even in the most private and personal instances, rely on the frameworks provided by multiple social groups an individual belongs to, many of which may be compared to a traditional heteronormative idea of family. The second type of transmission of postmemory is affiliative, ‘the intragenerational horizontal identification that makes that child’s position more broadly available to other contemporaries’ (Hirsch 2012, 36). While familial postmemory reinforces the role parents and relatives play in shaping one’s memories, affiliative postmemory is fundamental to informing others of the traumatic experience, in a process similar to what Alexander (2004) calls engaging, the mediation of trauma/memory to people who were not affected by it in time or space. Mediation will happen through aesthetics (literature, photographs), the legal realm (punishing criminals), the mass media (trauma being represented), and state bureaucracy (investigative committees, laws).
From Barthes’ idea of punctum and studium, Hirsch conceives the concept of points of memory, which are

points of intersection between past and present, memory and postmemory, personal remembrance and cultural recall. The term "point" is both spatial - such as a point on a map - and temporal - a moment in time - and it thus highlights the intersection of spatiality and temporality in the workings of personal and cultural memory (Hirsch 2012, 61).

These points are subjective and may be objects, artefacts, buildings, or any other ‘vestiges of the past’ (Hirsch 2012, 61) that facilitate and generate recall and the transmission of memory. Points of memory are informed by collective memory. Therefore, I claim that points of memory place Hirsch’s work in consonance with the work of the constructivist school of trauma, as the latter claim that once trauma reaches institutional arenas, there will be efforts to preserve and explore memory.

Hirsch claims that postmemory is mediated by ‘imaginative investment, projection, and creation’ (Hirsch 2012, 5), being ‘fragmentary and shot through with holes and gaps’ (Schwab 2010, 14). In that regard, memory and postmemory welcome multiplicity, unlike history, whose ambition is a totalising metanarrative (Halbwachs 1992). Postmemory, then, relies on mediation and creates mediation through multiple media, like written narratives and photographs. Postmemory work ‘portray[s] its own, necessarily hypermediated experiences of memory’ (Young 2000, 1). As postmemory is the legacy of trauma, it is intimately connected to collective memory’s ‘aims to perpetuate the feelings and images forming the substance of its thought’ (Halbwachs 2011, 146). As such, postmemory aspire to reconstruct the small, individual histories.

The imaginative aspect of postmemory is the initial point of entrance for its detractors. Argentinian scholar Beatriz Sarlo emphasises that every memory is ‘vicaria e hipermediada’ [vicarious and hypermediated] (Sarlo 2005, 129), not exclusive to postmemory but all kinds of memory. Sarlo claims that postmemory is part of a broader giro subjetivo [subjective turn], a tendency to investigate and reconstruct the past from a subjective perspective, especially by giving turning cultural memory into ‘un almacén de banalidades legitimadas por los nuevos
derechos de la subjetividad’ [a warehouse of banalities legitimised by the rights of subjectivity] (ibid, 130). The Dutch scholar Ernst van Alphen (2006) criticises the concept. For van Alphen, trauma cannot be transmitted because the reality of the traumatic experience is different, so bridging or transmitting the experience becomes impossible.

Although this dissertation will not challenge Sarlo’s correct point that all memories are vicarious, her appraisal of the subjective focus of postmemory seems imprecise. First, Sarlo herself revoke her criticism on this phase of cultural memory as she asserts that ‘cada una de las víctimas tiene derecho a la reconstrucción de su historia’ [each of the victims has the right to the reconstruction of their history] (Sarlo 2005, 136). Suppose every victim has the right to voice their trauma. In that case, the giro subjetivo [subjective turn] should not be seen as a negative movement but rather a positive one in which previously marginalised individuals can voice their experiences to wider audiences. Second, Sarlo seems to downplay trauma’s impact on the 1.5 and following generations. As the analysis performed here will show, individuals who were children during the dictatorships in Chile and Argentina are understanding, investigating, and challenging their traumatic experiences, not from a perspective of victimhood, but from an angle in which the experience empowers them as they transmit it to younger generations.

Van Alphen’s criticism, in turn, is more easily dismissed. His claims of the impossibility of passing down the experience overlook how mediation ‘produce[s] imaginative identification and emotional catharsis’ (Alexander 2004, 15) and how it ‘can be associated with the capacity to see and the possibility to make visible’ (Eyerman 2004, 69). Moreover, as museums, memorials and other sites of remembrance flourish around the globe, it is implausible to argue that the experience cannot be transmitted through time and space. For instance, the working of remembering the Holocaust does not focus solely on the crimes but on passing down the more human, subjective experience of those who perished and survived to inscribe in future generations the sentiment of what life the camp was, making another Holocaust less likely.
1.3 Autofiction

For a long period, the autobiography was the medium most used to recount one’s life. Such a narrative is written by a person focusing on her own life, retelling events, and constructing their personality (Lejeune 1989). Autobiographies suggest to the reader that the narrative is based on authentic experiences and that the author’s memory is flawless. Nonetheless, many writers treat their lives as a literary genre. Contrary to a particular understanding, where the real is alien to fiction, but also from the assertion that every work of art carries something of its creator, autofiction embraces the autobiographical and explicitly brings it into the work of art. Autofiction is not exclusive to the literary: self-portraits are considered the earliest expression in the visual arts, while film and performance may also embrace autobiographical elements (Alberca 2007; Blejmar 2016). Since the 1970s, a series of books have been published under the guise of autobiography, testimony, and autofiction. These books are part of what Beatriz Sarlo calls *giro subjetivo* [subjective turn], understood as a cultural and historical trend in which social actors, who were previously voiceless or invisible to history, now take centre stage, creating first-person narratives based on experience and subjectivity (Sarlo 2005).

To Alberca, autofiction is based on the ‘identidad visible o reconocible del autor, narrador u personaje del relato’ [visible identity of the author, narrator or character of the story] (2007, 5)

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31), that is, the identity of the author, narrator and character is blurred, making the reader question or mistake one for another, crisscrossing lines between fiction and reality. Autofiction exists precisely because the lines between fiction and autobiography have been drawn in the past: it transgresses the distance between character and author in a novel and the principle of veracity in autobiographies (Alberca 2006, 2007). Jones (2007) stresses that autofiction ‘acknowledges the fallibility of memory and the impossibility of truthfully recount a life story’ (ibid, 96). Presented like a novel but made of autobiographical content, autofiction exists in the liminal space between these two genres. It can mask autobiographical content under the novel label or present itself like an autobiography without being one. Autofiction creates an ambiguous pact with the reader (Alberca 2006, 2007). Its distinctive trait is that the author, narrator, and character’s identity is the same. This identification is explicitly established when they share the same name and implicitly when paratextual and extratextual elements cue the reader on the autobiographical element of the text (Blejmar 2016; Lejeune 1989). The works analysed here possess explicit and implicit identification. *The Rabbit House* is narrated by a seven-year-old girl with the same name as the author, and several autobiographical elements of the author’s life are found in the text. A diffuse, multi-voiced narrator narrates *Space Invaders*. The pact, in this case, is established by extratextual material.
Chapter 2: Space Invaders

Most of *Space Invaders*’ (Fernández 2013) plot takes place during the years of the military dictatorship in Chile, while the final section is narrated from an indefinite period of its aftermath. The novel is told by a multi-voiced narrator, constantly shifting from an “I” to a “we”, and tells the story of Bustamente, Maldonado, Riquelme, Donoso, Fuenzalida, and Estrella, who study together in a Santiago school. The multi-voiced narrator goes back and forth between the present and the past, reconstructing their collective memory of Chile, childhood, and the traumatic years of dictatorship.

Estrella Gonzales, daughter of a military man, is the character that pulls the narrative as the narrator revisits childhood and trauma through her figure. When speaking from the present, the multi-voiced narrator demonstrates how the past haunts the traumatised, as Caruth (1995, 1996) argues. Moreover, Estrella returns to the adult characters through delirium and the uncertain grounds of postmemory.

The present chapter will make a close reading of *Space Invaders*, aiming to answer the following questions: how does the military use the school to transmit its values to the children of Chile; how do the children engage in the resistance against the military by performing playful activism; how trauma and postmemory are portrayed in the novel; how does Fernández create a hybrid autofictional novel; how does Fernández use playfulness in the novel’s form.

2.1 School, Propaganda, and Playful Activism

Despite being political spaces even in democracies, schools under dictatorial regimes become a fertile field for propaganda and political influence. This section investigates how the military used this educational space to transmit its values and how children reclaimed agency through playful activism.
In Chile, one of Pinochet’s first actions after the coup was to alter and influence the educational system. Between 1973 and the early 1980s, the military took control of educational institutions and placed senior officers in command (Garrido and Navarro 2021; Moreno-Doña and Jiménez 2014). The regime forbade the formation of students’ unions and persecuted teachers and students who had supported Allende’s government or were deemed dangerous. The new curriculum implemented in 1974 removed content deemed Marxist and increased the visibility of national history, its symbols, and heroes. For instance, the module *Introducción a la vida cívica* [Introduction to civic life] had the following goal: ‘acentuar en la formación de los adolescentes y jóvenes la conciencia patriótica y la conciencia humanista’ [accentuate in the formation adolescents and young people the patriotic conscience and the humanistic conscience] (Garrido and Navarro 2021, 599). The regime also implemented regulations to foster a culture of hierarchy, discipline, and control (Stern 2006).

