

The Chilean Diaspora of London: Diasporic Social Scenes and the Spatial Politics of Home

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I certify that this thesis is the result of my own work.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Carolina Ramírez', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Abstract

This thesis traces the experience of home, migration and belonging of an intergenerational group of Chileans who have remained in the UK after being exiled by the Pinochet regime (1973-1990). The Chilean diaspora of London form one of the 'new diasporas' who are not straightforwardly connected to The UK's imperial past but to its contemporary history. This case offers insight into diasporas' power to unsettle spatial and temporal delimitations and to reveal alternative geopolitical connections and social webs. The research involved a multi-method and multi-site ethnography. Through biographical accounts, fieldwork conducted *in situ*, and both archive and contemporary photographs, I followed a web of social scenes dating from the 1970s. Long-standing diasporic social scenes allow for a conceptualisation of 'home' as made through continuity and change, and in relation to diverse public domains rather than in seclusion. Through social scenes, home-making is achieved through embodied practices, material objects and physical landscapes, dynamics that allow for a *grounded approach* to diaspora and home, both of which emerge as a process rather than as given. In this grounded approach, diasporas' historical grievances and memories still matter. The focus is on how they are reinstated and made to matter in the local present. The thesis was accompanied by an exhibition which presented different research materials to provide to the reader alternative means to navigate and weave the lines that connect the scenes' different temporalities and spaces. Complementing the written account, it offered a more vivid approach to the scenes' connected actors, routines and atmospheres. Moreover, the exhibition established a parallel between ethnographic research and 'curating' – both involve managing, classifying, arranging and selecting 'objects', as well as using one's knowledge to collect relevant pieces and make them public. As a form of assembled scenery, the exhibition also contributed to an interactive, multidimensional and dynamic understanding of home.

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List of Acronyms

CCHR – Chilean Committee for Human Rights

IPHR – International Project for Human Rights

CSC – Chilean Solidarity Campaign

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

DINA – *Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia* (National Office of Intelligence)

IWM – Imperial War Museum

JWG – Joint Working Group

MAPU – *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* (Movement of Unitary Popular Action)

MIR – *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Revolutionary Left Movement)

UP – *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity)

USA – United States

WUS – World University Service

Introduction

A group of men, women and children gradually start to assemble in front of the Chilean embassy on Old Queen Road, a small and quiet street that is about a five-minute walk from the busy streets near Parliament in London. Facing the building, Alex, his mother and another old woman are holding a wide and long canvas, which covers almost the whole of their bodies. Emulating a commemorative wall, it contains black and white portrait photographs showing the youthful faces of some of the killed and disappeared victims of the Chilean dictatorship. At the front, a woman in her late fifties stands and reads the victims' names out loud. Behind the canvas, a woman in her twenties raises a Chilean flag and a group of veteran grey-haired ladies chat together. Nancy assigns them the task of taking turns in reading the names. Miguel arrives, walking toward the commemorative picket, smiling and waving. He is followed by his mother, Luisa, and by his little daughter, Danae, who jumps and runs up to meet Lea, who is already sitting down on the floor playing with her set of pink tea cups. Three tourists walk down the street. They move their heads inquisitively in both directions, scrutinizing the embassy building and the growing crowd facing it. They take some pictures and soon leave to carry on their sightseeing. It starts to rain slightly. 'Mummy, it's raining. Put my raincoat on' little Lea murmurs, while a bunch of umbrellas are opened. The wind starts blowing, making the canvas flutter. Alex's mother sets one foot on the bottom to keep it in good display. The shifts allotted to the members of the assembly to read the names and to hold up the linen wall are constantly rotated amongst the intergenerational group of participants. They are standing, literally, with their feet in British territory and opposite the official Chilean administrative terrain, with their artefacts and vibrant corporeal presence transiently occupying this particular space.



'Where are they?' London, 1980s. By Fidel Cordero

Early in the week of the 38th anniversary of the 'overthrow of Allende's Popular Government', I was invited to partake in a 'symbolic gathering' that took place outside the Chilean Embassy in London, on 11th September 2011. Since the Chilean exiles' arrival in the UK during the 1970s, this spot has been a meeting place, and a point of attraction for a wider spectrum of leftwing activists from Chile and their sympathizers. For almost a year, I had been following the stories and the moves of many of the actors who had converged there. By this point, I had become aware that – like other spaces produced and occupied by the Chilean diaspora and regardless of an apparent spatial delimitation – this picket line was connected to a wider set of places, spheres and temporalities. This demonstration was not only part of a wider social scene created around commemoration and activism, but it was also connected to other scenes related to leisure and popular culture. The entanglement of these different scenes, these people and their trajectories denoted further complexities involved in the making of diaspora space, and the Chilean diaspora's search for a home in the public sphere, to which this research attends.

This study traces the experiences of an intergenerational group of the Chilean diaspora whose current lives in The UK are geopolitically and historically a product of the military coup that took place on 11th September 1973 in Chile. The *coup d'état* led by the dictator Augusto Pinochet brought into existence one of the longest and most repressive dictatorships in the history of South America and ended the 1000 days' rule of the world's first democratically elected Marxist government, as well as one of the longest democratic traditions in the history of the continent. The beginning of this regime, along with persecution, imprisonment, torture, killing and disappearance, meant the exile of a thousand people, particularly the Chilean left and the followers of the overthrown president Salvador Allende. The National Office of Return estimates that less than half of them have returned – between 400,000 and 600,000 exiles still remain abroad, either as first or second generations (Cornejo 2008; Wright and Oñate 2007). In this research, I refer those who arrived in the context of the Pinochet dictatorship and their offspring as the 'Chilean diaspora', with my specific case being the Chilean diaspora of London.

While acknowledging the dictatorship and exile as points of departure, I propose that researching the lives of this intergenerational group in a post-dictatorial context, in a global city like London, requires going beyond 'exile' and looking at them differently. I want to offer a different approach to this group by exploring how Chilean exiles have come to produce 'diaspora spaces'. This is a terrain where a 'homing desire', rather than a 'desire for a homeland', is forged (Brah 1996, 180). This homing desire promotes the 'making of a home away from home' (ibid.; Clifford 1994) through immaterial aspects (e.g. memory, narratives) as well as localized and tangible outcomes (e.g. bodies, performances, textures). It does so by putting in creative tension a 'mythic place of desire', conceived as original, with the 'lived experience of locality' (1996, 192). Diaspora spaces are not simply sites of trauma, mourning and dislocation, but also sites for new beginnings. As diverse scholars have shown, memories of past homes can have a productive and tangible force in the creation of new places of belonging in the present (Blunt 2003; Puwar 2007; Ehrkamp 2006).

The experiences of the Chilean diaspora of London involve particular geopolitical trajectories and historical grievances. These not only have marked their dispersal, home(land) orientations and solidarities, but they also suffuse their actual engagement with their current places of settlement. Latin Americans are not directly linked to the Commonwealth or The UK's former colonies. As such, they provide an interesting standpoint to look at other emerging diasporic formations (Román-Velázquez 2009). In The UK, 'diaspora' has been a heuristic device used mostly to reflect upon the experience of settlers from the former colonies. Diasporas emerge from 'a "syncretic dynamism" set in motion by de-colonization and trans-global migration', Hall summarizes (2012, 29). The spatial and social configurations to which this research attends, however, are invigorated by actors whose migrant routes are not clearly connected to Britain's imperialist legacy and whose performative politics are not mobilized by a postcolonial struggle (cf. Gilroy 1993; cf. Werbner 2002). Chileans form one of those 'new diasporas' that have emerged from other forms of displacements (Brah 2012, 173; Van Hear 1998). The political and historical specificity of this group articulates and reveals less acknowledged connections between the 'here' and 'there' – between Chile and the UK – which this thesis interrogates from a diasporic frame. Temporal and spatial, political and cultural, historical and contingent contrivances are unraveled and exposed by this group.

Further social, political and historical processes have unfolded globally, as well as locally in the sending and receiving countries, since the beginning of their journeys. In relation to Chile, the end of Pinochet's regime in 1990 allowed virtually all exiles and their families to come back 'home'. Chile's return to democracy not only altered exiles' contact with and relation to the 'homeland' but also the interplay between choices and constraints that always frame migrant displacements (Van Hear 1998). While many people decided to stay in the UK, the end of the dictatorship also intensified return movements towards Chile, movements that, in some cases and for diverse reasons, were followed by re-migration flows back to The UK. I will expand on these processes in the next chapter. So far, it is important to note that these different experiences come hand-in-hand with shifting notions of home.

Diverse changes have also taken place in the UK. The transition from a Labour Government to Thatcherism in the late 1970s, and the events that unfolded during her mandate, marked the lives of Chileans exiles in the UK and their daily forms of political engagement. Besides, the ongoing arrival of Latin Americans since the 1970s and its intensification from the 1990s have involved the formation of internally diverse Latin American transnational communities, as well as new solidarities and tensions among its members (Ramírez 2014).¹ The rising influx of Latin Americans has also contributed to the increase of the ‘super-diverse’ context of London (Vertovec 2007),² where Latin Americans are one of the fastest growing migrant groups (McIlwaine 2011). Wider transformations and milestones, such as the end of the Cold War, the war against terrorism, the discourses on the ‘multicultural backlash’ and recent economic recessions have also altered migrants’ choices and constraints to move and navigate across the city (Van Hear 1998; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010; Román-Velázquez 2009).

I explore how those transformations, which have taken place ‘here’ (in The UK) and ‘there’ (in Chile) – and to some extent globally – have affected the Chilean diaspora’s experience of home, displacement and belonging. Between 2009 and 2011, I developed an experimental ethnography that combined biographical interviews and participant observation, with less conventional methodologies and objects, including personal archives, sound recordings and photographs. With these tools, I followed a network of social scenes, which have been in existence since the 1970s. They can be roughly classified as leisure and politics-based. More often than not, research on migrant social scenes focuses one scene only, scenes whose character is either political

¹ During the 1970s and 1980s many Latin-Americans came to the UK through work permits, mainly to work as cleaners, in hotels or in the catering industry. This group was mostly made by Colombians – today one of the biggest national Latin-American groups – yet also some Ecuadorians and Bolivians arrived through this scheme. Even though this via of entrance was close in 1979, many Latin-Americans continue arriving through family reunion, as students or as refugees (McIlwaine et al. 2010, 13).

² ‘Super-diversity’ describes a process in which settled migrants increasingly share the stage with ‘new migrants’ who are neither linked to Britain by colonial ties nor are they originally from Commonwealth countries. These new migrants are more scattered in the city, have different migratory statuses, diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, and more transient dwellings and diversified forms of transnational connections (Vertovec 2007; also in Ramírez 2014, 671).

or gregarious. Challenging these distinctions, I show how seemingly compartmentalised and divergent scenes are actually coupled. I followed these social scenes across time and space. I explored how they were intertwined with my research participants' spatial routines and life trajectories, and how they were lived, remembered, materially preserved and intimately appropriated by them. This multi-method approach allowed me to consider historical and contemporary dimensions, public and private domains which were crucial to 'construct the field' of this research (Amit 2000). I will expand on the research design later in the methodological section.

Research questions and 'home' as a field of inquiry

By attending to this shifting context and using a multi-modal research design, this research elucidates *how social-historical circumstances – many of which are connected to the so-called decline of the 'exile community' and the emergence of new fields of belonging—have shaped the Chilean diaspora's search for a 'home', particularly in relation to public space in the UK.* 'Home' here refers to a 'process of establishing connections with others and creating a sense of order and belonging as part of rather than separate from society' (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 14). It reflects migrants' ways of dwelling through movement and attachment and subjects' connection with diverse places and times of being.

More specifically, while acknowledging ethnic, class, gender and intergenerational distinctions, this research investigates, firstly, how do Chilean exiles' home-making practices problematize (or not) the private/public divide through the creation of diaspora space in the city of London? Through which processes (affective, sensory, and embodied) do diaspora spaces and (un)homely terrains emerge and actualise? Also, how is the search for a 'home' accomplished (or not) at various levels (kin, community and publics) and in various spheres (private, public; transnational, diasporic)? Finally, how have the relations between both 'locals' and 'newcomers' – as

well as the new and old social distinctions *within* this Chilean ‘community’ – shaped the Chilean diaspora’s spaces of belonging?

From a methodological standpoint, I want to ask, how can we study and ‘represent’ through our research tools the lived character of diaspora space and home-making? What challenges and opportunities does the study of social scenes mean to our understanding of the Chilean diaspora’s experience of home, displacement and belonging within the UK?

I will elucidate these questions through a *grounded approach* to home-making and diaspora space. This is an approach that focuses on actual inhabited places and on the materialities, interactions and trajectories that pervade such inhabitancies. A grounded approach challenges distinctions between fixity and transit, stasis and transformation, home and away, presence and absence (Ahmed et al. 2003). It looks at space as actually produced, occupied and inhabited, while allowing for its complex temporal and spatial configurations and conjunctures (Massey 2005). To put it simply, a grounded approach reminds us that we live on the earth in daily contact with the ground, following paths and relating to (rather than simply acting in) an environment whose different components are in permanent flux and transformation (Ingold 2011, 33-55). We follow different lifelines that cause us to converge physically with others, a dynamic process that involves the orchestration of bodies, objects and affects, as well as connections that transcend the temporal and spatial boundaries of the present.

This ‘grounded’ approach is part of a critical stance that questions the essentialization of home as origins (Brah 1996), an essentialization which has been prominent in the study of the Chilean diaspora (e.g. Wright and Oñate 2005). While attending memories of places conceived as ‘origins’, I am also interested in these memories’ productive and tangible effect on the making of homes in the ‘here’ and ‘now’ rather than simply involving an orientation to a place and a time that remain behind (Blunt 2003). Memories of home(land) might be relocated and recombined

otherwise in relation to the social and material local context creating multifaceted diaspora spaces.

Social scenes are some of these 'grounded' spatial configurations. As part of a 'liminal movement', they illustrate how migrants live 'caught between two worlds', to use Hall's terms (2002, 254). They are 'caught' in a state of 'in-between-ness' that also allows diasporas to challenge national boundaries. These 'third-spaces' of 'hybridity' involve the re-appropriating of elements of the receiving society, through newness and translations (Chambers 1996; Bhabha 1994). Diasporic social scenes do this through flavours, dressing styles, music and other aesthetic expressions and forms of sociability, through which migrants create new territories. West-Indian front rooms (McMillan 2003; Miller 1996), British-Asian ('desi') music scenes (Kim 2012; Sharma et al. 1996), post-war black settlers' port gatherings (Hall 1984) and South-Asian social cinema scenes (Puwar 2007) are examples of diasporic social scenes. Researching diasporic social scenes uncovers ephemeral instances of everyday life that, for the most part, remain hidden from the public eye. Moreover, as processes of 'homing', social scenes also unsettle normative ideas of diaspora and belonging.

Social scenes are also in line with a grounded approach that raises the relevance of 'situatedness' and local attachments in a context in which migration studies have privileged (and even fetishized) dislocation and deterritorialisation. Studying social scenes involves looking at actual instances of diasporic spaces and spatial practices that, as Knott highlights (2010), should not only understood metaphorically. Particular attention must be paid to the geographical moorings that emerge with these spatial formations. The grounded approach this research embraces takes seriously the idea that diaspora spaces are 'place-centered' and 'network-based' rather than 'ungrounded' and 'deterritorialized' (Ma 2003, 9, in Knott 2010, 82). This approach involves looking at the local configurations of diaspora spaces, acknowledging their porous and changing nature. Inspired by Knott's plea for a diaspora scholarship 'to tighten its geographical moorings and resist the criticism that its spatial turn has been more poetics than politics' (2010, 83), I will further develop this research agenda.

Researching Latin Americans in London and the Chilean diaspora

Existing research on Latin Americans living in London often takes a transnational approach (e.g. McIlwaine 2011). That is, an approach which explores the social fields that are locally experienced and extended beyond national frontiers, challenging the global/local interface (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992). This body of research focuses mainly on the experiences of 'economic' migrants who form the largest national groups and have arrived during the last decade. Instances of political mobilizations (Però 2011; Bermudez 2010; 2011), commercial places (Cock 2011), music and dance scenes (Román-Velázquez 1999; 2006), and transnational churches (Sheringham 2011) are among the daily transnational spaces that Latin Americans have developed in London. According to McIlwaine (2011), these spaces are important to mobilize, enhance and shape Latin American migrants' personal, economic, institutional and political capital. In a context in which Spain has gone from being a receiving to a sending country, given the economic recession, these transnational spaces not only link home and residence nations, but increasingly involve multiple connections (McIlwaine 2011).



'El Carnaval del Pueblo' (The people's carnival). London, 2010. By the author.

In this body of research, little attention is paid to how Latin American settled and incoming migrants relate to each other, and how individuals from different countries and backgrounds interact among themselves and with the British population. This research, on the other hand, conceives the Chilean diaspora as 'made' interactively in relation with newcomers, other migrant groups as well as 'local' or 'British-born' people. This study contributes to a body of work that conceives migratory spaces as having porous boundaries and as being open to change in relation to a broader milieu (Alexander 2011; 2010; Knott 2010).

The almost exclusive focus on new arrivals from Latin America, and the consequent lack of attention to settled migrant groups, has also meant that second and following generations, as well as intergenerational relations, have largely remained out of the discussion. Looking at social scenes made by people from different generations and cohorts offers the chance to deal with this complexity. Apart from internal distinctions by generation, I also look at the gendered character of diaspora space within personal, communal and public terrains (Brah 1996; Yuval-Davis 1997; Salih 2003; Ehrkamp 2013). Gendered aspects of migration have been considered in research on Latin Americans in general (McIlwaine 2010; Bermudez 2011) and Chileans in particular (Kay 1988; Shayne 2009). However, little attention has been given to how Latin American migrants and Chilean exile women's distinct locations involve particular forms of home-making. Also, the ways through women's home-making practices private and public spaces are entangled remain unexplored. This research illuminates that.

Research on Chileans living abroad³ is still sparse, yet increasingly more scholars are focusing their attention on this group. This body of research often considers a

³ It is estimated that 850,000 Chileans live abroad, which means slightly more than 5% of the population (INE 2005). Among the given reasons of migration these are identified as economic (40.1%), familiar (30.8%) and political (12.1%). It is important to consider the possible overlap between different push/pull factors (Arango 2000; Massey et al. 1993), which is in part given by the 'cumulative' character of migration. That is, migratory movements that follow the initial (political) movement can differ in terms of the original reasons and motivation. The role of migrants' social networks is particularly crucial in explaining these further movements (Castles 2000; Faist 2000;

retrospective standpoint, and focuses mostly on the perspective of exile (Aravena 2006; Morris 2006; Pognon 2006; Rojas 2006; Camacho 2006; 2009; Wright and Oñate 1998) with some studies on return movements (Cornejo 2008; Rebolledo 2006; and Askeland and Sønneland 2011). With a few recent exceptions (Askeland and Sønneland 2011; Olsson 2009; Bolzman 2011), the location and understanding of these political migrants as a diaspora or as part of transnational groups is seldom acknowledged. Overall, studies on Latin Americans in London, as well as research on Chileans, hardly consider their experience of ‘making a home away from home’ (Clifford 1994; Brah 1996). That is, the development of local attachments and emerging diasporic configurations that also pervade their lives in London. I will offer an account of the Chilean exile’s diasporisation and diasporic home-making, going beyond the perspective of exile.