Two critical policies were students’ uniforms and homages to the national flag and anthem. In *Space Invaders* this is displayed as every Monday morning students remained in formation and ‘tomamos distancia, ponemos el brazo derecho en el hombro del compañero de adelante para marcar el espacio justo entre cada uno de nosotros. Nuestro uniforme bien puesto’ (Fernández 2013, 17). Students had to display uniforms without creases, shining shoes, and trimmed nails to sing the national anthem the best way they could as the national flag is hoisted, so they could finally be ‘protegidos por su sombra oscura’ (ibid, 18). Be it through the exclusion of periods and topics, or the increase of others, it is clear that the Chilean education system did not have children’s education as its primary goal but rather the proliferation of specific values and beliefs in which the military and the idea of nation appeared with prominence. Even if democracies use the educational system to achieve their goals, in the context of the Chilean dictatorship, with a vast track of human rights abuses and censorship, the move seems far more harmful.

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2 See Appendix 1 for the English version of the text.
Another channel used by the military to foster a particular culture was the teaching of national history. In *Space Invaders*, the characters must complete history assignments and even stage plays based on battles of Chile’s military forces. One of these plays is based on the Battle of Iquique, one of the most critical chapters in the War of the Pacific between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. In this battle, Arturo Prat’s death gave rise to his figure becoming a national hero. The play is used to foster patriotism in the children, as when Zúñiga says

> muchachos, la contienda es desigual, dice nuestro capitán y nosotros lo miramos con ojos patriotas. Pero ánimo y valor [...] mientras yo viva, esa bandera flameará en su lugar, y si yo muero, mis oficiales sabrán cumplir con su deber (Fernández 2013, 28)

The political use is reinforced as Zúñiga sees death as a moral obligation: ‘ahora me toca morir nuevamente en la cubierta enemiga por mi patria y por mi honor’ (ibid, 29). She jumps into the enemy’s ship and is wrapped by a white sheet in the sea, which hides and saves her life. However, being saved is not part of the plan because the hero must die for the nation. Zúñiga explains that the white sheet appeared unexpectedly and grieves: ‘Quiero pedir auxilio, pero no se vería bien. Soy un héroe, no un cobarde’ (ibid, 29). Estrella tosses the Chilean flag to save Zúñiga’s life, and the flag ‘me cubre [...] me doy vueltas, me retuerzo, me voy por la corriente, me ahogo’ (ibid, 30). The scene makes a double suggestion. On the one hand, white, the colour of peace, is associated with protection, saving Zúñiga and her generation. On the other hand, dying for the nation and the military, wrapped in Chile’s flag, becomes naturalised as something the 1.5 generation should subscribe and look forward to.

As the characters grow up, they become political actors, even if in a limited capacity. Children’s resistance occurs in what I shall call *playful activism*, which refers to children’s plays and actions that use parody, understood as ironic inversion (Hutcheon 2000), to conceal and mask political activities. One early example of playful activism occurs during the *Marchas Del Hambre*3 in 1982 and 1983, when Zúñiga and Riquelme oversee the distribution of pamphlets at

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3 Against the backdrop of a profound economic crisis, Chileans marched on the streets in 1982 and 1983 to demand lower prices for food products. Unions organised strikes and, on the streets,
school. The pamphlets ‘parece que hablan de una marcha, son la citación a una gran marcha contra Pinochet, algo nunca visto, algo nunca hecho’ (Fernández 2013, 38-39). Despite the military efforts to create a generation of pious children, the resistance against the regime also possesses the capacity to influence the younger generation, as Riquelme confesses that the task ‘era una misión únicamente para valientes y yo soy un hombre valiente’ (ibid, 38). The simple mission may be seen as an initiation ritual, as the pair end up with their hands stained from the blue ink and imagine the pamphlets on bus stops, public telephones, and on popular streets and avenues. Nevertheless, their child-like imagination is present, as Riquelme thinks his brother will reward him with trading cards for the World Cup in Spain album.

The aftermath of Riquelme and Zúñiga’s actions leads to a critical moment in the narration. For the first time, the children engage in a discussion about politics. Maldonado says that Zúñiga is involved with politics, to which Donoso asks ‘que qué es que esté metido en política’ (Fernández 2013, 43) while Maldonado thinks that young people like them cannot be involved in politics. The questioning continues: ‘que qué es ser militante. Que qué es ser dirigente’ (ibid). The characters vocalise interest and doubts about politics but do not possess the language to talk about it. Since the school they study in is private, it is possible to assume their parents are middle-class, a social group who played distinctive roles during the military. On the one hand, in the early days of the regime, middle- and upper-class women openly supported Pinochet and were used as symbols of tradition, nation, and family. On the other hand, in the 1980s, once the initial economic success had ended, the middle-class joined labour unions and students in mass street protests against the regime (Stern 2006). The outcome of the Marchas del Hambre was to enable children to speak up.

Fernández’s prose acknowledges that children at large mused about the political moment they lived

Que qué es política. Que todo es política. Que de qué sirve. Que qué importa.
Que por algo no se puede ser político, que por algo está prohibido por el gobierno. Que no está bien que se prohíban cosas [...] ¿Alguien tiene idea lo que es estar metido en política? (Fernández 2013, 43-44)

The sentence does not make clear who is speaking, suggesting that the quest for meaning and language is the quest of a generation who spent the 1970s in silence and now questioned wanting to be heard. As the teacher enters the room, the group ask: ‘Que qué es meterse en política. Que qué edad hay tener para poder hacerlo’ (Fernández 2013, 44). Silence falls upon the class until the teacher affirms that ‘que al colegio se viene a estudiar y no a hablar leseras’ (ibid, 44). As schools are mirrors of societies and political systems, the struggle between silence and protest, questioning and silencing, is unsurprising.

If Chile in the 1970s was mostly marked by repression and limited resistance, in the 1980s, the regime was challenged ‘through repeated street protests and rallies despite fierce repression, through media muckraking that broke taboos and media self-censorship, and through explicit revival of politics despite the official suspension of politics’ (Stern 2006, 3). CADA (Colectivo Acciones de Arte), whose performances challenged and denounced repression, demonstrated an early example of resistance. In 1979, the group distributed milk to families of Santiago with the slogan 1/2 de leche [half a litre of milk], which could be traced back to Allende’s government (Neira 2013; Katunaric 2008). By the 1980s, the characters of Space Invaders attended their first protest using the etiquette and vocabulary the military had taught them. They leave the school in military formation, wearing uniforms ‘perfectamente planchados […] zapatos recién lustrados’ (Fernández 2013, 47). During the manifestation, they chant ‘uno y dos, uno y dos (ibid, 48)’, an instruction often used in military training. The children behaviour during the march is a blunt example of playful activism, as it turns the regime’s discourse upside down.

Throughout the 1980s, students took to the streets of Chile to protest and engaged in different actions such as ‘hunger strikes, prayer sit-downs, [and] self-chaining to buildings’ (Stern
2006, 188). Students' associations, an overall sentiment of “rebelliousness”, and expressions of rage flourished. The effervescence is reflected in Space Invaders. In 1985, when the characters are 15 years-old, their world changes: ‘De golpe aparecieron ataúdes y funerales [...] y ya no pudimos huir de eso [...] a lo mejor siempre había sido así y no nos habíamos dado cuenta [...] la sala de clases se abrió a la calle’ (Fernández 2013, 54, my italics). Playful activism clashes with violence to such an extent that it touches their bodies and families. Donoso loses the movement of a finger, and Bustamante gets ten stitches in his head after a student protest. Riquelme receives calls from an unknown person threatening his mother, who is later kidnapped and returned after having her nipples severed. Zúñiga’s parents are arrested, and their whereabouts are unknown.

Despite their activism, the characters express ambiguous feelings toward the resistance and their political action. Zúñiga remembers one class in which they were taught about another battle of the War of the Pacific, and she questions whether children had fought in it or if they had been ‘como nosotros, un ejército de adolescentes, punta de lanza barata’ (Fernández 2013, 61). Their questioning is a case in point of the broader struggle between childhood and the adult world, agency and subordination. Ultimately, their playful activism becomes more constant, debunking Patricia Espinosa (2019) and Sarah Roos (2013) claims that narratives from the 1.5 generation tend to focus on childhood as a place of conformity.

Notwithstanding the activism against the regime, Space Invaders offer a hint of life under the guise of official discourse. Reporting from Germany, Estrella writes: ‘Alemania está partida en dos por una muralla. Yo solo conocí la parte de acá, la parte de los buenos, que es la única que se puede conocer porque del otro lado de la muralla es muy peligroso’ (Fernández 2013, 35, my italics). Upon her return, she begins to be accompanied by Uncle Claudio, her father’s friend, because ‘ya no puedo estar sola fuera [...] puede ser tan peligroso como si atravesara del otro lado de la muralla’ (ibid, 36). Estrella’s confession echoes Pinochet’s propaganda⁴, which sought

⁴ In his 1998 Carta a los chilenos, a posthumous document, Pinochet claimed that the military had been forced to intervene to avoid bloodshed, civil war, and, ultimately, a communist
to create a narrative of an “us” against “them”, the “good ones” against the “bad ones”, to justify and downplay human and civil rights violations in Chile (Lazzara 2006).

2.2 Estrella González, Postmemory, and Trauma

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) has demonstrated how memory is constructed, shaped, and recollected in relation to social groups using frameworks of collective memory. The social aspect of memory is shown in Space Invaders when the narration happens at an unclear point in the aftermath of Chile’s dictatorship. During a collective process of remembering Estrella, Acosta says she wore braids, while Zúñiga remembers her with thick, black hair, but ‘Bustamante tiene otra imagen y Maldonado otra y Riquelme otra y Donoso otra, y todas y cada una son diferentes’ (Fernández 2013, 12). Although each character has distinct memories of Estrella’s physical appearance, each memory contributes to the social reconstruction of Estrella and their childhood.