Writing diasporic home-making: image/text interface

Photographs of the social scenes are presented in different chapters in interaction with the text. Some the images are from personal visual archives and others I have taken during fieldwork. I will expand on their construction, use during fieldwork and dissemination in the methodological section. By using ‘past’ and ‘present’ images, I want to invite the reader to think about this social scene’s continuity and change, in terms of claims, performances and spaces. I do this by combining either images from different eras or images and texts that depict different times as well. This is the case, for instance, of the opening scene of this chapter (p. 9). While the textual description describes the mundane happenings in the demonstration on 11 September 2011, the image shows a picket line which was formed in the early 1980s. This photograph depicts iconographic representation: a question asking ‘where are they?’ enacted by ‘the mothers’ as a claim for justice for ‘the victims’. However, through the textual

Massey 1990; Van Hear 1998). Also, Chileans were exiled as a whole families in more than 75% of cases (Norambuena 2000:177) which makes the distinction between family and political reasons of movement problematic.

description we learn of other interactions, which often remain in the backstage: the kids playing, the (affective) labour involved in the coordination of tasks and 'holding the wall', the sociability in play, the tourists passing by. By revealing what happens beyond the picket's front line, these actors emerge as active agents immersed in mundane encounters and engaged with a wider milieu.

The dialogue between image and text complicates well-known representation of the aftermath of the Chilean repression based, for example, on motherhood, mourning and victimhood. The dialogue between the image and the text convey the co-existence of practices and routines with multiple meanings. Together, they denote a changing social and material configuration in the way an ongoing claim for justice has been conducted. Together they complete the scene.

Photographs are valuable in permeating sociology with vitality (Back 2007). Some sections of this written monograph develops an 'intertextual approach' which combines photographs, oral sources and field research (Mauad and Rouverol 2004). I use images to specify and situate the narratives of what has been lived by the Chilean diaspora collectively (see Becker 2002). There will not be 'one' all-encompassing narrative (cf. Berger and Mohr 1975) and, instead of a single actor level approach (cf. Mauad and Rouverol 2004), I will consider a subjective standpoint attending different voices and lived experiences. I will put those voices and experiences in dialogue with both personal visual archives and photographs made during fieldwork.

Through my ethnographic accounts I also analysed photographs as objects embedded in a set of relationships, exchanges and places. This approach to 'visual materials' (including family portraits, landscapes painting) is in line with an ethnographic approach to images; one that considers the 'social life of visual objects' (Rose 2007, 216-36; see also Appadurai 2009) and which attends the visibility/materiality interface (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012). Images have had a pervasive presence within the social scenes I explore. They often work in an active relationship

with other objects, textures and performances, an active relationship that demonstrates that these visual objects (as all objects) are not inert but suffused with life (Ingold 2011). In line with a critical approach to visual materials (Rose 2010; 2007) I ask what some visual recollections owned by research participants have been 'doing' in terms of diasporic home-making.

Finally, as I will expand in the methodological section, these visual objects and other materials collected during my fieldwork have been put together in an exhibition. This exhibition's display goes beyond the use of photographs as methods and as a way of intensifying my way of looking and representing how the Chilean diaspora 'do' migration (Knowles 2006). The exhibition puts together different sites and times, as well as actors, routines and atmospheres; it shows their interconnections otherwise. Locating these visual materials in the interactive domain of the gallery space allows the audience's embodied knowledge of the social scenes. In line with my own fieldwork experience, the visitors can wander around these migratory spaces – they can be wayfarers (Ingold 2011). Moreover, exhibiting research materials highlights the point that 'constructing the field' of ethnographic research (Amit 2000) is not too different from 'curating' – it involves managing, classifying, arranging, and selecting 'objects', as well as using one's knowledge to collect relevant pieces of work and make them public (Puwar and Sharma 2012, 43, following Bourdieu 1993 [1987]). Finally, the exhibition can potentially engage the research participants and also new audiences, reaching non-academic audiences (Degarrod 2013).

How did I get here?

Taking both movement and geographical moorings seriously into account requires acknowledging our own trajectories and situatedness as embodied researchers. The inherent relation migration has with both motion and attachment does not permit us to escape from the question 'how did I get here?' This is a question that requires

weaving the paths and life-lines we have followed to converge with those whose cultural worlds we aim to understand.

My research on the Chilean diaspora's search for a home within the UK is inseparable from my own experiences of dwelling as a transient migrant from Chile in England. The interpretations of my collaborators' cultural worlds relate to my own experiences of inhabiting both countries, as well as to my life experiences and memories of diverse socio-political contexts. I could recognize the commemoration that opened this chapter given my own familiarity with dynamics of remembrance in Chile. The portraits with the faces of the *desaparecidos* have become icons of resistance since the military regime, which ended when I was eleven years old. During the post-dictatorial era, commemorative walls have been erected in Santiago, the city where I grew up and lived before coming to London. Therefore, on 11 September 2011, standing outside the embassy's frontispiece, I could see the significance of the social gathering. Given my routines in London, I was also by then familiar with that building and spot. Before that commemoration, I had visited the Chilean Embassy of London to collect official documents and to solidarize (from 'new' picket lines) with both the Chilean student movement and the *Mapuche* people's hunger strikes that were taking place in the country. Lived experiences 'here' and 'there', 'now' and 'then', allowed me to engage with that spatial composition. The building, the human assembly, the canvas (or textile wall) and the depicted faces were forming a choreography that was new and, nevertheless, recognizable. The strong resonance and familiarity, or, conversely, troubling strangeness (as well as the combination of both) were structures of feelings which, perhaps unconsciously, I have been following during my research.



'Muro de la Memoria' (wall of memory). Santiago, 2001. By Raymond Depardon (Magnum)

Researching Chileans within the UK has become part of a strategy to keep living in and moving between two places to which I differently belong (cf. Knowles 2000). It has provided continuity between spaces and temporalities in the face of my own 'voluntary' displacement. As a place of connection, my research might well be the expression of my own 'productive nostalgia' (Blunt 2003). As Puwar states, nostalgia is an intricate notion that 'carries on for all of us as sociologists who leave our homes to seek knowledge and become part of other worlds, while continuing to be part of this world as well as the worlds we came from' (Puwar 2009). By being 'productive', this nostalgia is not only concerned with the past. It is connected to my present and also to my future, with the 'production' of this thesis being the most obvious (yet not the only) expression of it.

Unlike those who participated in this research, I was not 'forced' to move. My travel was overall framed by choices and will, rather than constraints. Until my late twenties, I inhabited a post-dictatorial context. I wanted to live elsewhere, ideally in a cosmopolitan modern city – partly as a personal venture, partly led by professional and intellectual ambition. And so, I made my way to London to spend a year as an overseas Master's student in 2008. So far, I have been here for almost six years, a period in

which I have travelled 'home' just once, less than a year ago. 'My case' resembles what migration scholarship has called 'middling migrants' (Conradson and Latham 2005; Wiles 2008) – those well-educated migrants who travel abroad planning to stay temporarily in search of new opportunities. Yet, unlike those who have been labelled in those terms (e.g. 'white' New Zealanders), not all of us (Chileans) are rendered invisible under the mark of (Hispanic) whiteness. We are not native English speakers either. Sometimes, because of these and other aspects, some of my participants (and my own family) have experienced a downward social mobility in the UK, having to perform low-skilled and unstable jobs. Yet, circumstances might change and new openings might emerge. After all, as Knowles remarks, 'arriving is the end of a journey and beginning of another; of life in a new place' (2009, 2).

Today, while living in London, I am still in the move. At times, I am a 'local tourist' around The UK and an occasional traveller across Europe. I am a daily commuter in the city, particularly around South East London where, unless it is heavily raining or snowing, I pedal from Forest Hill to New Cross almost every day. I did not come here to stay. I do not accumulate objects difficult to carry. The walls of my flat are almost empty and plainly white. I live 'with the suitcase at the ready' as many exiles also did at beginning of their arrival (Kay 1987; Wright and Oñate 2005). With London growing on me, I have developed attachments with people and places that embody meaningful connections to the city where I reside today, while remembering my past and imagining my future back elsewhere. I am currently preparing my return to Chile – I am 'going "home" for good' as people 'here' say. Given the decree of my funding program, I have to live there for eight years. So, I am here voluntarily, but staying or leaving is not simply a matter of will. As in every migratory movement, constraints and choices constantly operate (Van Hear 1998).

Although researchers' biographical accounts offer some degrees of personal release, they should not be taken as a chance for pure egocentrism. These accounts work as recognition of our involvement in the social processes we study. As might be apparent by now, the distinction between the researcher's field and the researcher's

home is not as straightforward as the metaphor of ethnographic 'immersion in the field' suggests (Amit 2000). The 'research field' is intermingled and continually evolving with our daily lives, biographies and surroundings rather than disconnected from them. Hence, what follows unavoidably emerges in relation to such connections. This clearly selective personal account is one point of departure across the changing fields of belonging of the Chilean diaspora of London. It also acts as an invitation to discern for yourself, how the landscape that is drawn through those changing fields is also entangled with your own lifelines and social webs.

Chapter 1 – The Chilean Diaspora *of* London in Context

Echoing the sociological imagination's task of seeing the reciprocal imbrications of public and even global issues with private concerns (Back 2007; Mills 2000), I explore here how the Chilean diaspora's experience of home, displacement and belonging is coupled with the wider social-political background, particularly that of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. While looking at Chilean exiles' early experiences of leaving, arriving, searching and making home in London (while maintaining connection to Chile and the UK), I put macro-level and empirically-grounded analysis in conversation (Brah 2009, 513). In line with what Hall describes as Brah's 'diasporic reasoning', I look for the 'connections' and 'resonances' that wider social transformations and conjunctures have in the inner core of the Chilean diaspora of London (Hall 2012, 34).



Chileans protesting in support of Chilean exiles in Santiago. London, 2011. By the author.

What remain partially indistinguishable in the account that follows are the processes taking place in Chile during the dictatorship. The motifs and ideas that infused the lives of the Chilean exiles, and their 'homeland orientations', were linked to what they knew, thought or imagined was happening there. The first section of the exhibition accompanying this written thesis brings to light a collection of photographs taken by photojournalists during clandestine trips to Chile in the 1970s and 1980s. These images, projected as slides, dialogue with this chapter by showing that background.

This chapter comprises the background for this research, but it is also a contribution in its own right. Relying on original data, it opens up my understanding of *home as a process*. It shows how home is 'lived' and 'made'. It also contributes to the small body of research on the Chilean exiles who came to The UK during the dictatorship (Kay 1987; 1988). Yet, this chapter remains contextual as the descriptive anteroom to move toward an understanding of the lives of the Chilean diaspora in a post-dictatorial and diasporic context, which is the main focus of this research.

Dislocations, departures and detours

Toward the end of Allende's administration, due to the economic and social climate, the coup was perceived as imminent. Yet, the violence and public visibility through which the repression was imposed surpassed all expectations (Adams 2012, 16; Wright and Oñate 2005, 57-8; 1998, 11-2). *La Moneda*, the house of government, remained ruined and manifestly blitzed for years in the heart of Santiago. The parliament was suppressed, social gatherings were severely restricted, military control in the streets was imposed and sieges and curfews were widely applied (Wright and Oñate 2007; 2005; 1998). The main targets of Augusto Pinochet's machinery were the Chilean left and Allende's supporters. Distinctions between 'right' and 'left' as markers of political allegiance were deepened as a way of legitimizing the new social order from above.

Exile acquired an institutional form through the adopted 'Decree Law 81'— a central policy which gave Pinochet's military regime almost unlimited power to expel citizens (Wright and Oñate 2005, 58). Yet, according to Wright and Oñate, for many of those who fled from Pinochet's dictatorship, 'exile started since the day of the military coup' (ibid.). Thus, some exiles who came to London, either as adults or children, experienced a sense of dislocation and displacement even before their departure.

Nancy came to London when she was seventeen years old. Today she works in an organisation supporting Latin American women in London. From her office in North London, she tells me about her participation in Allende's 'revolutionary movement', as she fervently refers to it in each occasion. Like other young people, she had been actively working with the peasants who were in the process of becoming landowners through the Agrarian Reform, a government program in which her father, a local politician, had an important role. 'I was engaged at all the levels, doing voluntary jobs, cutting wheat, digging potatoes, doing everything! A true devotion, even when I was just a girl', she says. Even though this reform preceded Allende's Government, it comprised a controversial arena during his mandate. While facing some delays in its implementation, some factions within the *Unidad Popular* coalition (UP) wanted to accelerate the land distribution among agrarian inhabitants, even before the legal means were fully established (Adams 2012, 15, 16). 'The poor cannot wait', Nancy's father used to say. A visible target for the regime, he soon became, for three years, one of the regime's 33,221 political prisoners, 94% of whom were tortured (ibid., 16). For Nancy, like many Chileans, the coup was both a public and a private disruption.

'After three months of absolute chaos, as a family we were spread everywhere and nobody understood the seriousness of the situation. After some months it was one of those surrealist moments where everything goes back to normality. I had to go back to school, my siblings had to go back to school, we had to pay the rent... We had to go back to school and we still didn't know where my father was, if he was alive or dead. It's very difficult to rationalize the situation, because there were a lot of things that I didn't understand by then.'

Following 11 September 1973, Nancy experienced everyday life as being 'out-of-line' with her surrounding context (Ahmed 2006). The disquiet caused by persecution, imprisonment, torture, and disappearance appeared to be hidden under the pressure of having to follow the tempo of ordinary routines and tasks. Nancy's 'surrealist' feelings of living in simultaneous realities and sense of disjuncture soon became more acute. After some of her friends were imprisoned, she lived on-the-run, moving between relatives' houses. While immersed in the upsetting hecticness of moving from one place to another, her father, from prison, instructed her mother to 'send the children away'. After getting British citizenship (which, like other Chileans, she obtained both as an act of transnational solidarity and in recognition of her family's British heritage), Nancy came to London with her two younger siblings. Her parents arrived two years later when her father was released.

The momentary, fragmentary or definitive losses – losses of people, of a familiar way of living, of a known territory or, more concretely, of a job, a house or economic stability – triggered many exiles' sense of dislocation in Chile, even before their leaving. The end of the UP and its replacement by an authoritarian and neoliberal dictatorial model often involved feeling out-of-place even without going anywhere. Blunt and Dowling refer to these intricate feelings of being out-of-place in a familiar terrain by drawing in Freud's seminal work on the uncanny, particularly in the terms 'heimlich' and 'unheimlich', which refer to 'familiarity and homeliness' and 'unfamiliarity and unhomeliness' respectively. They quote Gelder and Jacobs who explain that 'An "uncanny" experience may occur when one's home is rendered, somehow and in some sense, unfamiliar; one has to experience, in other words, of being in place and "out of place" simultaneously' (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 26). As in the in the cases of Nancy and many other Chileans, places that were recognizable and comfortable before the dictatorship become strange and difficult to inhabit. This is what Nancy refers as 'surreal'; a way of living in which familiar places and everydayness were at odds with the new conditions that framed her daily life. She became 'disoriented' in what was a taken-for-granted, familiar and homely terrain by, abruptly, 'encountering the world differently' (Ahmed, 2006, 20).

Sergio's experience also shows how taken-for-granted homes are unsettled and how, while moving across diverse transient destinations, other forms of dwelling, and displacement are constantly at play. Today, he is a retired accountant, who spends his time volunteering in diverse organizations and as a popular music singer. When the dictatorship started, Sergio was 19 years old and an active member of the Socialist Youth. Two months before the coup, he was completing his voluntary military service. By then military forces were openly rebelling against the UP and he was discharged under the accusation of being a subversive. Sergio was living in Valparaiso, Santiago's neighbouring port city, where some of his political friends became imprisoned. After burning all the documentation linked to his party allegiance, he moved to Santiago where he could keep a low profile under the anonymity provided by the city.

Jorge lived in Santiago, under the regime, for two years. While facing difficulties getting a job, he realized that he had become 'black-listed'. Yet, as an accountant, he managed to earn a living through occasional work as a bookkeeper. Within this climate of uncertainty, he formed a family and had his first child. Like many Chileans, he had support (particularly food and health assistance) from the *Vicaria de la Solidaridad*, the main humanitarian and human rights organization in Chile during the dictatorship (Adams 2012). During this period, he says, 'the rumours had started and the military were everywhere'. Indeed, since June 1974, a secret police – the *Direccion Nacional de Inteligencia* (National Office of Intelligence) (DINA) – had been conducting illegal detentions, interrogations, tortures, assassinations and disappearances. According to recent records, by the end of the regime 1,190 people disappeared and 1,068 were killed by this machinery (Adams 2012, 16). In the mid-1970s, detention centres multiplied across the country (Wright and Oñate 1998, 5; Adams 2012, 16). As Sergio's reference to the growing rumours suggests, the repression was becoming a 'public secret' (Taussig 1999, 5). The consistency between what people could see and what people somehow knew was not straightforwardly settled (Gordon 1997). With more of his friends and acquaintances in the hands of Pinochet machinery, soon his father warned him 'if you want, you can stay, but you will be taken away!' he recalls. 'Staying there meant to expose yourself', he consents today. Consequently, he decided to cross

the border with his family and took the *tren transandino* (trans-Andean train) toward Argentina.

‘Then we went like gypsies! We took pots, sheets. I don’t know what we thought we were (laughs). We took the little train and we were so scared! Because we thought that they [international police] would stop us in the frontier. But it was impossible, because all the train was *fuuuull!!* ... It was ridiculous for the international police to arrest to all of us... [Actually] they were happy [that we left]. “These Marxist communists, all must go!”’

Sergio was one of many Chileans who, according to official accounts, left the country ‘voluntarily’, going to neighbouring lands – mostly Argentina and Peru, and also Paraguay or Uruguay. Like many other Chileans, his plan was to stay there transiently until things in Chile calmed down (Wright and Oñate 1998, 42-3; Olsson 2009, 674 n.3). Yet, Sergio and his family ended up living two years in Argentina. With the Peronists at the forefront, Chilean refugees were initially welcomed.

After moving between different shelters (hosted by organizations linked to his political contacts in Chile), Sergio got a ‘proper house’ for his family in the outskirts of Buenos Aires. He also got a ‘good job’ as an accountant. ‘Ironically’, he says, in Argentina he could achieve the ‘stability’ that he never had in Chile. Yet, while he was finding his way there, in June 1976, Rafael Videla’s *coup d’état* took place – the ‘Dirty War’ had started in Argentina. Sergio received another warning to leave, but this time from the media: ‘In the Airport various bodies appeared. And it was a mix of everything: Bolivians, Uruguayans, Chileans... Then, I did feel fear!’ he recalls. This was also the beginning of the *Operación Cóndor*, a transnational clandestine association among South-American dictatorial machineries. Supported by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States (USA), the *Operación Cóndor* aimed to eradicate the dispersed Latin American left (see Roth-Arriaza 2006, 150-69). In this scenario, for the first time, Sergio sought political asylum from the United Nations. He applied to

different countries, with 'no preference'. Despite his 'desperation', he had to wait for another year until his application was accepted by the UK.

Looking back on his journey – which started in his hometown, Valparaiso, when he was nineteen –, this fifty five year old man reflects from a café in Canada Water, in London: 'Since then I have been always a gypsy. One is always moving. At least that's my case'.

Moving 'from here to there' and being 'on the run' marked the beginning of an uncertain path, which, in many cases, continued after leaving Chile (Wright and Oñate 1998, 39-69). While some of my research participants came directly to London, for others like Sergio, arrival was preceded by detours and more or less transient destinations.

Those itinerant experiences not only marked the life of adults but also of those who moved as children. For some of them, the memories of inhabiting transient destinations seem to be even stronger than those of their life in Chile before departure. Alicia was five years old when she fled from the town of Quillota, Chile, to Buenos Aires, Argentina. She moved there with her mother to look for her father in 1975. After being arrested several times, he had decided to cross the border. Memories of being on the move subsist in Alicia's recollections:

'My memories of Argentina are [of] travelling. Going to this place which is at the outskirts of Buenos Aires, in a really rough and poor village. And travelling in the cargo of the train with the workers going home. My father would take me and sit me on the wheels and [I would] be sitting with my legs hanging when the train was going. I remember going to the cinema. That's what I remember mainly of Argentina.'

Alicia lived in a 'refugee hotel' for one and a half years. There, she came across refugees who had fled from the dictatorships of Argentina (1976-1983), Uruguay (1973-1984) and Brazil (1964-1985). Geopolitical upheavals had made their life trajectories transiently collide in that place. Confusing recollections of herself as a kid when she was 'excited jumping from one bed to the other because I knew something was happening' also appear in her tale. That is, she presumes, a moment when the Argentinean military forces irrupted in her hotel room.

Being on the move with her father, contemplating her tiny feet hanging from the train and going to the movies appear in Alicia's recollections as transient moments of childish delight; moments that are, nevertheless, intermingled with feelings of anxiety and insecurity. Instances of innocent pleasure and anguish live side by side in Alicia's drifting memories. In line with those divergent reminiscences, Alicia has an ambivalent relation to this transitory destination of her childhood. Indeed, Alicia's connection to Argentina is not only affective, but also concrete through the physical presence of her father and the subsistence of many of the places that she once inhabited there. 'I have been back in Buenos Aires several times, on a pilgrimage', Alicia states.

I will come back to these return visits later. Now, it is worth noticing that, as the accounts of Nancy, Sergio and Alicia suggest, experiences of dislocation, re-location or leaving home are not straightforwardly associated with taken-for-granted places. These processes did not simply start or end when Chilean exiles crossed 'the' national border. Acknowledging the disruptions that take place in a seemingly familiar land, and the detours before coming to the UK, complicates the notions of home, displacement and belonging. This is part of a critical approach to home that, as Blunt and Dowling explain, invites us to think 'about home in more critical ways', considering 'less familiar, unhomely and more unsettling notions of home' (2006, 253). Echoing the notion of 'dwelling-in-travel', those peripatetic experiences also underline mobile and multiple forms of dwelling; they emphasize migrant 'routes' rather than 'roots' (Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1993). Detours, planned and spontaneous journeys – often overlooked in the

research on the Chilean diaspora – are part of the unmapped routes that many migrants daily follow before reaching their destinations (Schapendonk 2011). The multi-sited nature of the travel makes of the search for a proper home after exile a complex adventure. Places marked by mobility and travel are not necessarily unrooted (cf. Cresswell 2006, 44). Loosening the ‘moorings’ does not involve ‘floating’, to paraphrase Hall (1997, 33). By recalling the experience of living ‘on-the-run’ and ‘on-the-move’ before arriving to the UK, different homes and non-homes continue to emerge.

Arriving and relocating

Some Latin American countries, including Cuba, Venezuela and Mexico, were able to accommodate a significant number of Chileans. Yet, the low levels of economic development, the social inequality (exacerbated by newly adopted neoliberal policies) and the propagation of repressive governments during the 1970s and 1980s limited Chilean exiles’ possibilities of settlement in Latin America (Wright and Oñate 2005, 59). According to Wright and Oñate, ‘[e]xiles went to at least 110 countries, possibly as many as 140, on all continents’, with between one-third and one-half of them settling in Western Europe (2005, 59, 60). Sweden hosted 30,000 Chilean exiles, becoming the most important European destination country (Olsson 2009, 663). In The UK, Allende’s peaceful road towards socialism provoked sympathy among both the newly elected Labour Government (1974 - 1979) and the active trade union movement of the time. In 1974, by reversing a previous Conservative migration policy, the way for asylum applications was opened, allowing approximately 3,000 Chilean exiles to make their way to the UK between 1974 and 1979. Though small number, by then they were the most noticeable Latin American group (Kay 1987)⁴.

⁴ According to the Chilean National Institute of Statistics (INE 2005) the UK is the 5th European state in terms of numbers of Chileans, after Sweden, France, Spain, Germany and Norway, with around 7000 migrants from diverse generations, with a major concentration of them in London.

Moving to the UK not only involved transiting across different social, cultural and political contexts, but also navigating through different weather, schedules and physical landscapes. This corporeal experience of moving between places demonstrates how displacement is embodied and materialised in connection to temporal and geographical locations (Ahmed 1999). Nancy recalls:

‘It was the 3rd December 1974 that we arrived here. We arrived here in winter, I will never forget that. It was raining that day. It was cloudy. It was about three in the afternoon and it was already getting dark.

Memories of facing a different daylight and climate, experiencing shifting sensations in the skin, comprise a common depiction of Chilean exiles’ arrival to the UK. Similarly, the encounter with a new aural composition, which involves voices speaking an unknown language, is vividly remembered too (see Kaminsky 1999). This is a fairly literal reminder that moving to a new context requires learning both to ‘re-inhabit the skin’; a process through which our body takes new shapes (Ahmed 2006, 9). ‘Spaces are not exterior to bodies’, as Ahmed states. ‘Instead, spaces are like a second skin that unfolds in the folds of the body’ (ibid.; 1999; 2000). While finding one’s way in an unfamiliar terrain, new skills develop as part of a dynamic of inhabitation, adaptation and adjustment (Ingold 2000; Shilling 2008; Vigh 2010). These skills include learning a new language and modes of behaviour, and shifting orientation to one’s social and physical environment. This adjustment involves a process sometimes of acculturation and at other times of alienation (Kaminsky 1999). Overall, this is ‘a “transition” to a new state of mind and body’; a transition to ‘migranthood’ (Hall 1984, 254).

Encountering new settings, however, is not a one-way process. In a context of estrangement, migrants might recreate their familiar environments and found communities in which their bodily being, world-views and familiar ways of living can find a legitimate place, approval and recognition (Schilling 2008). Geographical movement, Shilling says, ‘does not just enable or constrain, but can alter the capacities

and identities of the individuals as well as the environments they inhabit' (2008, 86). In line with what the literature on Chilean exiles worldwide describes, Chileans in the UK re-created diverse terrains of belonging through political associations and other activities based on leisure and the recreation of traditions – 'homing devices' (Ahmed 2006) or 'home-making practices' (Blunt and Dowling 2006) through which individuals create and cultivate hospitable places for themselves by recalling what is familiar in a shifting context.

There is a set where the arrival narratives of many Chilean people converge. You still can find it, in Shepards Bush Road, number 85, the Sinclair Hotel.

'It was very strange because we had arrived from Chile and we arrived at a hotel and they were playing music of *Quilapayún*. It was like being in Chile, but in Chile before the coup (laughs). Because at that time that kind of music was not allowed [in Chile]... when we arrived at the hotel there was a cultural clash (*un choque cultural*). It was full of posters, full of wuah!! [He makes a noise and waves his arms around suggesting dancing and singing]. It was very strange...'

Alex's encounter with the Refugee Hotel involved feelings of both familiarity and estrangement. Despite being in a new territory, the recreation of a peculiar atmosphere (through sounds, practices and objects) made Alex feel he was in a known terrain, which was nonetheless strange by being associated with another era. The 'cultural clash' was not caused simply by the encounter with London, as one might expect, but by finding a scene that was associated with a way of living that was, by then, becoming obsolete in Chile.

Even though the hotel and its activities are remembered by virtually everyone, not everyone actually stayed there. 'The community was divided from the beginning and it wasn't [divided] by us', Luisa explains. Here she references differences between

those who arrived through the Joint Working Group (JWG), and stayed in the Hotel, and those who were hosted by the World University Service (WUS), and stayed in a B&B. While the JWG hosted mostly unionists, workers and anyone without a particular political rank, the WUS was specially created for academics and students. The latter soon also hosted a broader spectrum of intellectuals and higher profile people from the Chilean middle classes (see Kay 1987, 51).

Luisa was hosted by the WUS and was one of the 50% of Chileans who obtained scholarships for further education, an opportunity from which working class exiles were largely excluded (ibid., 97). She remembers:

‘I came with a scholarship and they sent us to a bed and breakfast. Imagine that I came with 4 children and I couldn’t cook. I was desperate! ... But they [those who came through the WUS] were very happy because they were professionals and they were in a different status from the rest [ironic tone]. So there was a house with reception centres which were for the rest of ordinary people (*el perraje*) who were workers or *Allendista* people or people who came directly from the jails [as political prisoners]. But they had another kind of organization there [in the hotel]. They came through the Joint Working Group.... They took turns to cook, to care for the children.’

Despite staying in a more exclusive and comfortable accommodation, Luisa felt herself in disadvantage in relation to those who stayed in the Refugee Hotel. This place had facilities for home-cooking (and ‘proper’ food), forms of solidarity and everyday arrangements, which, in her view, would have made her initial days in London easier. She requested relocation there. In response, she remembers, ‘the *gringa* in charge told me “no, you can’t come here because you come through the World University Service”’. Through these spatial formations, hierarchies and distinctions among Chilean refugees were institutionally sustained by the British system from the moment of their arrival. Making homes themselves, in this way, is both a matter of agency and connected to

hegemonic structures; a process which, as Luisa's story shows, is also inflected by gender, class and education (Salih 2003).

Among those staying in the Refugee Hotel was Don Artemio, a miner and former unionist leader who came to London through the JWG after being imprisoned for three and a half years. He exchanged a forty year sentence for exile. Don Artemio explains that the Refugee Hotel provided both a space for exiles, particularly men, to get to know each other, and a platform for political gatherings and meetings. Exiles also reinstated forms of camaraderie which were common in Chile before the coup. 'The first organizations grew in that Hotel', he says. Yet, internal distinctions also emerged in the Refugee Hotel. By partaking in the different activities, Don Artemio states, 'one could see who were political refugees and who were economic refugees'. This refers to those who were 'forced' to leave Chile, due to persecution or because their lives were under severe risk, and those who, conversely, did it 'voluntarily' in search of better prospects of life. There are not official records that allow us to accurately measure that (problematic) distinction. Yet, this is still a common classification made by Chilean exiles worldwide (Olsson 2009).

After weeks, months or more than a year in transitory shelters, Chilean exiles were dispersed all around the UK with some degree of concentration in London (Kay 1987). Cities like Sheffield, Liverpool and Birmingham hosted an important number of Chileans. With an important Labour political adherence and industrial activity, exiles were well hosted by the trade unions in those cities. Cambridge and Oxford also accommodated various Chileans, particularly those with an academic profile. Small towns in Scotland, and even Wales, also counted with a heterogeneous Chilean presence. Within London, many of them were located in the South, particularly in the borough of Lambeth which has since been the most important area of both residence and congregation for Latin Americans in London (McIlwaine et al. 2010).

Even though Chileans living in other cities were in contact with those in London through solidarity activities, internal migratory movements towards the capital were constantly taking place (Kay 1987, 57). These experiences of relocation and settlement in London were evolving at a time when anti-racist campaigns and grassroots movements thrived in The UK. It is relevant to remember Thatcher's infamous comments on British people being 'rather afraid of being swamped by those with a different culture' – an instance of the (implicit) racialised discourses at that time (Murji and Solomos 2005, 12). In the late 1960s and 1970s, South Asian and African-Caribbean movements, along with black feminist activists and organizations, appeared in the public sphere (Brah 2009). In the 1970s and early 1980s, Chileans in the UK and in London were part of the migrant mixture, yet they were not as visible as those with Afro-Caribbean and South Asian heritage. After all, Chileans' situation did not fit a common history of anti-colonial struggle. Unfamiliar with discourses of 'race' and 'racism', and often self-defined as 'white', Chileans for the most part did not adhere to antiracist social movements.

In the relatively less diverse The UK of the 1970s and 1980s, many Chileans were not living close to other co-ethnics, whether Chileans or other Latin Americans. The Chilean *barrio* (neighbourhood) is often nostalgically mentioned by first generation exiles as a terrain that was lost after exile. It is often idealized as a familiar place 'where you know everyone'; a space between the household and the street, where a feeling of belonging and of connection to others occur (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 27-9). Yet, particularly in London, there was not such a *barrio*. Indeed, the actual neighbourhood (and also the school) is a space that intersects with early experiences of facing ethnic and racial discrimination in the city. These memories are more prevalent for those who became exiles as children. Children gravitated between the 'local' and 'Chilean' world; from the neighbourhood and the school to the 'Chilean community'. Isabel, who grew up in a multi-ethnic area states,

'... a lot [of racism] was [directed] to my brother, from everywhere so... We lived in an area that was predominantly Asian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian

and West Indian [and] went to a school that was mixed, so he got a lot of racist abuse from everywhere... he got it from the white English people and he got it from the Asian community. They didn't recognize him as being either...'

Those forms of racism and xenophobia – as well as memories of being called 'paki', 'chinese' or 'foreigner' – denote the invisibility of their particular national, ethnic and racial background. They also show the racialisation of migration itself, as being a foreign person was associated with some nationalities, particularly post-war settlers from Britain's former colonies (Murji and Solomos 2005, 3). These processes of othering also merged with ideas of inferiorization of refugees and migrant groups (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, in *ibid.*, 14). Among Chileans, particularly exile children, the sense of being 'foreigner' and 'other' (a frequent theme in their tales) is intimately connected to these early experiences.

The disruptive experience of leaving 'home' during departure was often enhanced by experiences of discrimination upon arrival. Research on the Chilean diaspora does not make reference to the process of racialization that living in a multi-ethnic and multi-racial context often involves. More often than not Chileans – like Argentineans and Uruguayans – are assumed to be absorbed into a normative 'whiteness' in their European host countries. However, the experience of being an exile in the UK was for many Chileans the experience of discovering a 'non-white' body and finding themselves being perceived as 'others'. This is particularly the case for British-born Chileans. Experiences that tell them they are 'actually not British' but 'second-generation' Chilean comprise examples the (re)making of race and ethnicity through diasporic experiences (Knowles 2003, 162).

In response to experiences of estrangement, Shilling (2008) observes, migrants usually create spaces in which they can receive validation in relation to their customs, habits and physical appearance. The sense of otherness and their dispersion across the UK and in London also allow for understanding of the relevance of the different social

scenes to which this research attends. Gathering places, community programs, and diverse social activities became important spaces of connection for a dislocated, estranged and scattered group of people. The re-location of Chilean 'folk' traditions, language, modes of comportment, and a common history not only served to mitigate their dislocation from 'home', but also the feeling of being 'different' that particularly pervaded the lives of exile children and teenagers. As explored in the next section, the Chilean Solidarity Campaign (CSC) and other activities became important points of congregation for them.

Searching for a home in the public sphere

Political organizations, public manifestations, and social movements have been highlighted as important features in the lives of Chilean exiles living abroad during the dictatorship. The main aims of these mobilizations were to bridge the gap between the host and the expelling countries, to claim the exiles' right to return, to increase international social awareness and to keep alive their political principles for the future (Camacho 2006; Del Pozo 2006; Wright and Oñate 2007). These activities allowed exiles to keep and recover abroad what in Chile had been suppressed and lost during the dictatorship: namely, political life and an active use of public spaces. At the same time, they developed instances for exiles to come together as a group.



Demonstrating in London. London, date unknown. By Fidel Cordero.

Some assert that the associative character of Chilean exiles was reactive and that it was usually transformed by or adapted to the international context (Szanajder and Roniger 2007), as well as by what happened in the country of origin (Bolzman 2002; Del Pozo 2006). Yet, little is known about how events in the host countries affected migrants' sociality, their engagement with the local context and their participation in different organization and movements.

During the 1970s, antiracist movements and feminist organizations were an important part of the public sphere. Then and toward the 1980s, there were also major industrial and miners strikes as well as campaigns against exacerbated immigration control and projects concerned with welfare, education and cultural activities (Brah 2009, 509). While looking at this vibrant yet complex scene, Brah explains:

'These organizations emerged against the background of a deepening economic and political crisis and an increasing entrenchment of racism. The 1970s was a

period when the Powellism of the 1960s came to suffuse the social fabric, and was gradually consolidated and transmuted into Thatcherism in the 1980s' (ibid.)

The CSC, an 'English' organization of transnational solidarity with Chile, was created in the mid-1970s. Many Chileans, as well as a few Uruguayans and Argentineans, were actively involved. It was also a reawakening for part of the British population, some of whom adhered to this movement. Like many Chileans of her generation, Luisa embraced this solidarity agenda. While discussing the difficulties coming to the UK as an exile and how she overcame (or learnt to live with) her sense of dislocation, she reflects:

'You want to be professional, to work in something that isn't cleaning, to have money, to be a woman. And we have to try *to-go-with-the-flow* [with a smooth rhythm and changing into English]. Try to keep yourself balanced in a situation of madness... for me the [community] participation, doing something, was something vital [in order] to be able to live, it was vital to live...'

Luisa relates her participation in these instances to a 'vital' need to be with others forming the 'communities that have given you the strength to live', she says. Like many Chileans, toward the 1980s, Luisa got tired of the political divisions inside the Chilean solidarity movements.⁵ She turned to work in the Solidarity Campaigns for Nicaragua and El Salvador, and distanced herself from exilic (homeland oriented) politics. She focused her energies to improve the conditions of incoming Latin Americans 'over here'. As a settled refugee, she could publicly engage in those terms and bridge connections with British organizations, unlike incoming economic migrants who faced diverse constraints (Bermudez 2010, 83).

⁵ As many scholars have described, Chilean exiles was a group segmented in relation to party allegiance. This mimic the divisions that existed in Chile before their departure. The parties were Democracia Cristiana (which backed up the military coup so their presence in exile was less prominent), Partido Socialista (Allende's party which was internally divided too), Communists, MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria). Among my interviewees there are people from all these political factions.

During the early 1980s, Ken Livingston – a Labourist with strong socialist beliefs who was ironically called ‘Red Ken’ by the conservatives – presided over the Greater London Council. The Council funded various community projects for Latin Americans, including nurseries, youth clubs, resources for football leagues and leisure centres. Luisa, who actively worked in these projects, refers to Livingston as someone who ‘gave space to the migrant communities... the idea was to politicize and give a voice. But not much could be done because Margaret Thatcher came’. Some of these community projects were established in Lambeth. However, few have subsisted.