Postmemory has a vital element of recollection and reconstruction (Hirsch 2008, 2012). Throughout the narrative, the multi-voiced narrator confesses that their collective memory is ‘colchón desmemoriado’ where ‘todo se confunde’ (Fernández 2013, 37). However, memory seems to be activated by the trauma itself. According to Caruth (1995, 1996), trauma resurfaces through dreams and repeated actions. I claim that in Space Invaders, postmemory, trauma, and social recollection are weaved together. The following passage illustrates the assertion

No sabemos si esto es un sueño o un recuerdo. A ratos creemos que es un recuerdo que se nos mete en los sueños, una escena que se escapa de la

dictatorship. On the humans and civil rights abused, Pinochet said: ‘fue preciso emplear diversos procedimientos de control militar, como reclusión transitoria, exilios autorizados, fusilamientos con juicio militar’ (Pinochet 1998), and asserting that there had never been a systemic plan to carry out violence.
memoria de alguno y se esconde entre las sábanas sucias de todos. Pudo ser vivida ya, por nosotros o por otros. Pudo ser representada y hasta inventada. (Fernández 2013, 37)

Memory, then, follows a seamless course between the individual and group level, making the claim of ownership impossible.

The first demonstration of trauma being inscribed into a character’s life occur on a day when Riquelme visits Estrella’s house. As the pair complete assignments, her father, Don González, arrives. The father is described as ‘un hombre grande, uniformado, que siempre estaba viajando’ (Fernández 2013, 24). The text suggests that Don González is from the military because on the kitchen walls, there are medals with ‘cintas tricolores, como ganadas por un atleta o un militar’ (ibid, 23). As he approaches the kitchen table, Don González removes a prosthetic hand, making Estrella explain that: ‘su papá había sufrido un accidente terrible [...] un policía compañero de él, por casualidad, tomó una bomba y, por casualidad, le sacó el pitutito’ (ibid). Her father had taken a bomb in his hands to save his friend’s life, and it exploded. The implausible accident illuminates how the military was subject to violent attacks and how these events could be used to boost its personnel’s bravery.

Taking Cecilia Sosa’s (2011) defence of a queer reading of memory politics, I argue that families should not be reduced to a heteronormative pattern, enabling a reading in which the classroom space becomes one of many possible family arrangements. Such reading allows the use of Hirsch’s (2012) concept of familial and affiliative postmemory after Riquelme visits Estrella’s house. After the visit, he dreams with ‘manos de repuesto’ (Fernández 2013, 22), and the narrator claims that ‘sus sueños son como un testimonio’ (ibid, 22). Riquelme’s testimony is a model of familial postmemory, an ‘intergenerational vertical identification’ (Hirsch 2012, 36) that enables the family to be identified with and imagine the trauma witnessed by one of its members. In the case of Space Invaders, his classmates can imagine and identify with the trauma, as the narrator comments displayed.

After his visit, a rumour about Estrella’s father spreads at school
Decían que había algunas de fierro, otras de plata y de bronce. Alguien dijo que Don González tenía una que disparaba y otra que podía apuñalarte porque de ella salían cuchillos. Dedos afilados, uñas calibres 2.5, manos cañón o guillotina (Fernández 2013, 25)

Despite the gossip, the tale may be appreciated from other perspectives. As Riquelme’s trauma moves from the classroom to the school, it becomes an affiliative postmemory, ‘the intragenerational horizontal identification that makes that child's position more broadly available to other contemporaries’ (Hirsch 2012, 36), as every member of that nuclear society relates to that trauma. Alexander (2004) calls this process of engaging, as trauma is mediated to people who were not directly affected by it in time and space. Moreover, the tale denounces the extent to which the children’s language was imprecated with and into symbolic violence (Žižek 2000).

Other than symbolic, Žižek (2000) identifies two other modes of violence. First, there is subjective violence, enacted by identifiable agents, and objective violence, ‘the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems’ (ibid, 2). During Pinochet’s tenure, the military replaced capitalism as the pole from which violence rises, as it naturalised torture and assassinations. In the backdrop of objective violence, Space Invaders portrays an emblematic case of subjective violence perpetrated by official forces. In March 1985, José Manuel Parada, a sociologist, Santiago Nattino, a publicist, painter and graphic designer, and Manuel Guerrero, a teacher, were kidnapped at different moments and found beheaded on the 30th. Initially, Pinochet’s regime claimed the men had been victims of an internal feud among Communists. However, as popular revolt grew in a period in which the opposition was more organised, the CNI (Centro Nacional de Investigación) launched an investigation and Carabineros officers, Chile’s police, were appointed as responsible for the crimes (Stern 2010). According to the Rettig Report, the men ‘were executed by government agents because of their political involvement and hence in violation of their human rights’ (Rettig Report 1991, 867).

The Degollados case was a turning point in Chile, and it penetrates the narrative. As the crime makes the news, ‘Maldonado sueña con la palabra degollados. La ve escrita en el titular de todos los diarios de esa época’ (Fernández 2013, 54, original italics). Maldonado does not know
what *degollado* means, but ‘intuye que es algo horrible y entonces su sueño se vuelve una pesadilla’ (ibid). Massive media attention, people’s interest in it, and its symbolic value turned the *Degollados* case in collective trauma and exemplifies how symbolic violence accessed children’s language.

In 1994 the narrator reports

> luego de diez años de ocurridos los hechos, la justicia chilena entrega su fallo en primera instancia por el secuestro y homicidio [...] el comando asesino es condenado a cadena perpetua. En la misma pantalla televisiva en la que antes se jugaba al Space Invaders ahora aparecen los carabineiros responsables de las muertes. Son seis los agentes involucrados. Se les puede ver con claridad. Sus rostros desfilan por la pantalla uno por uno (Fernández 2013, 63)

The 1994 sentencing of officials in public television\(^5\) and the Rettig Report demonstrate Chile’s working through trauma, as the creation of a new master narrative of the dictatorship had entered institutional arenas. In the *Degollados* case, legal institutions ‘issue[d] a definitive judgment of legally binding responsibilities and to distribute punishment’ (Alexander 2004, 16-17). At the same time, the TV is a medium capable of ‘produc[ing] imaginative identification and emotional catharsis’ (ibid, 15). In Nona Fernández’s novel, Chile is first a country immersed in repression and trauma, but later a nation working through trauma, constructing a new narrative for its past.

2.3 Playfulness and metaphor in Space Invaders

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\(^5\) Barrios and Mateos-Pérez (2011) show how the TV remains an important medium for working through trauma in Chile. The TV show *Los archivos del Cardenal* recount decisive moments of the dictatorship and has aired an episode on the Caso *Degollados*. For more: [https://doi.org/10.7440/histcrit66.2017.06](https://doi.org/10.7440/histcrit66.2017.06)
The game Space Invaders, released in 1978, was contemporary to the character’s generation. I claim that Space Invaders uses it to ‘reintroduce a memorial role to childhood objects of consumption’ (Blejmar 2016, 46). From this perspective, memory and trauma become subject to and part of a game. By playing in and with her story, the author destabilises the top-bottom narratives of Chile’s past, deconstructing and deriding the dictatorship’s propaganda. This section demonstrates how Space Invaders presents playfulness on the structure level as well as on the narrative level.

As mentioned above, the children in the novel are haunted into adulthood by the feeling of being political pawns of causes and interests they do not fully comprehend. Standing to sing the national anthem, they feel they are ‘las piezas de un juego, pero no sabemos cuál’ (Fernández 2013, 17). During a parent’s meeting, the children are impressed for wearing ‘ropas nuestras, ropas reales’ (ibid, 40, my italics). In that regard, the school appears almost as a space of make-believe. As the meeting happen, they remain in another room, ‘dispuestos a ser de verdad y a jugar nuestro propio juego’ (ibid, 40). They turn off the lights in the room, and ‘nosotros, los de siempre, dejamos de ser los mismos. Ya nadie es quien dice ser’ (ibid). Not wearing the school uniform, which symbolises the dictatorship’s rule, and without being seen, enables the children to become or show their true selves. Playing, they compare themselves with the game Space Invaders, as their bodies grow into ‘un cuerpo de muchas patas y manos y cabezas, un marcianito del Space Invaders’ (ibid). Speaking of Argentinian artists of the 1.5 generation, Blejmar (2016) says they ‘often use humor, popular genres, children’s games and visual techniques commonly taught at school to provocatively represent the dictatorship and toy with trauma’ (ibid, 2). I extend her claim to Fernández and other Chilean writers, as they portray trauma not from the locus of victimhood but from the locus of agency, something Alain Badiou (2004) calls cuerpo creador [creative body].

The game Space Invaders appears for the first time in the novel during Riquelme’s visit to Estrella’s house. As he sees Don González’s medals, Riquelme thinks they could be used ‘en la conquista de algún territorio marciano’ (Fernández 2013, 23). Equalising military medals, a distinction exclusive to a few, to a badge gained during a video game, delegitimise the armed
force’s achievements and diminishes its role in the construction of the Chilean nation. After seeing Don González’s prosthetic hands, Riquelme dreams about prosthetic hands controlled by Estrella’s unnamed dead brother who shoots green objects and forms a battalion to chase him ‘como un ejército terrícola a la caza de algún alienígena’ (ibid, 25). From this point onwards, the military is represented by the cannons, while the children and civil population are the aliens. The two sides ‘entregaban al combate una vida, otra y otra más, en una matanza cíclica sin posibilidad de fin’ (ibid, 23). Once again, Fernández plays with the dictatorship’s official narrative of a clash between good and evil.