These political associations might well be seen as underlying ‘the drama of long distance nationalism’ among exiles; as ‘biological metaphors of belonging’ through references to a common origin and nationhood (Glick-Schiller 2005, 290, 298). Yet, I am interested in ‘homeland oriented politics’ as sources of belonging for diasporas. As Blunt (2007, 90) notes, ‘cultural politics and practices in diaspora are mobilized and enacted over a variety of scales and chart both deterritorialized and reterritorialized spaces of identity, belonging and attachment’. As Kelly (2003) also observes, these organizations help to overcome isolation, providing material support, promoting culture and supplying assistance through social networks. Particularly ‘for people whose lives have been disrupted by exile’, these associations ‘can help to rebuild and reinforce a sense of belonging’, she says.

These instances of public engagement can take different shapes, including formal political demonstrations, fundraising, lobby and other ordinary activities that bring communities together through different forms of exchange. For the Chilean case, little attention has been given to practices and spaces that go beyond the official political organizations. Expressions of popular culture, including soccer teams and championships and activities related to folk traditions (Del Pozo 2006; Knudsen 2001), have remained largely overlooked.



Dancing Cueca. London, date unknown. By Fidel Cordero.

While the political associative activities mentioned above have been identified as being led mainly, but not exclusively, by middle class exiles, informal sociability practices and spaces have been acknowledged as working class-led, particularly football. Despite their trans-local presence, the wide participation they attracted and their stability across time (Bolzman 2002), these scenes have been underestimated. They have not occupied an important place in understanding the collective experiences of exile, let alone their value as an alternative form of political engagement. Working class exiles, indeed, have commonly been overlooked as a group. It is often suggested that they were a minority and that they were less politically engaged (Prognon 2006). As a result, their activities have been overlooked as a form of social engagement in the host society.

Peñas (folk parties) and *la cancha* (the football field) were scenes that, along with providing entertainment and spaces of congregation, became platforms of political engagement and international solidarity. They comprised important platforms for fundraising activities. Social awareness among children and young people was also raised there. As Carter shows, these ordinary activities are also part of the 'geopolitics of diaspora'. Analysing Croatian diaspora in the United States in the context of the Balkan conflict in 1990s he says:

'The very banality and ordinariness of participating in fundraising activities such as bake sales, picnics, barbecues and concerts mobilized many of those on the margins of the Croatian-American community into the arena of homeland politics. From this position of mundane involvement, it became easier to become enrolled in more overt and "political" acts of engagement.' (Carter 2005, quoted in Blunt 2007, 90)

Along with providing an alternative arena for political engagement, *la cancha* was a space of encounter between Latin American 'political' and 'economic' migrants. Jaime, a Uruguayan political exile, became involved in *la cancha* in the early 1980s through people that he knew in the CSC. He differentiates between Chilean exiles, who were mostly well-educated and 'with few exceptions' came from the middle classes, and the incoming migrants who were predominantly workers without any qualifications.

'When the Colombians arrived, it [*la cancha*] became something more del pueblo [i.e. popular]. And they always had their barbecue at the end, a bottle of wine, it was a social thing! ... They had ghetto-blasters, a huge radio-cassette... they played tapes and all!'

Jaime acknowledges those working class 'exceptions' among the exiles tended to prevail in *la cancha*, but he perceives the newcomers increased the 'proletarian' profile of the scene. Chilean working class exiles were differentiated from labour migrants due to their ideologies, the forms of political mobilization and resistance that marked their departure from Chile and their status in London.

Also, the perception of a different 'culture' emerged. Mario, a Chilean exile who played in the team *Colo-Colo* during the 1980s, remembered:

'At the beginning it was too politicised. With the arrival of the Colombians there also arrived the rhythm, the music... they [Colombians] are more flamboyant, we [Chileans] are a greyer country. The first stage was too intellectual... they took *Macondo*⁶ there.'

Mario's distinctions between Colombians and Chileans have been common in *la cancha*. These affirmations – by the overlapping of country of origin, culture and class – denoted the making of ethnicity and the power that it exercises within people's mind-sets and in how space is organised (Knowles 2003; Cock 2011). In this case, this process operates by establishing categories which made some of them good leaders and others good body performers. It is important to note that Mario's regional distinctions are regarded as common sense in Chile. In the Southern Cone countries – particularly Chile, Argentina and Uruguay – a more 'European' life-style is assumed to persist, in comparison with some Central-American and the northern Latin American countries (such as Colombia) which are commonly epitomized as having a 'Latin' culture (cf. Roman-Velazquez 1999). Places of belonging also involve the relocation of stereotypical and nationalist mind-sets, subtle forms of discrimination and of power relations along the lines of gender, class and ethnicity.

⁶ *Macondo* is a fictional rural locale in the novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (Garcia Marquez 1964). As a quotidian expression, '*Macondo*' is often used to caricature 'Latina' and 'Latino' forms of expression and modes of comportment.

Due to the primary focus on the political public sphere, the scholarship on the Chilean diaspora has also kept the public/private divide untouched. The connection of those public spaces with family relations and the domestic arena has not been adequately explored (an exception is Kay 1987; 1988). As a result, women's experiences of exile have not been given enough attention. The prevalent version of a 'masculine exile' (Norambuena, 2000) has made the experiences of both women and children remain overlooked. They are often seen as mere companions.

Kay's (1988, 1987) case study of Chilean exiles in Scotland interrogates the family and the domestic sphere as a scenario for the 'politics of gender in exile'. According to Kay, an increasing awareness of Chilean 'machismo'⁷, along with the reduction of kinship control (due to the absence of the extended family) constituted a period of empowerment for exile women. 'By finding a voice in exile', she states, 'many private women [or housewives] moved in the opposite direction to many men, whose overwhelming sensation was that of losing a voice here [in the UK]' (1988, 11). This was enhanced by men's loss of their role of breadwinner and, therefore, their diminished control of the domestic arena. As a result, Kay explained, the private sphere became a highly conflictive scenario: while women were concerned to re-establish their family life and harmony in the home, men aimed to re-establish their political lives in the public realm. Consequently, women perceived the political activity of men as 'detrimental to their family oriented goals [...] [demanding] for men to play a more active role in the running of the home' (Kay 1988, 15). In this context, woman became aware of their subjection to the home, which was explained under the formula 'men could go out, because women stay in' (ibid., 9). 'Housework carried the negative connotation of being privatized labour, associated with narrow and conservative views

⁷ 'Machismo' is often used in relation to Latin American gender practices and ideologies. This signals 'a "cult of exaggerated masculinity" involving "the assertion of power and control over women, and over other men" (Chant with Craske 2003, 14). In practice, machismo may entail protection, provision, as well as drinking, gambling and proving one's virility' (McIlwaine 2010, 287). Machismo, then, explain the ways in which women are excluded or distinctively incorporated in some public spaces, and their common primary positioning (particularly by men) in the private sphere.

of the world' (ibid., 7). As a result gender roles have been challenged and have undergone their own revolution in exile behind closed doors.

Kay's research suggests that men and women signify and construct both the private and public spheres differently as spaces of self-fulfilment and belonging. Home is not simply an eulogized site of refuge for Chilean exile women (cf. Bachelard, 1994), but one of patriarchal domination in which they have to struggle in order to challenge imposed models and, to some extent, to make the home into their own domain. Similarly, in Kay's account men do not seem to find refuge in the (private) home. The loss of their role of breadwinner, the longing to recover their protagonism in the public sphere and the tensions brought about by the 'gender revolution' (Kay 1988) have disrupted the idea of this place as a sanctuary for them.

It is important to note that Kay's claim about the impoverishment of the public lives of both men and women in exile contradicts - or at least does not fit very well - with the rich public political life highlighted by many scholars. This could be either related to the particularities of Scotland or be the result of an overwhelming amount of attention placed on men and women 'in' the house, leaving public domains unattended. But, more interestingly, it invites thought about where the real refuge for exiles and the Chilean diaspora is (or was), and the (in)ability of the 'locus' to be a haven for them. This opens questions regarding the meaning attached to collective and personal spaces, as well as the value of the family, 'the community of exile' and the nation for the Chilean diaspora's experience of home, migration and belonging within the UK.



Weaving *arpilleras* (patchworks) in the street. London, date unknown. By Fidel Cordero.

Among my participants, women also participated in the public realm, yet in gender specific ways. Along with their contributions to the different scenes through food preparation and creating patchworks (which were sold as means to gather money for the solidarity initiatives), women also had a direct role in the nurseries, senior clubs and 'mothers centres'. Even though some Chilean exile women were active as party militants, the spaces women produced were also often in line with traditional ideas of gender. Their activities, despite being located within the transnational public sphere, were based on forms of labour that have been traditionally feminized and associated with the domestic (i.e. cooking, weaving, caring for the old and the children). Through these activities, they locate themselves in the public sphere as the carriers and symbols of national traditions and norms (Anthias and Yuval Davis 1993; Radcliff 1993). This gendered way of occupying public domains has been also noted by Shayne (2009) in relation to exile women in Vancouver. As in other cases, Chilean exile women have been key to voluntary work in the public domain (Taylor 2005), particularly for the labor involved in transnational social movements (Shayne 2009), including the overlapping between the voluntary and political sector (Sudbury 1995).

All in all, the public sphere has been the most central focus for scholars looking at Chilean exiles abroad *during the dictatorship*. Exiles' forms of public engagement have mostly been described as associative arenas of transnational solidarity. Yet, their value in providing a sense of belonging and continuity with 'the homeland' has been unattended. So it has been ignored these public terrains continuities and transformations. I argue that looking at them as part of a broader set of 'homing devices' might allow understanding of their continuity and changing nature. Equally important is the exploration of that 'official' public political realm's interaction with other informal scenarios linked to leisure and the private realm, going beyond their binary understandings. The politics of scenarios conceived as gregarious, and how actors make public and private domains collapse, are unexplored aspects which I elucidate in this research.

Returning, re-migrating and the re-invention of home

'Living with the suitcases at the ready' (*vivir con las maletas listas*) was a common and emblematic *motto* among Chilean exiles worldwide (Wright and Oñate 2005, 61; Kay 1987, 73). This expression portrays the dwelling of migrants, whose readiness for departure is inherent in their everyday lives (Knowles 2009). It reflects a *privately-shared* daily drama and a conflicting meeting point between the postponement of an actual homecoming and the inability, or unwillingness, to make a home in the host country at the beginning of their exile. For some of my research participants, 'living with the suitcase at the ready' distinguished exiles from Latin American 'economic' migrants. While the former were fighting for their right to return, the latter were defending their right to stay.

That metaphor materialized daily in people's lives in subtle ways. Luisa remembers that 'I never changed the curtains in my house, because always there was

the thing of going back'. Miguel initially resisted learning English due to this possible return. Alex remembers his family's wait for 'the blue envelope', a longed object, which would contain the letter informing them that his father was finally allowed to return to Chile with them. The yearning for a home was not simply imagined. From the very beginning, it manifested through material objects and practices – a desire for a home becoming grounded.

The end of the dictatorship in 1990 opened the possibility for an actual homecoming. Some Chilean exiles, however, made return trips before, after the mid-1980s when the regime allowed some of them to do so. Recovering their right to return distorted, once again, the interplay between the limitations and possibilities of movement (Van Hear 1998, 44). Rebolledo (2006) calls this route the '*des-exilio*'; a process in which exiles are not 'forced' to remain abroad and are entitled to 'go home'. Focusing on the experience of second generations, King and Christou (2011) call this process 'counter-diasporic movements' as it contra-rests the dispersion experienced at first.

During exile, myths of the homeland were nurtured. The treasured memories of home were often idealizations associated with the Chile of the 1970s: a place they hoped to find, reconstruct and recover. The literature describes return movements as experiences of profound disenchantment (Rebolledo 2006). The loss of political referents in Chile and the cultural gaps generated by both the temporal distance and the transformative experience of living in another country involved new dislocations. Alex reflects on his first return visit:

'We were living in the very artificial world created by the exile, where the optic with which one used to see Chile was created by what the people [from Chile] sent to us in relation to what we were expecting. When I went to Chile it astonished me how much Chile had changed. It was another country! And then I realized that exile is not a problem of distance, it is not a problem of being here

or there, of frontiers or territories, it's not a geographical problem. It is a temporal problem. We stayed exiled in time. To go back we needed a time machine, we didn't need an aeroplane.'

Even those who made clandestine trips – such as those photojournalists who were sent to Chile by the Chilean Committee for Human Rights (CCHR) – will come back with images and tales which highlighted (leftwing) political resistance and the vestiges of the UP. Chilean routes toward economic neoliberalism were only subtly depicted by them through ordinary scenes. These images are found in the exhibition that accompanies this thesis. They complement this account by depicting what exiles imagined and expected to find there, as well as the imaginings which infused their political mobilization and help them to continue with their daily life in London.

Exile adults and children and the British-born second generation did not inhabit the UK regularly going back to Chile for their holidays (cf. King et al. 2011). The first return visit often took place after the end of the seventeen year dictatorship. These were mostly 'exploratory trips' (Cornejo 2008) to see if the situation in Chile was adequate to do a definitive return. Before this 'reality check', as Alex called it, the Chilean diaspora had a collection of memories and stories of a place left behind mostly in the 1970s.

Rather than as a homecoming, returning was frequently experienced as an 'unsettling path' (Markowitz and Stefanson 2004). Many returnees lived a 'temporal disjuncture' (Rebolledo 2006) or what Levitt calls 'the ossification effect'. That is, a 'propensity of migrants to hold onto traditional values from the homeland', which, in turn, promotes a 'spatio-temporal disjuncture' between those who leave and those who stay (in King et al. 2011, 21). The time machine that Alex needed would allow him not only to come back to a place in which his principles and projects could still find validity, but also to find landscapes, ways of speaking, people's orientation and even monetary system that would facilitate his daily navigation in the city.

That disjuncture was also lived by exile children and the second generation. For Miguel, who arrived in London as an infant, Chile was 'the paradise waiting for me'. He describes his encounter with Chile as a 'sensory overload' – returning was also a corporeal experience (King and Christou 2011). He remembers the sounds, seeing the flag, eating *empanadas* and reviving a lot of tactile connections with things that – despite being familiar for him in London's 'Little Chile' – acquired a new aura there. 'My eyes couldn't anymore; so many Chilean things!' The initial surprise and enchantment turned soon towards demystification. There is a pivotal mundane encounter that made this mythical site become an ordinary place:

'When we arrived to Santiago, the first time that I saw was a grey pigeon ... I know that this will sound weird but I never-never thought that we had pigeons [in Chile]! In term of birds, they were all beautiful; all were like tropical, with colours and singing beautifully. When I arrived to the *Plaza de Armas* and I saw a pigeon I said "Look dad, a pigeon", and he told me "look at there, there are thousands!" And I looked at him and I asked "are there pigeons here?" ... I never, never in my life thought that there would be pigeons.'

Miguel adds,

'I mean [Chile] is beautiful, but the mountain they [first generation exiles] painted to us was a marvellous mountain! [referring to the iconic *Cordillera de los Andes*] where there is always snow and the sun hits in the morning and is always beautiful (laughs)... but a lot there is ugly, and it has pretty things too, like everywhere. It's a normal place.'

Particularly for exile children and the second generation, return visits moved between the joy of discovery and the disillusionment of demystification. After growing up 'dominated' by their parents' narratives of home (Hirsch 1996, 659), these trips served

for second generations and exile children to create their own versions of it. Their new versions of Chile emerged in dialogue with (and sometimes counteracting) the narratives of the previous generations. Rather than pure 'imaginative investment and creation' (ibid.), therefore, the following generations' ideas of Chile as 'home' are also reprocessed and re-appropriated through grounded experiences and actual diasporic inhabitations.

One of the main 'discoveries' during these trips 'back home' is the extended family. Visiting the grandparents, travelling across the country to get to know cousins, aunts and uncles, as well as listening to the ancestral family tales, are part of this 'exciting' adventure. Indeed, the houses of the relatives are frequent *topoi* in their memories of Chile (King et al. 2011). These places were where they could 'really connect'; 'It was like "the hub"', Alicia says. Daniel, a British-born second generation Chilean, describes his family house a 'cocoon': a safe, warm and protective 'nice atmosphere'.

The encounter with family, however, also involved confusion. In London, many Chileans developed bonds with other fellow exiles creating '*la familia del exilio*' – a form of fictive kinship based on elective bonds, mostly with those who were politically and personally alike. Daniel who 'grew up assuming that a family was 'like friends' explains:

'... the real family does not work like that. They are not friends necessarily. There are other sorts of things boiling on the surface ... A group of people who grow up together, not necessarily liking each other and fighting, which all sisters and brothers do. And some of them might end up friends and some of them might not talk to each other except for the gatherings.'

Travelling to Chile involved learning not only 'who' the family was, but also 'what' it is and 'how' it works. The fights and disagreements that 'all brothers and sisters have' were exacerbated by political stances. Having relatives with both left-wing and right-wing allegiances, *Pinochetistas* and *Allendistas*, would involve strong clashes during family meetings.

Both within and outside the family, many exiles, across generations, faced what the literature has called the 'myth of the golden exile'. This chimera, commonly projected by the Pinochet regime, has been described as the idea that exiles were 'enjoying a long vacation and a trip around the world' (Wright & Oñate 2004, 63). Experiencing some social mobility, knowing more about the world, acquiring professional degrees or saving money during exile were often seen as 'sins' which caused resentment, thus enhancing the myth of the golden exile (Wright and Oñate 1998, 221). Since London was perceived as an economically prosperous city, some returnees were seen as affluent, which caused discomfort and economic pressure.

On a national level, there was a widespread social amnesia and taboos about the dictatorship and exile. This made visiting Chile an alienating experience for many exiles. It was not easy for them to go back to a country where their experiences and stories were silenced (Rebolledo 2006). Alex remembers that 'when I went to Chile nobody asked me where I had been'. Alicia recalls that 'there was no one to whom I could talk about my experience'. In Chile, 'forgiveness' as well as highlighting the economic and political successes of the present, while denying the atrocities and scars of the past, were strategies of political consensus-building as means of advancing 'together' towards the future (Garces et al. 2000; Gomez-Barris 2009; Richard 2004). Nevertheless, for those who returned after years living abroad as exiles, and who had not participated in the cultivation of these tacitly accepted rules of forward-looking progress, these agreements caused an acute sense of displacement.

The perception of 'being different there' enhanced that sense of dislocation. This feeling of being out-of-place is recalled particularly by those who travelled 'back home' as teenagers or youth. In post-dictatorial Chile, their fashion styles, reflected in their clothes, hairstyles and bodily poses, would generate different reactions. Alicia recalls:

'... I didn't have enough information to interpret my experience and what I saw, and how people related to me. You know, things like: I'm going to a shopping mall or a big shop, wearing those jeans that were fashionable here, just full of rips. And I wore them [when I was] with my cousin who was coming from Sweden, and we were followed everywhere in the shop. 'Cause at the same time I had all my hair like... just a mess! Just how we would have it here... I felt different in Chile and I felt that people looked at me... and when I spoke in Spanish it was "where are you from?"'

Chileans' attitudes were also a reflection of the post-dictatorial Chilean society in which 'being different' was unusual. 'There's not any freedom here', Alicia used to think while looking at everyone 'dressing the same' in 'dark and grey' colours. What was fashionable and trendy for her in London (such as her messy style influenced by Ska), were perceived as inappropriate there.

Alicia felt different in Chile as much as she had while becoming a migrant as a child in the 1970s in the UK. This echoes the experience of other exile Children. Remembering when he was called 'the *gringo* from London',⁸ Miguel reflects:

'In Chile they accept you up to a certain point, but you will be always a foreigner. ... I'm Chilean but like a foreigner. And here the English people treat

⁸ Some of my interviewees remember being called 'gringo'; a label often used by Chileans to refer to people from Anglo-Saxon countries and accents, regardless racial complexity.

you like a foreigner as well: “you are from another country”, “you are not from here”. So when I was twenty years old [and went to Chile] I realized that I will always be a foreigner. It’s a reality and it’s hard...’

Knowles notes that migrants usually imagine the ‘homeland’ ‘as a place where the racially and ethnically defined alterity of migration dissolves, and where the right to “be” is not placed in questions, not scrutinised by others, and not the subject of political calculation’ (2003, 161). However, these trips have made them perceive themselves as ‘different from Chileans of Chile’, as Johanna says. ‘Passing’ as Chilean was as complex as passing for a British was in the past (cf. Ahmed 1999). This developed into a sense of discomfort and of being strangers in the homeland (Tsuda 2003). Returning was not a closing stage but the beginning of another for the diaspora (Askeland and Sønneland 2011) – new subjectivities and notions of home came into play.

The Chilean diaspora’s stays in Chile made the difficulties of a potential return became palpable. Getting a job, nationalizing their British-born children, validating professional titles and, in sum, making a life, were aspirations that proved to be tricky to achieve. After years away, exiles lacked a strong social web, which was crucial in a country where nepotism was a common tool of social mobility. The stigmas constructed around ‘exile’ made it difficult to build new social networks. As Johanna said, ‘it was like starting a completely new life’ – a ‘new life’ in a post-dictatorial context which was not precisely of economic prosperity. Nearly 40% of the population was living under the poverty line in 1990.⁹ The privatization of public services, lack of social benefits and high socio-economic inequality raised questions regarding Chile’s ability to provide them with a home. The general consensus among exiles in London is that the majority of those who returned were from the middle and upper classes. They had the cultural, social and economic capital to do so. Yet, there are no official figures regarding this.

⁹ At the end of the dictatorship Chile had 38% of poverty with 13% of people labelled as ‘homeless’, and a high concentration of the population in the lower and lower middle class (CASEN 2006).



'My schoolmates in the airport'. Santiago, 1994. By anonymous interviewee.

Returning was a distressing experience and a frustrated triumph for many Chilean exiles. Repatriation did not necessarily mean returning home (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 228-229). Indeed, in some cases, these trips developed a stronger bond with the UK (ibid., 206). Either after a few years living in Chile or immediately after their return, some of them pursued a process of 're-migration' to the UK. As Van Hear (1998) explains, this re-migration commonly involves more choices than constraints compared with the initial exile, but individuals also seem to be compelled due to various constraints.

'Even after coming "home", many returnees have not had a comfortable time [...] coupled with the depressed employment opportunities and the lack of familiarity with the "homeland", these have prompted counter movements back to the territory recently left.' (ibid., 234-5)

The exiles who stayed in the UK listened to stories about Chilean returnees, which discouraged returning for many of them. Also, having British-born children was a

landmark attaching them to the host country. It terminated or postponed their plans to return. The age of the children also made a difference. Those who had children under sixteen years old could still decide about their place of settlement, before they were (according to the British law) allowed to decide by themselves whether to stay in the UK or not.

‘Migration is a one way trip. There’s no “home” to go back to. There never was’ (Hall 1988, 44). Travelling back home, indeed, is an experience of discovery rather than one of re-encounter – the discovery of a family, of a different sensory landscape and of a context difficult to understand, and at times, even hostile. After these return movements, home appears, to use Hammond’s words, as ‘a variable term, one that can be transformed, newly invented, and developed in relation to circumstances in which people find themselves or chose to place themselves’ (quoted in Blunt and Dowling 2006, 228). Making oneself at home is a long and puzzling process.

Conclusion

In his contribution to the collaborative film *11'09'01 September 11* (piece “*United Kingdom*”) (2002), Ken Loach briefly touches upon the processes of becoming an exile, (non)returns and the meaning of home. He shows a Chilean exile who has remained living in the UK – someone whose position resembles those of many of my research participants. While writing a letter to USA citizens in the wake of ‘their September 11’, this man reminds them about their leaders’ cooperation with Pinochet to manifest the Chilean *coup d'état* on Tuesday 11 September 1973 – ‘the day they destroy our lives forever’, he says. He recalls his dreams as a young man living under socialism and the traumatic experiences as a political prisoner that followed. Closing his letter, as we see images of his family walking in a British park and we listen to the nostalgic rhythm of his voice, the contradictory character of ‘home’ comes to the fore. Home is connected

with Chile and, more fundamentally, to a place where his love ones can also belong. It is a place connected to a wider socio-political history as well. He says:

‘I cannot go back to Chile now, even though it is all I think about. Chile is my home but ... [silence] what happen to my children? ... They were born here in London ... I cannot send them to exile as I was. I cannot do that now... [silence] but I long to go home with all my heart...’

In this research, I explore the experiences of individuals who – for diverse reasons, motivations and circumstances – have decided to remain in the UK after the end of the dictatorship. These individuals, along with the new generations and as part of a wider social context, are making home in the multicultural and diasporic space of the UK, particularly in London. Following their experiences since the military coup – including their departure from Chile, detours before coming to the UK, early experiences of settlement and return trips – allows for an appreciation of the complex experiences of dislocations and relocations in connection with a changing socio-historic and political background. These experiences of home are inflected by class, generation and gender. Ethnicity and race are (re)made both here and there, as are ideas of home and the nation for them.

Considering the experiences of dislocation and estrangement that took place while still inhabiting Chile in the 1970s, and showing how individuals develop significant places of connection in new inhabited terrains, challenge essentialists approaches to home as origins and its straightforward connection to clearly delineated geographical locations. Home appears to be something complex and difficult to pin down. It becomes a process, always in a state of becoming in relation to historical and geopolitical conjunctures, and personal and communal circumstances.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework: toward a grounded approach to migration

This chapter presents the theoretical approaches through which I guide my inquiry on the experience of home, displacement and belonging of the Chilean diaspora. I start by introducing the continuities and distinctions among the notions of exile, expatriate and diaspora. This is an important discussion considering the shifting migratory profile of this group. Following this, I present particular ‘turns’ in diaspora studies. This includes the discussion of essentialist claims that fix diasporic belonging to a national or ethnic community and to a territory left behind. I contest diaspora’s understanding as a quantifiable and describable entity as well. I make also distinctions and identify overlaps between diasporic and transnational spaces. Subsequently, I discuss theoretical stances that understand ‘home’ and ‘belonging’ as *processes* rather than fixed, ontologically givens. In the last two sections, I discuss home in the field of migration studies and how diasporic social scenes can help expand understanding of home-making in a transnational and diasporic context.

From exile to diaspora

Exile and diaspora are not exclusive notions in this research but they express different dimensions of an intergenerational group of Chilean’s experiences of home, displacement and belonging. Given their changing relation to Chile and the UK, these concepts are applicable to their shifting status, subjectivities and experiences across the last four decades.

Exile is a form of forced migration that comprises recent migrants and also their descendants (see Castles 2003; FMO 2010). Forced migrants, Van Hear explains, are

'individuals or communities compelled, obligated or induced to move when otherwise they would chose to stay put; the force involved may be direct, overt and focused or indirect, covert and diffuse' (1998, 10). The notion of exile highlights that 'forced' character of migrants' first displacement which might be followed by less compulsory movements (ibid.). 'Exile', Peters says, 'suggests a painful or punitive banishment from one's homeland. Though it can be voluntary or involuntary, internal or external, exile generally implies a fact of trauma, an imminent danger, usually political, that makes the home no longer safely habitable' (Peters 1999, 19, quoted in Blunt and Dowling 2006, 219). Living as an exile involves a nostalgic connection with a territory; a territory felt as a painful loss that exiles aim to recover. They live in the host country with a sense of temporariness of the uprooting they expect to end with repatriation (Baumann 2010, 19).

Exiles and refugees, then, define migrant subjectivities mostly in relation to the country of origin – a place of 'longing' and 'desire', a site 'etched by memory and loss' (Knowles 2003, 165). Exiles are 'particular kind of migrants' who, as Knowles says, '[carry] an extra burden of marginality, which perhaps, occludes the marginality of other migrants, indeed all migrants' (ibid., 143). Even though the character of exiles' displacement and the global condition that frames their dislocations/relocations are explicitly political, other forms of migration are political too.

Roniger and Green (2007; see also Sznajder and Roniger 2009) describe Chilean exiles as people who, in the context of the Pinochet military coup, were expelled from the national territory or who escaped from it due to their political engagement and because their integrity and safety were at risk. The loss of their political citizenship rights and the inability to return during the dictatorship were the main outcomes of their political dissidence. As other experiences of exile demonstrate, Chilean exiles have been characterized by their engagement in political mobilization, supporting other refugees, demanding both their right to return and the end of the political oppression back home (Shayne 2008; Wright and Oñate 2007; Camacho 2009). Exile as a starting point allows for understanding of the politics of this group, the foundations

of the social scenes they generate and how they differentiate themselves from other Latin Americans in London. However, four decades after the military coup and almost twenty-five years after the end of the dictatorship, 'exile' is a relatively limited frame to comprehend the recent and current experiences of those Chileans making their homes in London today.

Some scholars use the word 'expatriate' interchangeably with 'exile' to refer to these Chileans who decided to stay abroad when, formally speaking, they could have made a return (Sznajder and Roniger 2007; Roniger and Green 2007). Although 'expatriates' literally means people who live outside their native country, within migration studies this term is often used to refer to the experience of white migrants who move from Western nations to less economically developed ones or those outside the West (Fechter and Walsh 2010; Knowles 2009). Becoming an expatriate often involves a search for particular lifestyles facilitated by cultural, socio-economic, historical and political conditions. Expatriation is linked to concepts of 'privileged migrants', 'mobile professionals' and 'life style migrants', amongst others.

Through social encounters, material culture, performances and ways of life, both exile and expatriation entail an implosion of the third world in the first world, of the periphery in the centre and vice versa (drawing on Chambers 1994). Both forms of migration exemplify how geographical mobility becomes a powerful and regular stratifying factor; both the expatriates' privileges and refugees' misery become 'global' (cf. Bauman 1998, 9, 74). The exiles' and expatriates' forms of dwelling are characterised by temporariness (mentioned above and observed in the case of Chilean exiles in the previous chapter); a form of dwelling that might well be a feature of migration in general (Knowles 2009, 61).

Exile, however, is a form of migration that contrasts with that of expatriates in the uneasy nature of the departure, which rather than by choice, is marked by 'urgency' and 'compulsion' (Knowles 2003, 152). Also, unlike the migratory movements of

expatriates, the experiences of Chilean exiles have often involved fleeing toward more economically developed countries. Even when exile has been a place for freedom and creativity (Kaminsky 1999; Shayne 2008), and for upward social mobility (Kay 1989), there are ethnic/racial aspects and geopolitical conditions not necessarily linked to privileges. Chilean exiles' and Latin Americans' situations, for example, differ from that of migrants from countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Republic of South Africa, who more often than not do 'not count as "immigrants" because the mask of whiteness renders them invisible', Back says (2007, 36). Therefore, I will not call Chileans and Latin Americans living in London 'expatriates', but I will consider this distinction as a productive contrast.

The notion of diaspora can provide a suitable framework to explore this intergenerational group of exiles' shifting experience of home, displacement and belonging in The UK. It is important to bear in mind, however, that not all diasporas result from exile. As Cohen notices, they also emerge from geographical dispersion motivated by the pursuit of trade, colonial ambitions or the search for work (1997). Yet, for the case in question, it is central to address the connection between exile and diaspora. 'Diaspora', after all, traditionally refers to those migrants whose geographical dispersion follows a forced exodus and traumatic historic upheavals (ibid.).

While reflecting on the Chilean experience, Bolzman (2002) proposes that exile comprises the first stage in the formation of a diaspora. Hence, rather than using the notion of diaspora to straightforwardly describe the transnational experiences that exiles and refugees are 'forced' to live (cf. Wahlbeck 2002), temporality and settlement process need to be attended. To use Cohen's words, 'time has to pass' for a group of exiles to become a diaspora (Cohen 1997, 185). In this vein, King and Christou have suggested that what distinguishes a diaspora is its 'historical continuity across at least two generations, a sense of the possible permanence of exile and the broad spread and stability of the distribution of populations within the diaspora' (King and Christou 2008, 3-4). What is at stake is an 'enduring consciousness of living away from home, adapted to the new social and cultural context' (Baumann 2010, 23). Diaspora involves the

development of new identities and ties in places of arrival (Gilroy 1997, in Alexander 2010, 112-3). Shared traumas and experiences of marginalization create new allegiances and solidarities, as well as particular forms of engagement with the local context. This is a process through which exiles come to create diasporic spaces with a wider milieu (Ramírez 2014).

For Clifford (1994; 1997), while exile is a more intimate experience, defined by geopolitical national boundaries, diaspora is a collective dimension of the dispersion experienced, which involves diverse forms of border crossing and belonging connections.

‘Diaspora is different from travel (though it works through travel practices) in that it is not temporary. It involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home (and in this it is different from exile, with its frequently individualistic focus).’ (1994, 308)

The importance of temporality suggests that not only a place left behind matters. Through long-standing inhabitation, also the places where they (re)make a home come to matter.

In this research, while avoiding conflating them, I will use ‘exile’ and ‘diaspora’ to refer to my research participants. Both allow exploration into this group’s subjective and social formations in connection to changing personal, national and global circumstances. Firstly, I used both to refer to first generation Chileans who entered to the UK as refugees mostly in the 1970s. I use the notion of exile because this is what they call themselves. They often underlie the endless status of exile (Said 1991) while talking about the historical marginalization of their experiences by the Chilean State. In addition, I use the notion of diaspora to talk about both first and second generations. This is suitable to describe them as individuals and, overall, as part of a ‘community’

which is continually actualised and re-made (Amit 2002). That is, as a social formation in process that emerges in relation to different spaces, practices and claims (Alexander 2011), and in connection to particular events (Alexander 2013; Ramírez 2013; Werbner 2002). To talk about exiles' children, along with that one of 'diaspora', I will refer to 'British-born Chilean Londoners' and 'second generation Chilean exiles'. These notions capture their belonging to a collective history and their complex identification with the UK and Chile.

Diaspora as a process

In the classic approach diaspora is construed as strongly orientated to a 'homeland', from which a traumatic dispersion has been experienced, toward which an ideology of return has arisen (Safran 1991). This is based on the Jewish 'ideal type' that prescribes (or roots) migrant groups' orientations and belongings to particular territories and communities. Under this prism, diaspora's relation with the host society involves tensions and marginalization as a minority, and communities are bounded along the lines of blood and nation (Tölölyan 1996). Considering the archetypal diasporas – such as the Jewish and the Afro-Caribbean (Gilroy 1993) – as well as a wider spectrum of diasporas, Cohen (1997) has made an important point by stating that the sole focus on the 'victim tradition' obscures the opportunities and enriching experiences that movement to a place far from the homeland can bring. He proposes diverse kinds of non-victim diasporas (i.e. labour, imperial, trade and cultural diasporas), of which an individual may be part of one or more. As Brah has stated, diasporas are not only places of loss, mourning and trauma, but also 'potentially the sites of hope and new beginnings' (1996, 193).

Brubaker (2005) has mapped the changes and continuities, commonalities and divergences in the way diaspora's core constitutive elements have been defined across time. He identifies three main features: dispersion, homeland orientation and

boundary-maintenance. Given the changeable use of the concept across time, however, these widely accepted criteria have been increasingly weakened. Dispersion is the most accepted criteria. It is often defined as traumatic or forced. It involves crossing the state borders and settling in diverse nations (ibid., 5). In relation to this feature, Sköfeld has proposed that transnational dispersion does not produce a diaspora, but individuals become part of one by developing, even years later, a 'discourse' of common belonging to a collectivity (2006, 267). More concretely, Sköfeld says a diaspora involves social mobilization, which is given by political opportunities and structural conditions that frame and enable particular practices. Therefore, rather than given, diasporas are historically contingent and linked to particular structural, social and personal processes. Imagination, ethnicity and nation of those dispersed do not secure dispersed people belongingness to a diaspora.

'Home' and 'dispersion' are notions in 'creative tension' for diasporic belongings (Brah 1996, 192-3). King and Christou (2011) propose that return movement counteracts dispersion and unsettles conceptions of displacement as a linear move from one origin to multiple destinations. Back and forth movements, including trips to the sending country and other territories, suggest circulatory regimes of movement and multiple mobilities (ibid., 459). As the previous chapter illustrated, detours and diversions before reaching the final destinations also draw nonlinear paths. Return movements are process that some scholars have called 'counter-diasporic' (King and Christou 2008) or 'de-diasporisation' processes that 'reverse the scattering' (Van Hear 1998, 4). Therefore, 'dispersion from home' does not seem sufficient to explain the (re)making of diasporas.

The orientation to an imagined or actual homeland is one of the most prominent features of the classic diaspora and one of the most critically discussed by anti-essentialist critics. Four of the six criteria Safran proposed concern this homeland orientation (Brubaker 2005, 5). These include: the maintenance of myths and memories about the homeland; its conception as a natural and ideal home to which diasporas should and may eventually return; an engagement with the homeland's

prosperity and protection, added to its restoration and preservation; and finally, a continuous relation with the homeland, either personally or publicly, which shapes diasporic people's solidarities and identities. Yet, as Olsson (2009) has shown regarding Chileans in Sweden, 'homeland orientation' changes in relation to specific socio-historical contexts. Historical specificity and social change, therefore, need to be addressed.

Clifford claims the everydayness of 'transnational identity formations' is not properly acknowledged by 'exclusivist paradigms' (1994, 304). Some diasporas such as the South Asian or the African-American/Caribbean-British, he states, are not 'so much oriented to roots in a specific place and a desire for return as around an ability to recreate a culture in diverse locations' (ibid., 306). The Jewish tradition offers only the basis for 'a discourse that is travelling or hybridizing in new global conditions' (ibid.). Diasporas do not simply reside in a particular place, but in beliefs, identities, practices and forms of representations (Cohen 1997). These provide an 'imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation' (Hall 1990, 224-5), and also become the means through which diasporas can challenge the nation-state (Cohen 1996).