Another instance of playfulness is the multi-voiced narrator’s dream with Uncle Claudio and his red Chevette. In the dream, the car and characters are minuscule, the size of action toys. Thanks to their size, they can ‘hacer lo que queramos porque aquí nadie nos ve. Podemos pintarnos las uñas, bajarnos las calcetas, desanudarnos las corbatas [...] podemos hasta [...] tomarnos de las manos’ (Fernández 2013, 45). The atomisation of Uncle Claudio, later sentenced as a killer in the Degollados case, can deconstruct violence. At the same time, despite the dictatorship’s efforts to control public behaviour, it failed to gain the minds of children who, through playfulness, imagined a different life, turning torturers and killers into laughable individuals within their game.

The metaphor of life-as-a-game reappears in Space Invaders during the children’s participation in a protest. The narrator says: ‘somos la gran pieza de un juego, pero todavía no sabemos cuál’ (Fernández 2013, 48). The military unleash violence upon the protesters, and, as it traumatises and haunts Riquelme in dreams, playfulness is used to describe it. On the TV, a phosphorescent hand, like Don González’s, pursues the fleeing children until

la mano se abalanza sobre la primera espalda marciana que encuentra y a su contacto la hace explotar. El cuerpo del marcianito se desarticula en luces coloradas que desaparecen de la tele [...] la mano verde y muchas otras manos verdes, salen de un cañón terrícola a la caza de más Space Invaders (Fernández 2013, 49)
The protest brings playfulness to its peak in the narrative. First, there narrator uses the simile life equals game. Second, violence and the traumatised body are turned into something beyond plight, echoing Badiou’s idea of creative body. Third, the activism in which the children participate is also playful, as children’s activities become resistance.

Not only is the narrative constructed upon playfulness, but the novel’s structure also. The book is divided into four chapters: Primera vida, Segunda vida, Tercera vida, and Game over. In the game Space Invaders, players have three lives before the game is over. In the novel, the first life is lost after staging the War of the Pacific. The second is in the aftermath of the street protest and the military’s violent response. The third is after another collective dream with the characters drowning in the sea following the Degollados trial. The game over, or the end of the novel, comes after another dream where, the now adult characters, still believe they are ‘las piezas de un juego que no sabemos dejar atrás’ consumed by ‘esta lógica de guerrilla de la que no logramos despertar’ (Fernández 2013, 73). Each lost life represents a milestone in their lives, and the novel, or game, ends with their fates intimately related to their traumatic postmemory.

2.4 Autofiction and the quest for the narrator

Space Invaders is narrated by a multi-voiced narrator constantly shifting from first-person singular to first-person plural. Despite remaining mostly unnamed, I claim that the multi-voiced narrator is Nona Fernández herself, making Space Invaders an autofictional novel. As Fernández tries to hide her identity, she adds another playfulness layer to the novel. As Fernández tries to hide her identity, she adds another playfulness layer to the novel. As Fernández tries to hide her identity, she adds another playfulness layer to the novel.

Throughout Space Invaders there are two passages in which the first-person narrator is identified with a specific character, namely Zúñiga, as in the following: ‘Zúñiga, me dice, te salvaste’ (Fernández 2012, 30, my italics); ‘apúrate, Zúñiga, me dice mientras bajamos a la puerta de salida’ (ibid, 37, my italics). Beside these instances, the narrator speaks from first-person plural, as in ‘a veces soñamos con ella. Desde nuestros colchones’ (ibid, 14, my italics), or from
an unclear first-person singular, as in the following: ‘Zúñiga avanza por la sala oscura buscando a González [...] Zúñiga se ríe por las cosquillas’ (ibid, 41, my italics).

From the above, *Space Invaders* is an unlikely novel to be considered under the autofiction subgenre. According to Manuel Alberca (2005, 2007), for a narrative to be considered autofiction, there must be a name identification between the author, narrator, and characters. However, Lejeune (1986) and Blejmar (2016) argue that extratextual elements can inform the reader that the novel is indeed a work of autofiction. Extratextual elements from Nona Fernández’s life and oeuvre allow me to build the case of *Space Invaders* as autofiction.

The first element suggesting that *Space Invaders* is an autofictional novel is found in the English translation. In the acknowledgement section, which is not available in the Spanish version, Nona Fernández writes: ‘On the threshold of the dream, I thank Maldonado. For her letters, her memories, and her friendship, bulletproof and time-tested’ (Fernández 2019, acknowledgements). Maldonado is a prominent character in the novel to whom Estrella’s letters are addressed. The section, then, is an early indication of Fernández as the narrator. The second element comes from an interview in which Fernández talks about her creative process. She affirms: ‘De pronto apareció la historia de Estrella porque pasé por su casa, que no había pasado en décadas y me acordé de ella. [...] Son muchos materiales, versiones, cartas, recuerdos de unos, de otros y míos’ [Suddenly, Estrella’s story appeared because I passed by her house, which I hadn’t done in decades, and I remembered her [...] There are many sources, versions, letters, memories of some, others and mine] (Fernández, n.d). The author’s response demonstrates how her postmemory of Estrella and childhood at large informs and is informed by a collective memory. Despite bringing Fernández closer to the novel’s narrator, these elements are not yet unquestionable.

A previous literary text is the definitive link to associate or identify Nona Fernández as the unnamed first-person singular narrator of *Space Invaders*. In *Volver a los 17, recuerdos de una generación en dictadura*, published in 2013, same year of the first edition of *Space Invaders*, editor Óscar Contardo assembled accounts from several writers from the 1.5 generation in Chile,
including Nona Fernández, Alejandro Zambra, and Álvaro Bisama. The publisher’s website gives the following synopsis for the book:

Un grupo de escritores y periodistas nacidos entre 1969 y 1979 recrea su propia infancia en dictadura [...] volver a los 17 es un testimonio de intimidad, un ejercicio de memoria y el registro privado de una época áspera, años inapropiados para ser niño [A group of writers and journalists born between 1969 and 1979 recreate their own childhood in a dictatorship [...] volver a los 17 is a testimony of intimacy, an exercise in memory and the private record of a harsh time, inappropriate years to be a child] (Planeta de Libros, n.d., my italics)

Fernández’s text seems to be an exercise or first glimpse of what would become Space Invaders. The following passage, for instance, is identical in the two narratives

Su cara diez años más vieja no le dice nada, pero esa mano de madera escondida tras un guante negro sí. Es una mano real, no la fantasía verde fosforescente que lo ha perseguido en sueños. A su lado, el tío Claudio del Chevy rojo. El Pegaso, así le dicen. El tipo declara haber seguido las órdenes de su superior, don Guillermo González Betancourt (Fernández 2013, 63)

The similarity between the texts, and the fact that Volver a los 17 brings personal testimonies, clearly identifies Fernández as the narrator of both narratives.

Fernández’s text in Volver a los 17 and Space Invaders have elements of playfulness. In the novel, when the teacher is taking attendance, the student before Estrella González is Fuenzalida, while in Volver a los 17, the student is Fernández. Accepting that Volver a los 17 is Space Invaders’ draft, it is possible to identify the author, narrator and character, even if in the novel Fernández hides her identity, or to add another layer of playfulness in the text. Such an artistic decision is not new. As Alberca shows (2007), Roberto Bolaño’s novels are often narrated by or focused on a character called B, which has various biographical lines of contact with Bolaño.

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6 In 2012 Nona Fernández published Fuenzalida. The novel is narrated by a writer of the same name who tries to find the truth about her father and the years of dictatorship in Chile.
Additionally, in both texts, Fernández identifies Don González and Uncle Claudio as the culprits of the *Degollados* Case.

In the two scenes in which the narrator of *Space Invaders* is identified as Zúñiga, the autofictional pact is broken. However, I claim these instances should be read as nothing but playfulness and the demonstration of postmemory being collectively constructed. To summarise, in *Space Invaders*, Nona Fernández is the author, first- and third-person narrator, and a character diluted in each character, creating a hybrid, unique autofictional novel.
Chapter 3: The Rabbit House

_The Rabbit House_ (2008) originally published in 2007 opens Laura Alcoba’s autofictional trilogy, also comprising of _Le Bleu des Abeilles_ (2013), and _La Danse de L’araignée_ (2018). The novels were written in French and later translated to English, Spanish and other languages. The trilogy’s plot recount Alcoba’s childhood in Argentina, her exile and life in France.

_Rabbit House_ has a dubious narrator. From the beginning until the exile to France, it is narrated by a seven-year-old Laura. The final chapters, showing Laura’s return to Argentina, are narrated by the adult Laura, reflecting on her early childhood. During the novel, her father appears sparingly as he is in jail. At the same time, her relationship with her mother is marked by fear and absence, as the mother works underground for a political organisation.

The present chapter makes a close reading of _Rabbit House_, aiming to answer the following questions: how Laura’s childhood is marked by objective and subjective violence during Argentina’s dictatorship; how Laura uses playful activism to engage in the political struggle against the regime from a perspective of childhood as a locus of agency; how Laura negotiates agency in her interactions with the adult world; how the author recounts her postmemory as she writes an autofictional novel; how trauma is portrayed from the perspective of a _cuerpo creador_; how points of memory and acts of remembrance aid Alcoba’s recollection and working through trauma.