Diasporas make 'home away from home', a process involving an ongoing dialogue between remembered homes and those presently inhabited (Clifford 1994; Brah 1996). Brah's notion of 'homing desire' described earlier (p. 11) has been productive in opening an invitation to consider diasporas' lives in their places of residence and the process of 'home-making' that emerges there (Blunt 2003; Blunt and Dowling 2006). Rather than looking at 'diaspora' as an entity, the notion of 'homing desire' considers subjects' particular locations and the making of 'diaspora space'. Here, diaspora is associated with cultural outcomes, in which creolized life-styles, hybrid spaces and forms of syncretism emerge in the places of settlement. In other words, diaspora is construed as inseparable from desiring, searching and making home. Both home and diaspora, therefore, are active processes rather than clearly delineated entities, oriented to a place left behind.

The third criterion prominent in the definitions of diaspora is 'boundary-maintenance' (Brubaker 2005, 6-7). This notion involves the preservation of distinctive communities and identities in the places of settlement, solidarities that also extend across national borders forming a single 'transnational community'. Such distinctive communities can emerge as resistance to assimilation or as a consequence of social exclusion. Indeed, the word 'diaspora' itself has been often used to signify the experience of marginalised ethnic or racial minorities (Alexander 2010, 113). In this sense, Knowles and Alexander claim that diaspora – and particularly Brah's criticism of the idea of fixed origins – 'plays a significant part in challenging racist politics. It insists that people can live anywhere, making new homes away from home: that there is not any primordial connection between race and place' (Alexander and Knowles 2005, 8). The preservation of a sense of collective displacement is politically inflicted; 'otherwise diasporic people would simply melt, if they were allowed to, into their new landscapes' (Knowles 2003, 160). These boundaries are made in relation to experiences in the host society, not only in relation to their common origin.

The idea of belongingness to a (given) distinctive ethnic or national community has led some commentators to criticize the notion of diaspora for its essentialist character. They claim diaspora is still based on earlier paradigms of race or ethnicity, since it tends to see identities and communities as naturally resulting from migration and being naturally rooted in a distant 'home' (Glick-Schiller et al. 2006; Anthias 1998). Diaspora comprises then 'a trope for nostalgia' (Soysal 2002, 138). It reifies ideas of nation-state, race/ethnicity and community and homogenises the 'belongings' of some segments of the population¹⁰. These critics also challenge the conception of diasporic communities as empowering, as it overlooks the fact that these communities can also

¹⁰ Such an unproblematic idea of 'diaspora' would be given, to a large extent, by the often taken for granted and un-reflexive use of the word 'community' which assumes that subjects with, for example, a similar cultural heritage, physical features and geographical origin automatically 'belong' to particular communities (for a review and discussion see Alleyne 2002; Amit and Rapport 2002). In this respect, micro-studies, such as those based on biographical and ethnographic exploration of experiences of migration and settlement (Olwing 2002; Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004; Knowles 2009) have been crucial to undermining assumptions based on homogenising categories of migrants.

have an alienating, oppressive and authoritarian character (Anthias 1998; Gilroy, in Bell 1999a).

Discussion of the essentialist use of the notion of 'diaspora' helps to problematize the idea of *diaspora community*. The formation of 'communities' for those who share 'ethnicity', 'race' and geographical roots/routes should not be taken for granted (Olwing 2002; Alleyne 2002). Actually, the notion of 'diaspora' can potentially obscure power imbalances and differences existing within migrant groups by gender, sexuality, generation, class and other attributes (Fortier 2000; Cvetkovich 2003). A 'reference to a politics of location' (Brah 1996, 116; Blunt and Rose 1994; Yuval-Davis 2006), as 'a form of situated dwelling' (Ahmed 2006, 5), allows consideration of how these distinctions operate in different terrains.

It is important to distinguish diasporic 'communities' residing in discourses and affective loyalties, from those actualised through social interaction and a set of social affairs (Amit 2002; Back 2009). The 'boundary-maintenance' might persist across generations mostly as 'moral project' (Back 2009), while in practice, the erosion of such boundaries could be taking place. The retaining of bonds and a sense of common collective history does not prevent diasporas from creating new allegiances and ties. In other words, diasporic people might describe, remember and yearn their 'communities' as entities bounded around the 'original' nation or ethnic group. However, processes of 'hybridity, fluidity, creolization and syncretism' might be taking place – processes that signal the mitigation of such boundaries and the adaptation of their ties and solidarities (Brubaker 2005, 6). Social scenes led by diasporic 'communities' sometimes incorporate migrants from wider regions (e.g. South Asians or Latin Americans in The UK) and also 'locals' (e.g. British people), rather than people from a single nation. Diaspora is neither limited to the nation nor fully cohesive and homogenous. Internal distinctions and a blending of actors, sometimes with dissimilar migrant trajectories, give shape to complex diasporic scenes (Werbner 2010; 2006; Ramírez 2014).

In de-emphasizing a traditional approach to diaspora, which sets clear criteria for its classification, diaspora has been conceptualised as shaped by transnational flows, inter-cultural exchanges and border crossing. This process entails changing solidarities beyond the nation (Anthias 1998; Mavroudi 2007; Askeland and Sønneland 2011). Mavroudi conceptualises diasporas as 'both bounded and unbounded, as well as a process; a process that involves dynamic negotiations between collective, strategic, and politicised identities and individual flexible, hybrid and multiple identities' (in Askeland and Sønneland 2011, 5). Diaspora should not be used, then, as a descriptive and objectifying measurement through which diasporas can be classified and counted (cf. Sheffer 2003). Brubaker proposes that 'rather than speak of "a diaspora" or "the diaspora" as an entity, a bounded group, an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact, it may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on' (Brubaker 2005, 13). Brubaker's approach construes diaspora as a 'category of practice', which 'does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it' (2005, 12).

In dialogue with Brubaker's distinction between 'diaspora' as 'descriptive tool or as a process', Alexander proposes to differentiate between 'the empirical' and 'the metaphorical' diaspora (2010; 2013). Following Hall's (1990) invitation to look at diaspora 'metaphorically as well as literally', the emphasis is on 'heterogeneity and diversity', in an "'identity" that lives with and through, not despite, difference' (Hall 1990, 235, quoted in Alexander 2010, 115). Diaspora is a process in which, Alexander notes, 'old identities take on new formations' (2010, 115). The concern is with the spaces and potentialities opened up in the place where the diaspora resides. Rather than in separateness, the attention would be in modes of engagement with the place of settlement. Alexander explains:

'The metaphorical diaspora is more concerned with the "here" than "there", it is similarly focused on the present and the future, rather than the past – or perhaps more accurately, the past is imagined and narrated as a way of positioning the present and addressing the future' (Alexander 2010, 116)

The Chilean diaspora of London has many 'descriptive' features that fit with the traditional definition of 'diaspora'. Its worldwide dispersion, engagement in homeland oriented politics (particularly during the 1970s and 1980s) and the maintenance of solidarities have led some scholars to use this paradigm (Wright and Oñate 2005). Yet return movements, changing historical contexts and involvement with both other migrant groups and their hosts societies across time have involved a turn toward a less essentialist stance (Askeland and Sønneland 2011; Olsson 2009; Ramírez 2014). The Chilean diaspora allows both approaches to be critically combined: analysing diasporas as entities and processes, looking at them metaphorically and empirically, while showing the tensions between both. In this research I attend the historical dimension of the Chilean diaspora's experiences, the particularities of their journeys and routes, in dialogue with their actual engagement with their 'new homes'.

From transnational spaces to diasporic spaces

Some authors use the terms 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism' interchangeably. Yet, despite being overlapping and related notions, they describe distinctive processes (see a discussion in Faist 2010). Both make reference to interconnections between migrants' old and new homes. The *transnationalism* approach considers these aspects by focusing on spaces, on everyday practices, on a variety of social organizations and lifestyles which are formed across national borders (Portes 1997; Vertovec 1999; Faist 2000). Transnational spaces sustain and bridge the socio-cultural distinctions between migrants' countries of origin and destination (Levitt et al 2003). They comprise 'social fields' that are locally experienced and extended beyond national frontiers, expressing the interdependence between the global and local dimensions of migrant lives (Glick-Schiller et al 1992; Glick-Schiller and Çağlar 2009). Transnational migrants create 'corridors', Guarnizo (2003) says, through remittances and political, economic and cultural activities. New homes and subjectivities emerge as the result of diverse forms of circulations that link two or more nation states (Basch 1994). Looking Latin

Americans in London, McIlwaine (2011) makes the point that transnational processes, spaces and communities also provide important resources to cope with the challenges imposed by migrants' new places of residence and often precarious life circumstances.

In line with the recent shifts in diaspora studies just described, some scholars have claimed that transnational spaces and interactions should be viewed beyond 'ethnic lenses', as well as decentring the nation as the focal point while studying transnationalism (Glick-Schiller et al. 2006; 1999; Harney and Baldassar 2007; Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002). Both ethnicity and nation would tend to obscure agency, as well as other facets of settlement and transnational connections. Yet, while making a similar move, diaspora studies call to mind the historical grievance of diasporas and the politics involved in keeping a sense of that historic specificity.

Diasporas participate in transnational organizations and activities, but the diasporic dimension transcends the transnational one in temporal-spatial terms; it also involves more complex allegiances (Van Hear 1998). Levitt asserts that diaspora would 'form out of the transnational community spanning sending and receiving countries and out of the real and imagined connections between migrants from a particular homeland who are scattered throughout the world' (in Brettel 2006, 329). In this definition, the wider range of locations in which the diaspora is dispersed (wider than those of transnational migrants) (King and Christou 2011, 456) is an important factor to understand their experiences and subjectivities.

Also, while transnationalism is related to general processes of globalization in the contemporary world (Wahlbeck 2002), and is expressed in life-styles, forms of social organization and everyday practices, diaspora is related to particular forms of consciousness – such as an awareness of being 'here' and 'there' (Vertovec 1999, 449-51). Diasporas' complex forms of dwelling are entwined with 'roots' and 'routes', 'lived' and 'remembered' or 'desired' places, experiences of 'separation' and 'entanglements' (Clifford 1994, in Knowles 2003, 159-60). This way of living is inevitably political, as it

constructs the personal diasporic subjectivity in relation to a 'here and there', which is also part of a wider collective history. Transnational social formations, on the other hand, do not usually account for the political implications of migrants' attachments, attachments that, from a diasporic vantage point, require time to pass to materialize. 'Diasporas are about myths and dreams and personal and collective journeys: the collision of personal and collective/ political topographies', Knowles says (2003, 160).

Furthermore, as Brah has stated, 'not every journey can be understood as a diaspora' (1996, 182). Diasporas' collective experiences of *dispersion* come together with socio-historic specificities and geopolitical complexities. This makes difficult to match diaspora with other transnational formations (Brah 1996; Gilroy 1987). Given their 'historical grievance' (King and Christou 2011, 455), affective and political, personal and structural mechanisms are at stake in diasporas' dislocations and relocations. Diasporic spaces not only bridge two or more destination countries but they also involve encounter, dialogue and tensions among 'migrants' and their 'hosts'. These spaces re-arrange memories, articulate unfinished conversations and grant expression to ineffable histories (Roach 1996). This research strongly considers the historical and geopolitical specificity of the Chilean diaspora. Migrants' home-making practices are inseparable from the initial conditions in which they migrate.

Gilroy's conception of a 'circum-Atlantic world' shows this process by drawing a diasporic space made of multiple journeys and flows, and in relation to memories and histories which, despite being unspeakable, cannot remain eternally inexpressible (Gilroy 1994; Roach 1998). More specifically, the 'Black Atlantic' expresses 'a counter history of modernity' (Gilroy 1994, 320), which brings to light experiences (such as slavery) that remain hidden and forgotten in dominant narratives of progress and modern rationality. These histories come to life in objects, landscapes, cultural artefacts, and mundane or ceremonial performances that look at both places of origin and places of arrival (Gilroy 1993; Roach 1998; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Alexander 2013). The Black Atlantic enunciates an alternative public sphere made through inter-mixing and transcultural forms, and by linking the local and the global. In the diasporic space

proposed by Gilroy, the ship crossing the Atlantic, rather than the soil left behind or the one inhabited, is what suffuses the African diaspora's hybrid identities and cultural belongings.

While for Gilroy that diasporic space denotes deterritorialised identities and homes, Brah's conception of diaspora space brings to the fore the multiple connections that emerge within inhabited places. Diaspora space does not only involve those who arrive; both those who are construed as 'others' and those conceived as 'indigenous' belong to it. This concept is what Brah refers to as 'the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of staying put' (1996, 181). Ahmed expands on this point:

'Diasporic spaces do not simply begin to take shape with the arrival of migrant bodies; it is more that we only notice the arrival of those who appear "out of place." Those who are "in place" also must arrive; they must get "here," but their arrival is more easily forgotten, or is not even noticed' (Ahmed 2006, 9-10)

The above suggests that, rather than looking at diasporas as well-delineated 'entities', different forms of place-making should be examined. Diasporic spatialities challenge taken-for-granted national boundaries set by The UK's post-colonial order. 'Diaspora spaces' (Brah 1996) and 'third spaces' (Bhabha 2004) are notions that conceptualize such multicultural, hybrid and convivial places where diasporic migrants meet their hosts (Gilroy 2004). It is important, therefore, to develop an approach that attends those encounters as well as other instances of intermixing, even if they are ephemeral and changing.

Empirical accounts of those encounters among migrants and hosts, as well as long-settled and incoming migrants, in transnational and diaspora space are sparse. Not much has been said about the mundane ways in which migrants and hosts negotiate their 'distinct' histories (Huyssen 2007). This is particularly true for 'new

diasporas' whose connection with the UK has not been clearly acknowledged. How 'new diasporas' and 'new migrants' (such as Latin Americans) negotiate their historical and geopolitical specificity, and make their trajectories visible, need still be attended from a diasporic frame. How different generations participate in these terrains and how temporality pervades new diasporic groups' place-making, also needs closer exploration. This research offers a glimpse on that.

Home

In his renowned text, *Building, Dwelling, Thinking*, Heidegger stated that 'to be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell' (1975, 147), an assertion which gives 'dwelling' an ontological character by presenting it as intrinsic to being in the world. Dwelling produces and is produced by building. Through it individuals 'stay on things' through a '*locus*' (i.e. house) which 'bridges' humans with their wide-ranging surroundings. The locus permits them to develop their very being and connect to a broader scenario, as well as sacred and cosmological principles. Building (and dwelling) is accomplished by both *constructing* and *cultivating*. While the first one is the physical act of erecting places and classifying objects, the latter is the practical act of preserving and nurturing home. In other words, in Heidegger's thinking, dwelling is essential to being, and it is pursued in relation to a material and stable environment (the locus), in which the body is a medium to build and nurture the dwelling place.

Other phenomenologists have suggested that the body is not the medium for a dwelling only, but 'home' – and even the world itself – emerges within the embodied perceiver (cf. Bachelard 1994 [1969]; Merleau Ponty 2002 [1962]). This connection with the body potentially makes home realisable beyond the materiality of the '*locus*'. According to Bachelard's *Poetics of Space* (1994), home is a sanctuary that comprises localisable, regular, and familiar ways of dwelling. Here one feels protected from the

intrusions and threats of the outside world. Home is a place of self-realisation, which gives one the heaven needed to 'dream in peace' (1994, 6). This affective construction of the 'locus' is the result of the interplay of memory, emotions, perceptions, and the *bodily experience of previously inhabited places*. All of these are bound together by 'daydreaming', an act of solitude and intimacy that connects memories of home to the places of the present.

Like Bachelard, Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1962]) also highlights the importance of bodily experience and memories of other places, but the role of the body in home-making is taken further. Jacobson (2009) reminds us that 'being-at-home' – a notion integral to Merleau-Ponty's philosophy – is a way of being that comprises *passivity*, in terms of remaining in the background of experience and beyond the grasp of consciousness. Yet it is also an *activity*, since being-at-home is also something people attain. Like home, the body gives a foundation and stability to the self. However, neither the body nor the home is straightforwardly given, but one learns to inhabit both (ibid.). Through a learnt process of inhabitation and habituation, people manage their bodies in the face of disruption and unsettling conditions, and they (re)make their homes in changing circumstances.

Following Merleau-Ponty's thinking, Jacobson equates home with the body, stating that one 'carries' one's home wherever one goes. 'In each case, the person draws on some familiar habit and interest to find a way of settling herself into a surrounding that does not belong to her'. Indeed, 'we can travel to what is ostensible a new place, but fail to experience it as new, because we have retained our habitual way of living, our habitual way of being at home' (2009, 369). Therefore, home is a way of being in which a place is claimed as one's own by re-locating one's bodily being. However, is one only dependant on one's bodies to be-at-home? Is it this bodily knowledge that secures the possibility of making a place for oneself in the world? The previous chapter demonstrated how Chilean exiles relocated their forms of sociality through leisure and politics within semi-public and public domains since the very moment of their arrival (e.g. in the 'Refugee Hotel', *la cancha* and through the CSC). Yet

some encounters with the local context (e.g. the neighbourhood) also made some contexts feel unhomey. Even in Chile, an ongoingly inhabited and familiar place, the sense of home was unsettled after the dictatorship.

From the phenomenologists briefly introduced earlier, I take the idea of home as a place of connection with memories and wider surroundings, whilst also recognising the importance of the body in developing 'home'. For example, Heidegger has presented home as linked through a locus which, despite being fixed, works as place of connection with a broader milieu. Unlike Heidegger, however, I consider process of *cultivating* over those of *constructing* home (see Young 2002). Through social scenes I look at these acts of cultivation through diasporic practices and active exchanges with material and social milieus. The body is not simply a medium to build and nurture the dwelling place, as Heidegger suggests, but home emerges through those very practices and exchanges; exchanges that can take place beyond the fixed locus. This idea converses with Merleau-Ponty and Bachelard, for whom home is intimately related to bodily experiences and recollections. However, some scholars have argued that these positions in general, and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology in particular, appear to lack an account of 'social structure' (Howson and Inglis 2001; cf. Crossley 2001). The consequence of this lack is the masking of the way in which the body, like home, is made in relation to a wider physical environment and broader socio-historical context.

Relocating in new settings does not depend solely on the ability to re-place what is familiar and known. Despite efforts to re-locate one's body and invoke what is familiar, new settings can be challenging for the body. The sense of estrangement involved in migration is an embodied experience that involves, as Ahmed says, a 'spatial reconfiguration of the embodied self' (Ahmed 1999, 342). Moving to another home is lived through unanticipated sensations. Smells, sounds and the sensations in the skin are part of this process. Leaving a home, arriving to a new place and returning home, are feelings of a body being 'out of place'. This process is experienced as a corporeal 'failure of memory', an experience 'of [home] not being inhabited in the same way by that which appears as familiar' (1999, 343). Relation to external

environments – and not only inner worlds – affect one’s ability to make home in new settings.

Along with a new physical environment, the social milieu also matters. To omit this dimension of home is to ignore that some bodies are ‘at home’ more easily than others, within particular contexts (Ahmed 2006; 2000). Indeed, the sense of estrangement felt by some might be greater when the social context is one of hostility. Beliefs about certain bodies ingrained in host societies motivate forms of exclusion and discrimination experienced as racism and gender discrimination (Shilling 2003). In these cases, the relocation of one’s (objectivised) body can be experienced as acute alienation from our new places of settlement (e.g. Fanon 2008). ‘It is quite possible to feel at home in a place and, yet, the experience of social exclusions might inhibit proclamations of the place as home’ (Brah 1996, 193).