3.1: Playful Activism and Violence

One of the most telling aspects of Argentinians’ dictatorship was the overall state of fear and silence the population lived. This reality was even more acute among political groups and individuals who actively combated the regime in relation to their familial ties. Despite adults’ distress, children might have been the group most impacted by self-censorship. This section aims
to understand how Laura used playful activism to navigate a reality marked by violence and censorship.

According to Schindel (2005), families ‘acompañaron y, en ocasiones, reprodujeron esa política opresiva hacia la infancia’ [accompanied and, on occasions, reproduced that oppressive policy towards childhood] (ibid, 256), while society at large ‘se comportaba en forma autoritaria y represiva’ [behaved in an authoritarian and repressive manner] (ibid, 268). *Rabbit House* displays the effects of silence, fear, and self-censorship on the family nucleus. Laura's parents are members of the political group *Montoneros*, whose associates are pursued by the *Alianza Anticomunista Argentina* [Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance], a death squad linked to the army. The risk of arrest, torture and death hangs over the family, constantly moving and changing identities to hide from the paramilitary group. As the family goes underground, Laura is repeatedly advised never to reveal her real name. In a telling scene, her mother explains that she must keep silent so they may avoid the fate of a couple who was arrested after their child exposed the concealed compartment in which they kept arms during a raid. Despite the benign intention, this phenomenon put Laura and possibly other children in a similar situation under the weight of potentially being responsible for their parents' arrest and reproduced the censorship methods sponsored by the dictatorial regime.

Another significant aspect demonstrated in *Rabbit House* is how the state of fear and violence influenced Laura and her generation at large. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, the Argentinian youth endured sentiments of intolerance and distrust (Chapp 1990). However, this reality could be found in exchanges between children in the regime years. During one of the changes of house and identity, Laura and her mother are hosted by a family with two children. Rather than playing and talking, Laura confesses that the siblings ‘ask no questions – not about

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7 *Montoneros* was a political organisation that supported Juan Domingo Perón, one of the most important political figures of modern Argentina. For more, see: Otero, Rocío. 2019. *Montoneros y la resistencia: identidad política y estrategia de lucha (1970-1980)*. *Quinto sol*, 23(1), 1-20.  
https://dx.doi.org/10.19137/qu.s23i1.2001

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what I’m doing here, at their house, alone with my mother; not even how long we are going to stay’ (Alcoba 2008, 34). Censorship and silence were not maintained exclusively to the outside world but inscribed in every social relation, including the relation with the family and the associates of the political group.

Like the Chilean youth of *Space Invaders*, Laura also expresses the sentiment of being a political pawn. While living with the siblings, she says: ‘The three of us never talk about what’s going on, or about living underground [...] about the war we are immersed in [...] we don’t talk about the fear, either’ (Alcoba 2008, 34). However, unlike *Space Invaders*, where the characters pass from playful activism to traditional modes of activism, in the years following the end of the dictatorship, the 1.5 Argentinian generation ‘a diferencia de sus hermanos mayores politizados, descreían del futuro, centraban sus aspiraciones en el ámbito privado, y expresaban sus preocupaciones sobre el futuro sólo en clave individual’ [unlike their politicised older brothers, they disbelieved in the future, focused their aspirations on the private sphere, and expressed their concerns about the future only individually] (Schindel 2005, 278).

From the above, one could argue that in *Rabbit House*, trauma, fear and the vow of silence point to a generation whose childhood was performed exclusively from a site of fragility. Blejmar (2016) and Gamerro (2010) partake of such a perspective. For the scholars, a scene in which Laura’s mother tries to cheer her up by stating that they would have ‘a house with a red tile roof and a garden, too. Just like you wanted’ (Alcoba 2008, 5) represents *Rabbit House*’s plot and structure mirroring children’s tales where ‘the protagonists, usually little girls, are advised not to eat certain fruits or to enter into the woods at night’ (Blejmar 2016, 97). Such reading, however, fails to approach trauma beyond plight. In contrast to their view, I claim that *Rabbit House* must be read using Badiou’s (2004) idea of *cuerpo creador* [creative body], which sees trauma not exclusively from the locus of victimhood but from the locus of agency. Investigating *Rabbit House* through the lens of *cuerpo creador* prevents what Ros (2012) calls the *either-or* trap in which individuals are exclusively defined as victims or perpetrators. *Rabbit House*, then, becomes a collective and generational effort to read Argentina’s past ‘a partir de la narración de las pequeñas historias o, invirtiendo los términos, de las historias de los más pequeños’ [from the
narration of small stories or, reversing the terms, from the stories of the smallest] (Feierstein 2016, 155), empowering those who had been previously silent, in a broader socio-cultural movement Sarlo (2005) calls of giro subjetivo [subjective turn].

This dissertation argues that Rabbit House avoids the either-or trap as Laura uses playful activism, which refers to children’s plays and games used to conceal or mask political activities. Contrary to Blejmar (2016) and Gamerro (2010), whose conclusion indicates that childhood is a site of conformity, Jenkin (1998) presents evidence showing how ‘children resist, transform, or redefine adult prerogatives, making their own uses of cultural materials and enacting their own fantasies through play’ (ibid, 27). Notwithstanding the findings of Schindel (2005) and Chapp (1990), Laura and arguably other children used play to dispute the military regime. In a passage she confesses she learned to ‘but I have learnt to make these checks into a game’ (Alcoba 2008, 16, my italics). From her statement, it is possible to affirm that censorship and the vow of silence were respected within the logic of a game.

Laura’s visits to her grandparents and Great-uncle Carlito are evidence of playful activism. For a period, she attends the same school her Uncle Luis attends, and they walk accompanied by her grandmother. In the evening, Laura’s grandmother brings her to Great-uncle Carlito’s house, where her mother picks her up. During the journey, they ‘always stop several times […] to check whether anyone is following us. It’s just a matter of habit’ (Alcoba 2008, 16). She performs these actions because ‘it’s normal for a child to stop and turn around’ (ibid). Laura inverts and dismantle tactics of countersurveillance employed by organizations like the Monteneros and the military with play: ‘I do three little hops, clap my hands and jump right around, both feet at once […] and it this way I can check, as natural as can be, that no one is tailing us’ (ibid, 16-17). If censorship and silence do not prevent a life of continuous change of dwelling and identity, children’s games seem to be a more effective tool to ensure safety.

Laura’s playful activism creates an interesting contrast to a sector of the adult population who returned to a “state of childhood”, in which they turned to the military looking for figures of authority (Schindel 2005), making the poet María Elena Walsh claim that Argentina had become
The element that underscores all the above is violence. According to Žižek (2008), violence has three modes: subjective, symbolic, and systemic. Subjective violence is the violence enacted by identifiable agents. In *Rabbit House*, this mode is represented by the *Alianza Anticomunista’s* persecution of Montoneros and other militants, as the *Alianza* ‘kill them or make them disappear’ (Alcoba 2008, 7). Another example occurs when Laura visits her jailed father and sees a man whose front teeth are missing, indicating the practices of torture carried out by the military within its wider violations of human and civil rights. Systemic violence, in turn, relates to ‘the more subtle forms of coercion that sustain relations of domination and exploitation, *including the threat of violence*’ (Žižek 2008, 9, my italics). As previously mentioned, Argentinians lived under a permanent state of fear. In a telling moment, Laura images that members of the *Alianza* ‘are about to burst into the house and kill us all like rabbits’ (ibid, 66). The latter passage has a double significance under Žižek’s triumvirate of modes of violence. On the one hand, it presents the harmful sentiment of anticipating acts of violence. On the other hand, it exhibits symbolic violence, which is ‘embodied in language and its forms’ (Žižek 2008, 1). While the triumvirate of violence seeps through the whole narrative, symbolic violence is more striking as the novel is mainly narrated by a seven-year-old child whose vocabulary is replete with and unbothered by words to describe torture and assassination, as in the following passage

> I am big. I may be only seven years old, but everyone says that I already talk and think like a grown-up. […] I have understood and I will obey. Even if someone were to hurt me. Even if they twisted my arm or burnt me with an iron. Even if they drove little nails into my knees. (Alcoba 2008, 10)

Ana Ros (2012) questions ‘how massive violence and the permanent presence of death became possible and tolerable’ (ibid, 53). Žižek formulation of the triumvirate of violence is the response to the question, as it offers a theoretical apparatus to analyse Argentina’s way of life during the Dirty War. As symbolic violence represents ‘the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth

a *pais-jardin-de-infantes* [kindergarten country]. For more, see: https://www.clarin.com/espectaculos/completo-articulo-Desventuras-Jardin-Infantes_0_r16M7ydTvmg.html
functioning of our economic and political systems’ (Žižek 2008, 1), in the Argentinian context, violence arises from the very essence of a dictatorial regime based on repression, censorship and fear. Laura’s childhood, and her generation at large, living under the threat of or suffering from acts of violence, was nothing more than the regime’s “smooth functioning”. Playful activism, then, emerges as an effective mode of insurgence as it destabilises and turns upside-down practices of the regime.

3.2: Childhood and the Adult World: mediating agency and subordination

As the previous section showed, children have an enormous capacity to resist, reinvent and revert the balance of power between their world and the adult world. This section explores how Laura mediated agency and subordination with the adult world.

In *Rabbit House*, Laura uses playful activism to challenge the military regime and turns the vow of silence into a game. Nonetheless, as Jenkins (1998) points out, children ‘are subject to powerful [adult] institutions that ascribe meaning on their mind and bodies’ (ibid, 26, my italics). Children’s interactions with the adult world are marked by an ever-changing state of accommodation, subordination, and dispute. In Alcoba’s novel, Laura’s interactions with her mother and the adults surrounding her contain elements of subordination too. Before moving to the rabbit house, Laura is brought to a house to baptise. Until that moment, religion and praying ‘always seemed to me to belong to family folklore’ (Alcoba 2008, 29), with her grandmother being the only devout individual in the family. The woman is persuasive, arguing that God no longer lives in the Church. This is sufficient to change Laura’s view of religion, and she suddenly wants to be ‘under the protection of God as soon as possible. I can’t understand how I managed to live without Him for so long. Not even knowing what I was missing’ (ibid, 31, my italics). The last phrase suggests the extent to which the importance of the baptism was swayed into Laura’s consciousness by the adult world, personified in the nameless women.

The baptism scene suggests a second reading as it marks Laura’s initiation as a Montonera. Luis Donatello (2005) claims that ‘el sentido de (Común)unión de los montoneros era “típicamente” católico’ [the sense of communion of the Montoneros was “typically” Catholic]
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(ibid, 256), as the group shared multiple practices with the catholic theology of liberation, such as an organisational structure that favoured debate within each cell that would inform the organisation’s actions and a deep-seated sentiment of being the chosen ones to change society. For instance, during the baptism scene, the unnamed woman draws parallels between Jesus’ apostles and Montoneros’ underground life, affirming that the apostles and Jesus ‘were with the lowly, who were in hiding, just like us’ (Alcoba 2008, 30, my italics). Regardless of whether each Montonero professed the Catholic faith, the comparison to the myth of Jesus fuelled their fortitude to combat the military regime. What is more, Laura’s baptism suggests that members of the Montoneros had to undergo passage rituals before being accepted into the organisation's inner circle. Although Laura’s earliest memories of her parents' activism came from a period when she was three or four years old, her playful activism takes place within the organisation only after the baptism. From that moment, Laura is granted access to vital information from her mother’s cell and is responsible for making mate during meetings at the rabbit house. In summary, Laura interacts with the adult world as a passive and active agent.

After the baptism, Laura moves to the rabbit house to live with Cacho and Diane, a married couple that seems like the perfect, apolitical couple: Cacho goes to work every morning, and Diane, who is pregnant, stays at home, playing the role of housewife under a patriarchal regime. The house had been chosen as its structure allowed the creation of an embute [hideout]: behind rabbits’ cages, a printing press for Evita Montonera, the organisation’s newspaper, is built. The construction is carried out by the characters known as Engineer and the Labourer. Except for Cacho, the other adults play essential roles in Laura’s life, allowing a deeper investigation of Laura’s interplay with the adult world.

During the period in which Laura lives in the rabbit house, it can be observed the nefarious effects Žižek’s idea triumvirate of violence had upon the family. Schindel (2005) remarks that, despite the regime’s propaganda boosting the values and centrality of the family, it made ‘la destrucción de lazos familiares un eje central de su práctica represiva’ (ibid, 260). At this point in the novel, Laura’s father remains in jail, and she is rarely able to visit him. Her mother, for her turn, spends most of the day working in the printing press, to the extent that her fingertips are
constantly inked. In short, her family is astray. In her search for mother and father figures, within the logic of a heteronormative family, Laura starts to fill the vacuum with the Engineer and Diana. For example, after listening to the Engineer tell her how the mechanism that hides the *embute* [hideout] works, Laura confesses that ‘I have never noticed how handsome he is’ (Alcoba 2008, 48), and wonders if he is the same age as her father. The Engineer is not only compared to her father and described with positive adjectives but is also capable of stirring strong emotions in Laura, making her cry and feel ‘I feel so stupid for asking’ (ibid, 49) after she asks him to keep visiting her once the construction has been completed. Ultimately, their relationship shines a light on the dynamic exchanges between children and adults, markedly how the former often claims and looks for affirmation and reinforcement from the latter.

Meanwhile, Laura’s interactions with Diana are marked by affection and care. Diana is the mother figure, as the narrator confesses: ‘I think what I really wanted was to copy her movements to the extent of melting, disappearing into her’ (Alcoba 2008, 111). The last sentence demonstrates Laura’s deep-seated wish of returning to the womb, to a previous state in which she was not subject to and permeated by violence. Simultaneously, Diana not only defends Laura when behaviours put their security in jeopardy but also has the innate capacity to change Laura’s mood, as her ‘bright, joyful laugh that cuts through the unbearable heaviness that has settled in the little kitchen’ (ibid, 66-67) after Laura’s daydream with the *Alianza* invading the house and killing them all.

Diana has yet another vital significance for Laura as she assists with Laura’s formal education. Unlike *Space Invaders*, whose plot mostly takes place within the school's space, *Rabbit House* shows another angle of the educational system under dictatorships: the absence of school in the lives of children living underground. After moving to the rabbit house, Laura is enrolled at San Cayetano, a girls-only private institution headed by nuns, the space is insipid, where ‘all these little girls together – it’s so sad’ (Alcoba 2008, 79), and where they were under a ‘a coating of lead, dooming us to boredom and horribly tame games with predictable outcomes’ (ibid). *Rabbit House* describes the overall state of fear Argentinians lived under, pointing out how systemic violence englobes every instance of social life. According to Schindel (2005), there is a continuum
between the systemic violence directly perpetrated against children and adolescents and ‘la alienación y persecución de que éstos fueron objeto en calles, plazas y escuelas’ [the alienation and persecution to which they were subjected in streets, squares and schools] (ibid, 263). Although *Rabbit House* does not give more room to the Argentinian school system, it is possible to affirm that San Cayetano reproduced ‘una ideología retrógrada y autoritaria aunada a la bureaucratización extrema de las actividades y al vaciamiento curricular’ [a retrograde and authoritarian ideology coupled with the extreme bureaucratisation of activities and the hollowing out of the curriculum] (ibid, 264). Laura is prohibited from attending school after going to class wearing a jacket whose collar had her real name written on it. Diana then takes the role of educator, giving Laura math exercises, and helping her with grammar. However, Laura remains ‘haunted by the possibility of becoming stupid [...] I know I should be learning new things and that all these school-less days are taking me further and further away from other children’ (Alcoba 2008, 115-116). Notwithstanding the damaging effects the lack of interaction with other children might have caused Laura, attending school would not guarantee better education, as children’s education deteriorated during the dictatorship (Schindel 2005). Once again, Laura’s interaction with the adult world displayed subordination and agency.

### 3.3: Violence and Trauma

As the previous sections portrayed, Laura lives in a society marked by the effects of violence and censorship, where the anticipation of violence is ever-present. Despite having different approaches to understanding trauma, constructivists and psychoanalysts acknowledge how fear shapes traumatic experiences. *Rabbit House*, then, is a narrative brimming with traumatic events unfolding on the personal level as it focuses mainly on Laura’s experiences. Contrasting to *Space Invaders*, whose accounts of trauma are mostly played at the group level, Alcoba’s novel may be a model to show how the individual experience contains the collective trauma of the Dirty War. This section explores the interaction of violence and trauma in *Rabbit House*. 

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Departing from Žižek’s (2008) observations on how systemic violence exists by simply forcing individuals to live under the threat of violence, I claim that living under the siege of anticipation can be traumatic, as Alexander (2004) declares that ‘events that are deeply traumatizing may not actually have occurred at all’ (ibid, 8). In *Rabbit House*, one example of Laura’s trauma arising from the threat of violence occurs when Laura is asked about her surname during a visit to a neighbour. Questioned by her mother about the visit, Laura claims to ‘I must have panicked because I know that my mother is a wanted person and that we’re waiting for our new surname, and our false papers’ (ibid, 64). As the mother and Diana press her to remember what she had answered, Laura can summon her response: ‘My mother and father don’t have a surname, either. *They are Mr and Mrs nothing, just like me*’ (ibid, 66, my italics). Laura’s fear of being responsible for her mother’s arrest and the fall of the rabbit house drives her to give a ludicrous response, putting into focus how children are unable to fully comprehend the nuances of what happens around them, which takes place concurrently with acts of playful activism. Claiming not to have a surname may well represent Laura’s fraught relationship with her parents, whose links had been severed in the case of her jailed father or could be severed at any moment in her mother’s case.

Laura’s trauma of losing her parents takes place within the framework of systemic violence but is coupled with and reinforced by the language of violence she can use. As she awaits her mother’s reaction, Laura imagines the following

> As for me, I feel as if the roof is about to cave in, as if the moustachioed AAA men are already outside in their black no-number-plate cars, armed to the teeth. As if they are about to burst into the house and kill us all like rabbits (Alcoba 2008, 66, my italics)

Laura’s daydreaming indicates how fear and the threat of violence can be understood as traumatic. Besides, the same event offers a glimpse of Caruth’s (1996) definition of trauma as a ‘wound inflicted upon the mind’ (ibid, 3). Living under the continuous threat of violence should be seen as an event in itself because if it does not inflict the body with torture, it does injure the mind with fear.
According to Caruth and the psychoanalysis school, one of trauma’s distinctive traits is belatedness, as it ‘returns to haunt the survivor later on’ (Caruth 1996, 4). In Rabbit House and Argentina at large, this assertion is debunked. At the national level, Argentina began to work through trauma soon after the Junta fell, in a ‘compulsive remembering and continued contestation about the meaning of terror and suffering’ (Robben 2005, 127, my italics), manifesting the subordination of memory politics to political and historical circumstances. At the individual level, through violent actions, Laura’s trauma surfaces soon after the incident with the neighbour. To cheer her up, the Labourer gives her a kitten. Laura, then, reveals: ‘I grab him by the tail and throw him against the courtyard wall as hard as I can, to knock him out once and for all’ (Alcoba 2008, 70). As the kitten does not die, Laura

And so I do, too, even harder than before, taking a run up, as if I were throwing a ball in a massive sports pitch. But the courtyard is small, the wall is close, and

he ought to bash his brains out on the wall (Alcoba 2008, 70, my italics)

The scene unveils the actions of a traumatised person, disproving scholars who argue that trauma always features belatedness. Furthermore, the scene allows a read in which Laura’s violent acts emanate from, or exist within, the triumvirate of violence described by Žižek (2008). Subjective violence can be seen as Laura throws the cat against the wall. In contrast, the language of violence enables her to vocalise her fantasy of seeing the cat’s skull being shattered. Finally, systemic violence works in the background, normalising the violent behaviour.