The essentialization of the biological body has historically sustained social inequalities and defined *ex-ante* people’s belonging to different social groups and social spheres in relation their physical features. Not only ethnicity and race count in this process, but also gender and sexuality. For instance, as Shilling (2003) notes, the idea of women’s ‘weak’ and ‘unstable’ bodies and ‘fragile minds’ has served to relegate them to the private sphere of the household. Conversely, men’s main domain - based on their naturalized superiority in body and mind - has been traditionally associated with the public sphere of life, where sporting and political activities take place (Shilling 2003, 53-61). Equally, the assumed ‘sexy-ness’ of the Latin female body and the idea that Latin people are ‘natural body performers’ exemplify some of the ways in which the body as a natural place of difference still persist and serve, sometimes tacitly, to reinscribe ideas of racial/ethnic and gender inferiority (Roman-Velazquez 2006).

Receiving validation of one’s bodily being is a key aspect in the search for a ‘home’ in relation to others, which stresses the point that inner and outer worlds are deeply entangled.

‘Rather than being reduced to their bodies, these [migrant] individuals are able to maintain or regain a sense of self-respect by receiving favourable recognition of their bodily being from *others*. This illustrates the broader point that transcendence is not something that occurs on the basis of isolated, completely privatized techniques, but has a social and practical foundation.’ (Shilling 2008, 165-6)

In looking at the relationships between individuals’ bodies and their environment, society and self, attention is turned to ‘embodiment’. This is the process through which individuals are able to transcend their pure organic being, attending to their own and each other’s bodies to engage in meaningful social action with their wider surroundings (Shilling 2008; Howson 2004; Ingold 2000). This ‘embodied’ dimension of dwelling is important considering the experiences of home, displacement and belonging of exiles and refugees, who often cannot participate in the ‘physical’ construction of a home (as a built environment). Understanding home as embodied is also attuned with ways of dwelling, which are both peripatetic and grounded (Ahmed et al. 2003). Conceiving ‘home’ as embodied implies that it is not a fixed state of being, but is a *process*, the material manifestations and meanings of which are continually being made and re-made through biography, everyday routines and interactions (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Knowles 2003). Home and belonging is then a performative achievement rather than given (Bell 1999b; Fortier 2000).

The notion of embodiment allow exploration of how ‘people-in-motion’ relate with a ‘city-in-process’ (Knowles 2009). It provides the lens through which I see the ‘practice of moving across a moving environment’ in relation to future conditions or locations, and in consideration of past experiences, present circumstances and actual inhabited places (Vigh 2010). The embodiment lens also allows examination of the body as a ‘site of culture’, which, through social performance, becomes both a ‘source’ and ‘place’ of collective memories and history (Connerton 1989; Wulf 2005). In line

with this discussion, in what follows I will explain how an embodied understanding of home and home-making has been catalytic in migration studies.

Home and migration

Home and migration appear to be interdependent and deeply related notions (Ahmed et al. 2003; Brah 1996; Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Rapport and Dawson 1998; Brettel 2006), a connection that is not free of controversy. Some scholars have claimed that in an era of global movement - made of migrant mobility and flows - belonging and subjectivities have become deterritorialized and disconnected from place (Appadurai 1996; Chambers 1994). Rapport and Dawson (1998) have asserted that conceiving 'home' as being placed in a fixed scenario has become analytically and conceptually limited, particularly for those who reside as migrants. They construe dwelling as being created in movement and, moreover, movement itself comes to the fore to constitute migrants' very sense of home. This position emphasises home as 'dwelling-in-travel', an emphasis on migrant 'routes' rather than 'roots' (Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1993). While the latter makes reference to a fixed original homeland, the former is centred on mobile, multiple and often deterritorialized forms of dwelling¹¹.

Contesting the idea of migrants' lives as being 'deterritorialized', other social scientists have stated that even though belonging, dwelling and subjectivity are mobile,

¹¹ This idea of 'dwelling-in-travel' (Clifford 1997, 2), and of a home made through movement, rather than through a fixed place of dwelling, is an important assumption of the 'new mobility paradigm' in sociology (Sheller and Urry 2006). This is located 'beyond societies' and its focal points are 'mobilities of people, objects, images, information and wastes', as well as physical, virtual and imaginative travels, which are pursued within and beyond each society's territory (Urry 2000, 1-3). This focus on movement would be fruitful to approach migration, diasporas and transnationalism (see Urry 2000, Ch. 6) because it stands beyond 'static categories of nation, ethnicity, community, place and state' (Hannam et al 2006, 10, in Blunt 2007, 685). However, Shilling asserts that even though addressing movement is crucial to understand migrants' dwelling experiences, sociological discussions about global movement and flows 'often fail to provide any real sense that it is breathing, sweating, talking, embodied subjects who engage in these movements' (2008, 85; see also Knowles 2010). As a result, Shilling argues, the relevance of local places and subjects' reflexive and corporeal engagement in their processes of motility is often underestimated.

fluid and flexible, they are also grounded in place (Ahmed et al. 2003; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Smith 2005). Developing this point radically, Katie Walsh (2006) states that migrants' mobility, rather than leading to detachment, promotes a stronger desire for grounded belonging. Migrant experience is one of permanent tension, in which *'being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; [and] being mobile is not necessarily about being detached'* (Ahmed et al 2003, 1). My research contributes to this understanding of home, in which migrants' sense of belonging is not achieved by being settled in one place, but it is an ongoing experience of dislocation and relocation. Through processes of displacement and re-placement home becomes a process which is always in the making and of migration a shifting relationship between movement and attachment. This converses with a conceptualization of diaspora and diasporic belonging as 'a process' (Mavroudi 2007) that is however 'situated' through affective, symbolic and embodied connections (Brah 1996, 184; Ahmed et al. 2003; Kowles 2003; Fortier 2000; Alexander 2013).

Migrants' complex form of dwelling has many facets. Their experience of home not only involves transnational connections with places that are geographically distant, but also with times and memories that are unapproachable from the present. The very meaning of the word 'nostalgia' refers to the relationship between memory and home. As Blunt notices, 'the term "nostalgia" comes from the Greek *nostos* for a return home, and *algos* for pain, and implies homesickness and a yearning for home' (2003, 720). This notion construes home as an elusive and distant entity that is suppressed in the lived experience of locality. It reflects sadness and longing for a home which is not part of one's present, but which remains behind and before it.

In order to overcome the 'suppression of home' that the word 'nostalgia' implies, Blunt develops the notion of 'productive nostalgia'. This notion proposes that home is *'embodied and enacted in practice* rather than solely in the imagination, and [this is] a longing that was oriented toward the future as well as toward the past and to a sense of place that was proximate and distant' (2003, 719, my emphasis). With productive nostalgia, home-making practices forge diverse forms of embodied

connections through which subjects are able to re-locate themselves, developing a sense of attachment and belonging to the present. Productive nostalgia is neither apolitical nor it is simply based on feelings of mourning, but it has a 'liberatory potential'. It involves home-making practices which, according to Blunt, aim 'to establish an independent homeland' in migrant and postcolonial contexts (2003, 22). Home-making practices also materialize diaspora's daily struggle against cultural loss or assimilation, giving visibility in the present to a past of migration (Tolia-Kelly 2004). In the face of constraining ideologies and discourses, home can potentially emerge as a place of agency as much as a place of resistance. Rather than being merely based on reproduction, it becomes a place of inventiveness and oriented toward the present and the future.

The notion of productive nostalgia is in line with my grounded approach to migration. Yet I propose that the memories actualised through home-making can also be those of the host society's past eras; memories of collective engagement with the local context and community life 'here' also become materialised in the present.

Considering the diverse forms through which home can be accomplished, Blunt and Dowling define it as porous and multi-scalar (2006, 26-7). 'Porosity' implies that home is open and is a permanent intersection between feelings, emotions and social relationships. It means that 'home is neither public nor private but both. Home is not separated from public, political worlds but is constituted through them: the domestic is created through the extra-domestic and vice versa' (ibid., 27). Also home is multi-scalar, which means that it can be built beyond the 'dwelling place'. Different senses of belonging can be experienced on different scales: 'from the body and the household to the city, nation and globe' (ibid.). This research engages with these different levels and scales. Set and mobile social formations across houses, parks and streets, connect embodied subjects with proximate and transnational domains.

Some contemporary researchers have explored how home is experienced as a translocal terrain and recreated by migrants through materiality, visual culture and practices that take place *in the domestic sphere* (e.g.: Blunt et al. 2007; Tolia-Kelly 2004; Walsh 2006). Through the objects of home, after all, the outside world is appropriated, domesticated and re-experienced (Miller 2001; 2008; Connerton 2009, 20) and individuals can deal with loss, emptiness and absence (Miller 2008). While analysing his own art installation of a 'West Indian Front Room in London' in the gallery space, McMillan (2003) reflects on the spatialised character of memories and the resonance of the past across the diaspora. He states, 'for someone coming into this dressed room, flashbacks, memories, and anecdotes were evoked of events, conversations, customs, rituals, encounters, colours, smells, and images of the occasional and everyday life of experiences in The UK and "back home" in the Caribbean' (McMillan 2003, 403). The display, grooming and 'creolization of popular culture' materialised in the front room forge a sense of connection for the West Indian diaspora that surpasses the materiality of the front room itself.

The focus on 'home' as the *physical* place of dwelling does not imply a lack of movement. Home's *objects* make home a 'process' either because they can travel across national borders, because they connect migrants with other places of being or because they are related to home-making practices which are dynamic (Miller 2008, 73-82; Petridou 2001; Walsh 2006). Without denying the relevance of people's interactions with their material culture, Petridou (2001) argues that in the study of home, the focus should be *primarily* on embodied experience rather than starting with the objects with which embodied practices are implicated (Petridou 2001). Material culture of home matter, she suggests, because they involve corporeal practices. Therefore, home, even on a domestic scale, home is conceived as being made in movement, as well as being grounded in place.

The *locus* of home is not always a sanctuary in which one retreats from society (cf. Bachelard 1994), but can also be a place of exploitation, control and subjugation (see a discussion in Brickell 2012). This situation also troubles ideas of 'home' as a

personal and intimate domain. Different forms of control and surveillance are exercised in the household. Traditional gender ideologies can limit women's fields of action there (Ehrkamp 2013, 26; Salih 2003). Ehrkamp proposes that, rather than passive victims, women make the home 'a site for both the subtle exertion of power and equally subtle practices of resistance', a site in which women can 'assert their own ideas vis-à-vis family members and within the spaces that matter to them' (ibid. 26). For example, domestic workers who often experience the domestic sphere as places of surveillance and control – becoming, then, 'un-homely' – stretch their experiences of home into public spaces (e.g. the 'Little Manila' in Hong Kong city centre) (Constable 2004; Law 2001; Knowles 2009, 159-67).

The porous and multi-scalar character of home also works in connection to the *extra-domestic*. Making home in public spaces highlights that home is made in relation to others, rather than in isolation and seclusion. For example, Botticello (2007) has studied how migrants from Lagos, Nigeria, develop a sense of home through a dialogue between the private sphere and a street market in South London. The latter, as a place of social encounter, contains practices, norms and values of sociability, which are associated with home (i.e. intimacy, insiderness and trust) (Botticello 2007). Also, smells, touch and taste, for example, appear as means through which migrants bridge gaps between old and new homes beyond the private sphere. The food they find in street markets (Rhys-Taylor 2007) or their sharing of traditional food 'from home' in public spaces (Law 2001) bring to light this sensory and emotional dimension of home.

Spatial practices and forms of place-making in public spaces allow migrants to ground their political, ethnic and gender identifications (Fortier 2000; Ehrkamp 2005; Alexander 2011; Ramírez 2014). Public spaces in general can allow groups to manifest their dissent and challenge their subjugation (Fraser 1990). Yet, public spaces can also serve to naturalize and stabilize hegemonic conceptions of home (Ehrkamp 2013, 21, following Valentine 1996). Attending the case of Turkish migrant women living in Germany, Ehrkamp shows that prescription for appropriate behaviour, and the older generations' principles and expectations, sought to delineate young women behaviour

and dress codes in public spaces. Older women, not only men, exercise a form of censorship that limit their activities and freedom of movement in public space. Moreover, the expression of masculinities that pervade some city spaces can turn them into sites that women try to avoid (Metha 1999; Ehrkamp 2013) or into places where women tend to be perceived as vulnerable (Day 2001). These geographies become inclusive and exclusive at the same time, by allowing the presence of migrants, but limiting participation of women (Ehrkamp 2013). Contributing to this discussion, I will show how women are not simply excluded in predominantly masculine places, but incorporated in limited and gender specific ways (see Puwar 2004).

Rituals and commemorations have also been analysed based on their power to provide a sense of belonging in relation to communal formations and beyond the household. This might involve mundane rituals created among daily practices (e.g. food consumption, preparation and celebration) (Rabikowska 2010), rites of passage and ceremonies commemorating important historical dates and events (Fortier 2000; Alexander 2013; Roach 1998). These practices reveal memory as a social and cultural process, as 'sets of interconnected practices that unfold over time, involving material and embodied dimensions' (Hallam and Hockey, 2001, 1). Both their personal and collective resonance, as well as their calendrical character, ground migrants' cultural expressions and histories in their places of settlement.

Ritual and ceremonies allow exploration of the performative rearrangement of memories in the city from a diasporic vantage point. These events allow for empirical understanding of how the double consciousness is activated in the places of settlement (Alexander 2013; Ramírez and Serpente 2011; Ramírez 2013; Fortier 2000; Roach 1998). This understanding is crucial, given the importance of memory has for diasporas, and even for following generations who lack direct recollection of past homes (Brah 1996, 194). Huysen notes that 'memory discourses remain substantively tied to the specific memories of social groups in time and place' (2007, 82; see Nora 1989). Scholarly traditions in memory studies, he states, are tied to 'national memory', which leaves diasporic memory out of discussion. More specifically, the work on memorialisation has

been focused on western and nation-based commemoration. Here, '[t]he immediacy of place – the siting of the memorial – becomes paramount in inscribing meaning and imparting an aura of sacredness to the event' (Alexander 2013, 594). The transnational nature of diasporic commemoration, however, tends to question the role of place.

Ann-Marie Fortier's (2000) studies the formation of identity and belonging terrains in the life of London's Italian churches. Focused on ceremonies as living memory projects, she explores migrants' extra-domestic communal terrains of belonging through rituals and ceremonies. Following Butler (2006[1990]) and Connerton (1989), she considers a 'corporeal approach', meaning 'how bodies and space produce each other in both ethnically and gender specific ways' by enactments that evoke shared conventions and memories (Fortier 2000, 134). Through her focus on the extra-domestic scale, home is made in relation to transnational communities with whom migrants can develop 'homely' spaces and a sense of belonging. In the city, 'home' emerges as an interactive and dynamic sphere that is not equally experienced in relation to ethnicity, race and gender (Fortier 2003; Back 2005). Fortier also considers the experience of following generations through the 'acts of transfer' involved in ceremonies (Connerton 1989, 40). Through this process, later generations also place their histories in the city of London. These ceremonies, Alexander (2013) explains, are not simply forms of long-distance-nationalism; though them, diasporas also ground their identities and re-invent themselves. These ceremonies comprise a form of engagement with the city of London.

In this research, I also look at some commemorations as means of actualising a double consciousness and engaging their histories with the local terrains. While doing so, I engage with the actual performances in play (Fortier 2000; Gilroy 2002). Analysing 'performances' (see Schechner 2006) implies a focus on the *processes* through which embodied subjects are involved; 'the form' of the performance – rather than their content and social function – comes to the fore (Connerton 1989; Turner 2005; Uzelac 2010). The social and cultural significance becomes 'embodied'. Therefore to comprehend such significance we have to look at the enactments through which

meanings are re-created and actualized. Performance recovers the 'aesthetic', 'lived' and 'ephemeral' dimensions of experience (Turner 2005, 3) and home.

While looking at diasporic performances in New Orleans, Roach (1998) proposes that what is in play is a 'counter' and 'living' memory which works against official records and archives. It allows the diaspora to make a hospitable place in the city by re-inventing their memories in front of others. Performance makes an unwritten history noticeable. Furthermore, it activates the processes through which belonging is accomplished. Successful performances, in any genre, develop a bond among the participants based on emotions, experiences and bodily sensations (Uzelac 2010). When this happens, an 'aesthetic community' emerges and it becomes difficult to distinguish between spectators and audience; all are bonding together in physical and emotional interactions (ibid; Cvetkovich 2003). Performances do not simply re-affirm communities, they also re-create and transform them. Through performance, individuals might 'disengage from the official memories' and discourses of their own milieu (Gilroy in Bell 1999a; Werbner 2002). Performances 'might be a creative means of resisting existing discourses', and thus, are an important motor of social change (Pink 2004, 45).

By making home in the public domain, 'places are woven into the fabric of the city, producing specific meanings within urban space', Back says (2007, 61). Along with looking at interconnected diasporic terrains made in the city, I attend at how such public terrains are materially appropriated in people's homes. This intimate appropriation not only involves the re-instating of memories of 'original' homes, but also the memories of the host society. There is still a need to explore migrants' memories of and affection for the places of settlement (Wise 2010; Ramírez 2014). Also, how private places actually extend to public ones (and vice versa) through home-making practices needs to be further scrutinised.

Tellingly, although diaspora spaces incorporate both ‘arrivals’ and ‘hosts’, there is a lack of empirical accounts showing how both actually converge through places and events. The spaces of commemoration and protest produced by the Chilean diaspora offer an opportunity to observe this convergence. Finally, if diasporic performances make ineffable pasts become perceptible (Roach 1998), it is important to ask which pasts this ‘new diaspora’ articulate through their physical enactments. Through public and private home-making practices, the Chilean diaspora’s invisible inhabitancies, displaced stories and elusive connections to The UK, become perceptible in local terrains.

Diasporic social scenes and publics

I am particularly interested in diasporas’ search for a ‘home’ beyond the private sphere or a fixed *locus*. This approach to home and home-making requires an unsettling of the distinctions between public and private, structural and personal, as well as political and affective domains (Cvetkovich, 2003; Fraser, 1990; Gardiner, 2004). ‘Intimate publics’, indeed, can also emerge through transient appropriations of the public sphere. Of importance is the fact that ‘homing’ processes require establishing connections and being ‘in-line’ with the wider social context, and with the features of the world we inhabit, rather than living detached from it (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 14; Ahmed 2006; see also Ingold 2011).

More specifically, I am interested in the search for a ‘home’ in the public sphere (Puwar 2007). Werbner uses the notion of a ‘diasporic public sphere’ to define interconnected ‘alternative’ arenas where emancipatory discourses – directed to both The UK and the diasporic communities’ dominant official scripts – are debated and celebrated through alternative claims and performances (Werbner 2002, 15, 262-263; see also Anthias 2006, 25-26; Gilroy 1993). Looking at ‘home’ as made in public implies that belonging is a political quest, rather than a naturally given state (Yuval-Davis et al.

2006). It involves a form of public that is limited neither to logocentric discursive practices nor to individuals' attempts to find a place within the dominant public sphere.