Despite primarily focusing on Laura’s trauma, Rabbit House offers glimpses of how other Argentinian children living underground assimilated the experience of the dictatorship. Remembering Alexander (2004), trauma is the socially constructed perception of an event being a threat to a group’s existence. Laura peeks at other children’s experiences while living with the siblings. However, during the delivery of Evita Montonera, the shared experience of trauma within the 1.5 generation is more acute. In this scene, Laura meets another child, and as they smile at each other, she says
She was probably in the same sort of situation as me [...] I could tell just by looking at her that she was also living in fear. I knew the fear would still be there afterwards, and for as long as all this lasted (Alcoba 2008, 112-113)

Living under a regime that sowed and used systemic violence to its advantage, it is unsurprising that the 1.5 generation would later report ‘actitudes de desconfianza, escepticismo e intolerancia’ [attitudes of distrust, scepticism and intolerance] and a vocabulary marked by ‘palabras como “secuestro”, “matar”, “marcar” y “pegar”’ [words such as “kidnapping”, “killing”, “marking” and “hitting”] (Schindel 2005, 278). Regardless of their playful activism, the 1.5 generation lived under a permanent state of terror and fear, which later would be remembered and understood as traumatic and worked through in a trauma process.

3.4: Postmemory, trauma process and Autofiction

As the military tights its grip on groups fighting the regime, violence gets closer to Laura. César, leader of the Montonero cell, confesses: ‘Our people are dying every day. They are massacring us’ (Alcoba 2008, 124). Soon Laura and her mother’s exile to France is granted. This section takes from this point in the novel, showing how Rabbit House presents Argentina’s trauma process and Laura’s postmemory working in parallel as the narrator/character (Laura) becomes the author (Alcoba).

Autofiction is the literary device Alcoba uses to share her experience of the dictatorship in Argentina. The genre is traditionally defined as ‘un relato que se presenta como novela, es decir como ficción, [...] se caracteriza por tener una apariencia autobiográfica, ratificada por la identidad nominal de autor, narrador y personaje’ [a story that is presented as a novel, that is to say as fiction, [...] is characterised by having an autobiographical appearance, ratified by the nominal identity of author, narrator and character] (Alberca 2005, 6). While in Space Invaders the autofictional element is demonstrated through external elements, Rabbit House presents a more traditional use of the device. In the preface, Alcoba places herself inside the narrative, claiming:
'I am now gathering together my memories in order to describe the Argentina of the dictatorship, the Montoneros and the reign of terror, all from a child’s perspective’ (Alcoba 2008, 2-3). In an interview, Alcoba says she had wanted to write a book rooted in official documents, but during the writing process ‘la voz de la niña se iba apoderando de mi relato’ [the voice of the girl was taking over my story] (Alcoba 2008). In summary, Laura (character/narrator) and Alcoba (author) are one and the same. However, it is essential to highlight that autofiction exists in the liminal space between fiction and autobiography. *Rabbit House*, then, is an artefact of remembering mediated by ‘imaginative investment, projection, and creation’ (Hirsch 2012, 5).

*Rabbit House* does not explore playfulness within its structure as much as *Space Invaders*. While this dissertation dissents from Blejmar’s (2016) assertion that *Rabbit House* resembles children’s fables, it does acknowledge her claim that the French version of the book has elements of playfulness that have been omitted from the Spanish and English versions. For instance, the original title is *Manèges*, a word that can be translated as “carousel” or “roundabout”, which suggests the circular movements of memory. The French subtitle is *Petite historie argentine* which ‘allows the reader to place it both in the section of fiction (historie as “story”) and in the section of non-fiction (histoire as “history”)’ (ibid, 96, original italics). The editors may have lost an opportunity to bring playfulness into the novel’s structure by removing the subtitle and not mentioning it in an editor’s note section.

Alcoba’s novel may be divided into three sections. In the preface, the author explains how she began the processes of remembering that would culminate in *Rabbit House*, or borrowing an expression from Hirsch (2012), how she reactivated and re-embodied the postmemories of her childhood. From the first chapter to the second last chapter, the narrative is dominated by Laura’s voice, the seven-year-old narrator. The final chapter presents a shift in the narrative voice, as Laura (character/narrator) gives place to Alcoba (character/author/narrator), further detailing how the novel came to exist. The first sentence of the epilogue informs: ‘This is how we left’ (Alcoba 2008, 125). The chapter, then, suggests a discontinuity with the novel structure until that point, departing from a reading based on a *pacto ambiguo* [ambiguous pact] (Alberca 2005),
where fiction and autobiography are mingled. Instead, the last chapter is mainly descriptive and autobiographical, as it documents Alcoba’s return to Argentina.

The effort of remembering in *Rabbit House* is an example of postmemory. As Hirsch (2012) argues, postmemory is ‘mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation’ (ibid, 8). Like any memory, postmemory is ‘fragmentary and shot through with holes and gaps’ (Schwab 2010, 14), so fiction and imaginative investment come into play. For instance, Alcoba does not have memories from the day she left the rabbit house: ‘I have no memories […] but perhaps we marked the occasion with a rabbit dinner?’ (Alcoba 2008, 126). Despite the pitfalls of memory, Alcoba’s novel must be seen as a personal effort of recollection within a broader generational claiming of the past, in which members of the 1.5 generation use familial postmemory to make their trauma more relatable to others. As the 1.5 generation tries to recreate the past, they contribute to what Eyerman (2004) calls *the power of looking*, as it fosters ‘the capacity to see and the possibility to make visible’ (ibid, 69). Narratives like *Rabbit House* are fundamental not only for those who survived subjective violence and those who experienced its breath and shade during the Dirty War, but for those who either did not believe the dictatorship was violent, or that much violent, and to the public at large, be it at home or abroad. The generational effort, then, contributes to the creation of a new national master narrative about that period (Alexander 2004), as it employs postmemory to bridge the gap between a “they” of political activists and an “us” of those who supported the military or remained neutral.

After her exile to France, Alcoba claims that information ‘the news trickled through to me in dribs and drabs over the years’ (ibid’ (Alcoba 2008, 126). The scenario changes when her father gives her a book claiming it speaks about the rabbit house. *Los del ’73, Memoria Montonera* is a collection of testimonies of former Montoneros leaders which uses postmemory’s ‘inter and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge’ (Hirsch 2008, 106) to mediate their experience and the fate of those who had lived in the rabbit house to Alcoba and others and is an example of first-generation testimony. According to *Los del ’73* and official accounts, on 25th November 1976, the house was invaded, and seven people were killed, including Diana, while
her baby, Clara, became a desaparecida. Rabbit House must be seen in a broader generational context, in which the 1.5 generation ‘turn to their postmemorial narratives not as a means of objectively reconstructing their parents past but of creatively interrogating their own present position in relation to such commanding generational legacies’ (Maguire 2017, 18-19). Alcoba’s novel enables affiliative postmemory, allowing and mediating experience to other generations.

Alcoba’s effort to remember and the process of writing the novel are driven by trauma and the lingering experience of violence. The author declares in the foreword: ‘I am now gathering my memories […] is not so much to help me remember as to find out whether, afterwards, I can begin to forget’ (Alcoba 2008, 2-3, my italics). Despite earlier attempts to write the novel, it is only after her visit to Argentina in 2003 that she began to remember ‘the past in much more detail’ (ibid, 2). For Alcoba, the rabbit house and Argentina serve as points of memory, which are subjective spaces or objects that link past and present as they enable recalling (Hirsch 2012). After the visit, ‘telling the story had suddenly become urgent’ (ibid), as being physically present in the house where the traumatic experiences had taken place, halted the process of oblivion. Moreover, according to Chicha Mariana, Cacho’s mother, the rabbit house had become a place of remembering. Visitors can now learn its role in the Montoneros organisation and what happened to those who lived there. The rabbit house’s significance of becoming a site of remembrance reveals the stage in which Argentina’s trauma process has advanced. By then, the process had entered the institutional arena, with the creation of a new master narrative being transformed into laws, cultural artefacts, and other official policies that culminate into a process in which ‘the “lessons” of the trauma become objectified in monuments, museums, and collections of historical artifacts’ (Alexander 2004, 23). The latter agrees with Blejmar (2017), Ros (2012), and Maguire (2017) identification of the period between the growth of human rights groups like HIJOS in the late 1990s and Néstor and Cristina Kirchner’s administrations (2003-2015) with the boom of 1.5 generation narrative in the country. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the more a society advances in constructing a new narrative for a traumatic event, the more artefacts of remembrance it will create.
Conclusion

This dissertation aimed to answer the following overarching questions: how children negotiate agency with the adult world; how children use playful activism to participate in the resistance against dictatorships; how trauma is portrayed from a perspective of agency and creation; how postmemory and autofiction are used to reconstruct the authors’ childhood.

First, an investigation of postmemory, trauma, and autofiction was carried out. The three fields of study were excellent analytical tools to answer the proposed questions. Postmemory, the transmission system of traumatic experiences, has proved to allow individuals to bridge their experiences to others whom the traumatic event might not have directly impacted. Autofiction, in turn, complements and closes the gaps of memory with fiction, allowing the individual to (re)imagine and (re)invent the past, and to bring trauma into the realm of play, as it complicates the reader’s perception of autobiography and literature. Finally, trauma studies have shown how societies acknowledge and work through trauma, making the experience a point of reference. At the individual level, trauma studies and the concept of *cuerpo creador* [creative body] enabled this dissertation to explore trauma not as a site of victimhood but as a place of agency and cultural production.

This dissertation successfully responded to the research questions. In the two primary texts, children have demonstrated the capacity to affect political and cultural debates by using playful activism, as it inverts official discourse and “adult” practices to its advantage. However, it also demonstrated that children are often subject to adults’ political and cultural productions, characterised by advances and retreats. Trauma, for its part, was not analogue to suffering but rather a point of departure to investigate childhood, the relationship between children and adults, and the recent history of Chile and Argentina. The latter point was achieved thanks to the mediation of postmemory and autofiction, as they deconstruct the seriousness and affliction customarily associated with trauma by playing with it.
As outlined in the introduction, this dissertation dissents from two main trends in the study of narratives from the Chilean and Argentinian 1.5 generations. The dissents have proved to be accurate. First, it confirmed that children participated in the resistance against the military regimes through playful activism and that trauma is not portrayed exclusively as an experience of continued pain. Second, it showed that the 1.5 generation does not exist in itself but is an outcome of the ongoing process of constructing new narratives of Chile and Argentina’s past.

Despite the achievements made here, the 1.5 generation must be further (re)investigated, especially from a perspective in which trauma is creative. In the case of Nona Fernández, a writer whose novels are mostly autofictional narratives of her postmemory of Chile’s dictatorship is vital to survey how playfulness is used in the narrative and structure level of her creative practice. Moreover, a juxtaposition of Rabbit House and Más al Sur by Argentinian-born Paloma Vidal, who was exiled in Brazil as a kid, may bring insights into how the exile experience shapes trauma and postmemory. Finally, a thorough investigation of Félix Bruzzone’s Los Topos from the standpoint of playfulness may advance the deconstruction of the myth of childhood-as-innocence.
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Rafael Mendes - 17304919


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Appendix 1: Translation excerpts from the English version of Space Invaders translated from the Spanish by Natasha Wimmer

1. ‘We spread out, each of us resting a right arm on the shoulder of the classmate ahead to mark the perfect distance between us. Our uniforms neat.’ (Fernández 2019, First Life Chap. III)
2. ‘from the shelter of its dark shadow.’ (ibid, First Life Chap. V)
3. ‘Gentlemen, we are outmatched, says our captain and we gaze at him with patriotic eyes. But be brave and take heart. [...] While I live, the flag will fly, and if I die, my officers know their duty.’ (ibid)
4. ‘I’m as brave as he was and I’m just as willing to die for something or someone’ (ibid)
5. ‘I want to ask for help, but it wouldn’t look good. I’m a hero, not a coward.’ (ibid)
6. ‘The flag covers me [...] I twist, I roll, I’m carried away by the current, I drown and I sleep.’ (ibid)
7. ‘I guess it’s something about a march, a call to a big march against Pinochet, something unheard-of, something new’ (ibid, First Life Chap. III)
8. ‘it was a mission for the bravest of the brave and that I’m a brave man’ (ibid)
9. ‘What does it mean to be in the resistance?’ (ibid, Second Life Chap. V)
10. ‘Anyway what is politics? Everything is politics. So what’s the point. Who cares. Basically there’s a reason you can’t get political, there’s a reason it’s forbidden by the government. It isn’t right for things to be forbidden by the government. [...] Actually, does anybody have any idea what it means to get into politics?’ (ibid)
11. ‘He can’t get into politics, he’s too young’ (ibid)
12. ‘this is math class and you’re here to learn, not to talk nonsense.’ (ibid)
13. ‘Our uniforms neat. [...]shoes freshly shined. (ibid, Second Life Chap. III)
14. ‘One and two. One and two’ (ibid)
15. ‘No one is exactly sure when it happened, but we all remember that coffins and funerals and wreaths were suddenly everywhere and there was no escaping them [...] Maybe it
had always been that way and we were only just realizing it. [...] The classroom opened out to the street’ (ibid, Third Life Chap. II)

16. ‘an army of adolescents, cheap cannon fodder with crap names’ (ibid, Third Life Chap. IV)
17. ‘Germany is split in half by a wall. I only saw one side, the good side, it’s the only side you can visit because the other side is too dangerous’ (ibid, Second Life Chap. II)
18. ‘I can’t be alone out of the house because it could be as dangerous as crossing to the other side of the wall in Germany’ (ibid)
19. ‘Bustamante sees her another way, and so does Maldonado and so does Riquelme and so does Donoso, and each and every vision is different.’ (ibid, First Life Chap. II)
20. ‘Our memoryless mattresses everything is mixed-up’ (ibid, Second Life Chap III)
21. ‘We don’t know whether this is a dream or a memory. Sometimes we think it’s a memory creeping into our dreams, a scene that escaped from one person’s head, lurking in everyone’s dirty sheets. It might have been lived once, by us or by someone else. It might have been staged or even made-up’ (ibid)
22. ‘He was a big man in uniform who was always traveling’ (ibid, Second Life Chap. V)
23. ‘medals with tricolor ribbons, the kind won by athletes or soldiers.’ (ibid)
24. ‘González explained to Riquelme that there had been a terrible accident [...] another national police officer happened to pick up a bomb, and somehow the pin got pulled.’ (ibid)
25. ‘dreams of spare hands’ (ibid, First Life Chap. II)
26. ‘his dreams are like testimony’ (ibid)
27. ‘Someone said that Don González had a hand that could shoot bullets and another hand that could stab you, because knives popped out of it. Razor-sharp fingers, 2.5-caliber fingernails, cannon hands or guillotine hands.’ (ibid)
28. ‘Maldonado dreams of the word degollados. She sees it printed in the headlines of every newspaper from back then’ (ibid, Third Life Chap. II)
29. ‘but she senses that it’s something awful and then her dream turns into a nightmare’ (ibid)
30. ‘Nine years after the fact, the Chilean justice system delivers its first ruling on the kidnapping and murder [...] The officers who committed the crime are sentenced to life
in prison. On the same television screen where we used to play Space Invaders, we see
the national police agents guilty of the murders. Six officers were involved. They appear
in plain sight. Their faces scroll across the screen one after the other.’ (ibid, Third Life
Chap. V)
31. ’We’re pieces in a game, but we don’t know what it’s called.’ (ibid, First Life Chap. III)
32. ’our own clothes, real clothes’ (ibid, Second Life Chap. IV)
33. ’ready to be real and play our own game.’ (ibid)
34. ‘we, the usual someones, stop being ourselves. Now no one is who they claim to be’ (ibid)
35. ‘we’re just one body with many paws and hands and heads, a little Martian from Space
Invaders’ (ibid)
36. ‘to conquer some Martian territory.’ (ibid, First Life Chap. V)
37. ‘They advance like an army of earthlings on the hunt for some alien.’ (ibid)
38. ‘we can do whatever we want because nobody can see us down here. We can paint our
nails, [...] loosen our ties [...] we can even let down our hair and hold hands’ (ibid)
39. ‘We’re pieces in a game, but we don’t know what it’s called.’ (ibid, First Life Chap. III)
40. ’ The hand advances rapidly, in pursuit of extraterrestrial children. They run back and
forth, fleeing in terror, but the hand clutches at the first Martian within reach and at its
touch there is an explosion. [...] The green hand and many other green hands stream out
of an earthling cannon, on the hunt for more space invaders.’ (ibid, Second Life Chap. VIII)
41. ‘We’re pieces in a game that we don’t know how to stop playing [...] Just us and this
guerrilla logic that we can’t wake up from.’ (ibid, Game Over III)
42. ‘Zúñiga, she says, you survived.’ (ibid, First Life VII)
43. ‘Let’s go, Zúñiga, he says as we hurry down the stairs.’ (ibid, Second Life III)
44. ‘Sometimes we dream about her. From our far-flung mattresses’ (ibid, First Life Chap. II)
45. ‘Zúñiga moves around the dark room in search of González [...] Zúñiga laughs because of
the tickling’ (ibid, Second Life IV)
46. ‘On the threshold of the dream, I thank Maldonado. For her letters, her memories, and
her friendship, bulletproof and time-tested.’ (ibid, Acknowledgement s)
47. ‘His face, ten years older, tells Riquelme nothing, but the wooden hand in a black glove does. It’s a real hand, not the glow-in-the-dark green fantasy that chases Riquelme in his dreams. Next to him is Uncle Claudio of the red Chevy. El Pegaso, they call him. He says that he was following the orders of his superior, Don Guillermo González Betancourt.’ (ibid, Third Life V)