Berlant and Warner construe 'public' as 'accessible, available to memory, and sustained through collective activity' (1998, in Cvetkovich 2003, 8). Rather than being centred in the public sphere's structural and systemic aspects (Habermas 1989), or focusing on its discursive or imagined dimension (Anderson 1992), the attention turns to the embodied, experiential, aesthetic and affective qualities of the public sphere. This idea of public involves, for instance, attention to popular culture, which Habermas' version of public sphere excluded because of its apolitical character (Calhoun 1999, 23).¹² Gathering places and activities linked to popular culture would not promote an engagement with rational argument and political debate but with gregarious consumption.

The challenge, Fraser proposes, is to think beyond that 'liberal model of the public sphere', which is constructed as a middle class and male domain. That model of public sphere, she claims, places structural obstacles that mitigate against the participation of alternative political communities and members of society (e.g. women, poor people, minority ethnic and specific racial groups and religions) (Fraser 1990; 1992; cf. Habermas 1989). Fraser argues that given the massive social disparity in the public domain, 'subaltern counter-publics' that contest the bourgeois model of publicity are the only way for subordinate groups to acquire a political voice in unequal societies.

¹² The Habermas' version of the 'public sphere' (1989) defines it as the public space that mediates between private individuals and the national state, the terrain where 'private citizens' engage in public and political issues, through argumentative and rational discourse. Subjects acquired the resources to empower themselves and create pressure for social change under the principle of the 'better argument', through personal cultivation (mainly through the arts and literature). This Habermasian version of the public sphere was separated from private worlds and personal concerns, and was a predominantly middle class and a male domain (Fraser 1990). It has been criticized because it overlooks the coercive character of the bourgeois public sphere, as well as the exclusiveness, marginalization and discrimination on which it is founded.

‘Still, insofar as these counterpublics emerge in response to exclusions within dominant publics, they help expand discursive space. In principle, assumptions that were previously exempt from contestation will now have to be publicly argued out. In general, the proliferation of subaltern counterpublics means a widening of discursive contestation, and that is a good thing in stratified societies.’ (Fraser 1990, 68)

As long as inequality exists, Fraser states, contestatory public spheres are necessary to question the principles of the ‘common interest’ and of the ‘equal participation’ of publics. I claim that ‘counter publics’ might provide us with a suitable angle to understand the appropriation of public spaces and alternative forms of collective engagement by many of those migrants who come from ‘the global south’.

Inspired by Bakhtin, some scholars have gone further in considering both the discursive and the *aesthetic* dimensions of the public sphere (Werbner 2002; Crossley and Roberts 2004, 19; Gardiner 2004). They have argued the need to look at the ‘fluid, permeable and always contested’ dialogues that emerge in everyday contexts. Bakhtin was engaged with the embodied, experiential and affective qualities of subjects’ daily lives, without reducing their relationship with their social and non-human environments to the merely discursive or rational (Gardiner 2004). This stance points to the strategies of representation and the social actions of excluded and underprivileged groups, which might differ in their form and goals from that of their more privileged counterparts. In this respect, Gardiner states that ‘[t]hese subaltern discourses and strategies, which are rooted in the particularistic concerns of everyday life are formulated at some distance from the official public sphere and aim to celebrate difference through diverse expressions of identity and community’ (ibid., 44). Gardiner’s understanding of publics and of the public sphere is based neither on logocentric discursive practices nor on individuals’ attempts to make a place for them within the dominant public sphere.

From the study of queer public cultures – and by considering the affective turn in the social sciences (see Clough 2007; Gregg and Seigworth 2010) – some scholars have challenged the idea that ‘emotions’ and ‘publics’ belong to different spheres, highlighting the idea that ‘feelings are central to the public life’ and ‘affects can be mobilized and circulated to create new and counter-cultural forms’ (Cvetkovich and Pellegrini 2003).

In my exploration of Chilean exiles’ home-making within the public sphere, I also want to challenge strict distinctions between public and private, political and personal, pleasure and despair, and emotions and reason, by looking at how those dimensions collide within different events and spaces of the city (Puwar 2007). Rather than focussing on the ‘intimate public sphere’ as one that emerges from the failure of political public culture and its consequential reduction to a voyeuristic and sentimental culture of spectacle (Berlant 2008), I want to see how new versions of collective engagement and counter public spheres emerge in daily life contexts, materialities and performances (Cvetkovich 2003).

Therefore, I do not want to give the Chilean diaspora a place within the *national* public sphere. Rather I want to look at a range of *diaspora and transnational alternative spaces* that emerge in relation to their search for places of belonging in multi-ethnic and post-dictatorial contexts. Following Fraser’s (2007) idea of transnational public sphere, I propose that rather than being circumscribed to a national territory and bounded political community of citizens (Habermas 1989), the emancipatory potential of the current transnational and diasporic constellations should be considered. This consideration is vital to look at diasporic terrains of belonging in a post-cold-war and global context.

In line with the notion of the ‘public’ developed above, social scenes are part of the public sphere. These are zones of contact in which the emotional and the rational, the public and the intimate, are interwoven in complex ways (Puwar 2007). Looking at

'social scenes' means directing attention to 'how the city makes a place for intimacy in collective life' (Puwar 2007, 253, following Blum). Social scenes allow for understanding of 'how work, pleasure, and politics collided' within particular city spaces (ibid., 257). Through social scenes, the 'diaspora public sphere' is not limited to 'imaginary communities' (Anderson 1991) or 'communities of sentiment' (Olwig 2002) – i.e. those communities which do not arise from direct 'personal inter-relationships, but indirectly through the generation of feelings believed to be shared by a large collectivity' (Olwig 2002, 126). Social scenes demonstrate how communities are both suffused by affect, but also grounded in people's everyday lives, in social networks, places, practices and daily interactions. They reflect how dwelling, displacement and belonging are rearranged through the production, relocation and re-experiencing of physical, social and emotional landscapes (Knowles 2003, 168-70). Finally, social scenes offer new means to explore arrival and settlement stories (Puwar 2007). By looking at mundane circumstances of life, they allow us to go beyond discourses and scholarly traditions that highlight the victim or the heroic side of diasporic subjects.

The literature on social scenes often focuses on one scene only. As I will expand in the next chapter, I study multiple scenes that have different profiles. I also highlight the point that these social scenes are not made in disconnection to the host society. The dialogical space they produce is based on encounter among members of the Chilean diaspora, as much as among them, newcomers and 'locals'. In addition, not much has been said about these scenes' transformations and the participation of different generations across time. By looking at long-standing social scenes, I attend these dynamics, and try to understand them in connection to a changing sense of home.

Chapter 3 – Field, Methods and Methodology

I will adopt a sociological imagination engaged with the complexity of social and cultural worlds, particularly through attentiveness to global interconnections and to past, present and future interlinks (Gordon 1997; Back 2007). In *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, Gordon (1997) refers to a mode of intellectual engagement that is attentive to what is simultaneously visible and invisible, tangible and elusive. This sociological imagination entails an awareness of the non-linear relationship between past and present; an *openness to history* lies on the basis of this (Benjamin 1999). 'If haunting is a constitutive feature of social life', Gordon proposes, 'then we will need to be able to describe, analyse, and bring to life that aspect of social life, to be less fearful of animation' (1997, 22). Methods and ways of telling which are 'attentive to what is elusive, fantastic, contingent, and often barely there' are required to embrace that task (ibid., 26). Also how historical events, structural factors and past experiences continue haunting social encounters and daily lives require acute attention. Back's 'global sociological imagination' also attends what is elusive, particularly what is present but also distant in a global context. Overcoming 'intellectual provincialism' becomes Back's intellectual and political stance, an stance that addresses that 'the nation state can no longer remain the prime container of sociological analysis' (2007, 22). The challenge, Back proposes, is connecting 'individual biographies and the questions they raise with larger global, social and historical forces' (ibid., 47).

Gordon's and Back's sociological imaginations provide a good standpoint to explore the geopolitical, temporal and spatial complexity of diasporic spaces and experiences. They provide the lenses to attend how the losses, memories and hegemonic structures haunt the present, and how diasporas' transnational lives unfold at different scales.

The diasporic is an 'interpretive frame' which echoes that sociological imagination. Brah's 'diasporic reasoning', Hall says, consists of 'trying to get inside the way external social change reverberates on the inner strings of the heart' of the diaspora (Hall 2012, 34). Like Gordon's intellectual engagement, a diasporic reasoning consists in following a 'structure of feeling' which always carries unconscious meanings and investments. It attends contradictions and differences, and it moves between the absence and presence of data – what cannot be named is also explanatory (ibid., 34-5). A 'structure of memory' should be also unravelled to comprehend what sustains it and how it is differently apprehended and lived (ibid., 35). Attending to social scenes' materialities, textures, places and performances in connection to a wider context, I attempt to capture that elusiveness of diasporic lives.

This sociological imagination and diasporic reasoning requires a relational notion of 'space'. For Massey (2005), this relational approach recognizes spatial-temporal multiplicities and complexities in the ways that subjects inhabit specific sites and temporalities. It involves 'a recognition of the *fact* (not all of the content) of other realities, equally "present" though with their own histories' (ibid., 80). This notion of space does not imply an abstract construction of the research field, nor does it entail an exploration of bounded, isolated or exclusive social worlds. Quite the contrary, it entails attention to space's 'relational construction; its production through practices of material engagement' (ibid., 61). Following this relational ideation of space, I will focus in the Chilean diaspora's participation and formation of a web of 'social scenes' through a multi-sited and multi-method ethnographic approach.

My first approach to the social scenes was always in company of key collaborators who were part of these scenes. While introducing me to their friends and family they would tell people about my research. Their descriptions were often followed by the request 'tell them what you are doing' to which my explanations always fell short. I told them that I was doing a PhD research on the experience of Chilean exiles in London across generations. I explained them that I was particularly interested in the different public spaces they have occupied in the city and in their

changing senses of belonging to Chile and the UK. I would mention *la cancha* and the picket lines around the Chilean Embassy to exemplify the kind of spaces I was looking at because these were familiar for all of them. I saw myself adapting my responses to different participants as some of them wanted more antecedents, required different emphasis or had different interests in what I was doing. Yet, regardless my intention of being 'transparent', it was not always easy to fully convey what 'doing a research' or 'doing ethnography' meant (Fortier 2000).

My position – a Chilean student, recently arrived, struggling to complete interviews, and interested in the Chilean diaspora of London – provoked different reactions. On one hand, it mobilized my research participants' empathy and their desire to help; a stance that often came with the satisfaction to see that their stories matter to someone. Yet, a few of them would be more cautious. 'Why us?', 'Who cares?', 'why now?' some of them asked me. In these cases, from a personal point of view, I highlighted that I had grown up in Chile without knowing at all about the lives of Chilean exiles abroad. I was part of a generation of Chilean people who wanted to know more about that dark blurred part of Chilean history. I also made reference to my interest, as a social researcher, in what I perceived as an interesting 'case' – i.e.: the current experience of a group of people who used to form the biggest Latin American group in London in the 1970s and the particularity of a territory (London) to which Pinochet was meaningfully connected given the Pinochet-Thatcher alliance. What I gather during interviews cannot be understood without acknowledging these ways of introducing myself and the ways in which they probably perceived me (Davies 2008). Their solidarity with a student in need of help, their desire to be heard and their chance to tell their version of history were some of the motives that made them participate in my research and that allowed me to access to their gatherings places. All these stances, perceptions and predispositions are suffusing the following account.

Constructing the field of the Chilean diaspora's home-making

Ethnography has been characterized as an engagement with the 'first-hand exploration' of social and cultural worlds on the basis of intense and long-standing participation so 'as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do' (Wacquant quoted in Auyero 2006, 258; Atkinson et al. 2001, 4-5). The idea of first-hand exploration is closely related to the principle of 'being there' as a participant observer on the basis of long-lasting immersion in a research setting. This *idea of ethnography*, however, is neither suitable for the study of 'home' as a process nor to explore 'social scenes'. Fields composed of '[e]pisodic, occasional, partial and ephemeral social links', Amit points out, 'pose particular challenges for ethnographic fieldwork' (2000b, 14). Instead of situating themselves in a confined research site, ethnographers 'may purposively create the occasions for contacts that might well be as mobile, diffuse and episodic as the process they are studying' (ibid., 15).

Indeed, ethnographies of migration and 'home' often involve diverse multi-site strategies in which researchers move across different settings as a means to comprehend and demarcate the field of the research (Fitzgerald 2006; Marcus 1995; Amit 2000; Pink 2004; Knowles 2009). Mobile or multi-sited research strategies permit, for example, the exploration of how different spaces of the city are made into homely spaces (Boticello 2007; Back 2007, 51-70) and how interconnected migratory spaces and scenes provide (or do not) the basis for a sense of belonging (Fortier 2000; Knowles 2009). To use Amit's words, these approaches underline that the field is not somewhere 'awaiting discovery' but it needs to be 'laboriously constructed' by identifying the connections and relationships that compose it (2000, 6). Through multi-sited strategies, worlds that have been assumed 'to be apart' appear complexly connected through diverse juxtapositions that define the field of inquiry (Marcus 1995).

To construct the field of this research, I moved across different settings, following trajectories, connections and relationships. My point of entrance is a web of

social scenes based *in London*. This is the city where more Chileans and Latin Americans congregate than anywhere else in the UK (McIlwaine et al. 2010). A multi-sited ethnography mostly *within London* is an interesting approach to understanding the links between *movement and location*, in a context in which diaspora studies have neglected the importance of attachment and situatedness in favour of displacement, dislocation and deterritorialization (Winland 2002; Walsh 2006).

Specifically, the social scenes I attend have been created mostly around leisure, commemoration and activism. They were formed in the 1970s and today incorporate an intergenerational group of men and women. Firstly, there is the Chilean ‘social football scene’ (Chapters 4 and 7). This scene’s key place is *la cancha* (the pitch) of Clapham Common. This working-class-led scenario brings to light the alternative ways in which individuals who are often excluded from positions of power engage in public life.



After the game. London, 2011. By the author.

Looking at football as a social scene turns the focus on what takes place on the ‘pitch’ to the ritual and local production of a ‘symbolic home’, as Back says, which provides ‘the arena for the embodiment of particular forms of social life, that have their own routines and cultural modes of expression’ (2003, 313). Approaching football in this

way involves paying attention to people's interactions with social and physical environments (Back 2003) and the distinctive identities and politics enacted in connection to the local and global context (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007; Bradley 2006). I will explore how through the landscapes, textures and sociability, belonging connection are actualised in this terrain in gendered, ethnicised, nation-based and generational distinct ways.



After the commemoration. London, 2011. By the author.

This research also attends the social scene made through both commemoration and protest. This includes the front of the Chilean Embassy, particularly the memorialisation of 11 September 1973, and the changing group of picketers who congregate there (Chapter 7). Also, that mobile space called '*el piquete de Londres*' (the picket of London), which emerged during Pinochet detention (Chapter 5), and its afterlife, *Ecomemoria* (Chapter 6), are part of this social scene. The latter consists of a group of people who conduct transnational tree-planting ceremonies to claim justice for the *desaparecidos* (disappeared) and *ejecutados políticos* (executed for political reasons) (Ramírez and Serpente 2012). The three of them are partly the continuation and transformation of the transnational political mobilization of the exiles in the 1970s. The diasporic and transnational connections made through these scene reveals the persistence of the political claims and the re-creation of memories of the Chilean diaspora across time. These memories are re-invented by an intergenerational group of

actors across different city spaces through diverse performances and material enactments (Fortier 2000). Through commemoration and contestation, this group's 'diasporic consciousness' becomes re-embodied, situated and perceptible (Alexander 2013), while bridging Chile's recent past and ongoing history with that of The UK (Ramírez 2013; Huyssen 2007).

The delineation of these scenes through specific locations and groups neither mean that they are disentangled one from another, nor that one has to stand 'within' their supposed confines to understand them. Following Duneier's 'extended-place method', I gather information from other settings to which these scenes extend. I participated in related events bearing in mind the elucidation of my primary sites of interest (Fitzgerald 2006, 19). For example, following Ecomemoria, I visited Wales, where a commemorative tree-planting ceremony was performed with the local community. Similarly, following the Manuel Rodríguez football team, I visited another football club in Brixton where senior Chilean exiles participated with newcomers from Latin America in a football tournament.

Similarly, saying that those 'spaces' have remained across decades does not mean that they are stationary and unchanging. These scenes are 'habitual spaces' as they retain codes and repertoires and configurations, which make them recognizable and familiar for their participants (Fortier 2000). Yet, departures and arrivals of new actors, changing locations and historical upheavals denote that they are also in permanent flux and transformation. The scenes enable us to keep an eye on both structure and agency, by being attentive to people's creativity in confronting the broader transformations of their environments (Vigh 2010; Shilling 2008). They remind that the story of this group did not end in 1990 with the end of the dictatorship, but it continues to be actualised at different levels and in the light of personal, local and global dimensions.

Fitzgerald refers to the combination of fieldwork, archives and oral history as a way of 'historicizing the field', which improves ethnographic practice, particularly in migration studies (2006, 10-2). In this research, I consider personal recollections, particularly life story interviews and personal archives. I combine these with fieldwork conducted *in situ*, through participant observation and related form of data gathering (e.g. observation, conversation, photographic fieldnotes). Combining a retrospective approach with attention to their current lives allowed me to connect their collective history with their present life circumstances. The distinction between the past and contemporary dimensions of fieldwork, however, gets complicated by the non-linear conception of history previously mentioned (Gordon 1997).

In writing this methodological account, what becomes evident is the incorporation and development of unexpected methods, triggered by what was found during fieldwork. Also, the non-linear use of methods regarding consecutive stages was a feature of my methodology. For example, I conducted interviews at the beginning and toward the end of my fieldwork and I conducted participant observation in different moments too. What follows tries to organise the methodology in terms of differentiated techniques, research encounters and interventions. However, they were not part of a linear and fully differentiated process during fieldwork.

I first explain my use of life story interviews. This method helped me to link personal experiences with a broader social and historical context. Embedded in ethnography, the biographical interviews also allowed me to construct the field of the research. They were progressively incorporated to an emerging understanding of the research field. Following this, I describe my use of participant observation. Along with interviewing *in situ* and writing fieldnotes, I made photographic fieldnotes. This was the beginning of a multi-dimensional approach to the field. In the middle of my fieldwork, I unexpectedly came across an archive of vernacular images. As I explain in the two penultimate sections, this encounter allowed me to develop a method that incorporates both 'old' and 'new' images. Finally, I close this chapter by referring to an

exhibition containing this visual material, along with other artefacts produced and found during the research.

Life-story interviews

The retrospective dimension of this thesis draws on biographical interviews and the encounter with personal archives. While incorporating these, I have been inspired by the work of social scientists with 'critical' humanist foundations who have encouraged social researchers to open themselves up, accurately yet creatively, to find imaginative ways to achieve a close dialogue with their informants (Plummer 2001; Back 2007; Portelli 1997). This dialogue involves a triple concern with biography, history and structure, in which personal stories and experiences can be linked to 'history' while they make 'history listen to them', as Portelli says (1997, viii). Individual trajectories converge with collective experiences and with public and even global processes, which are mutually imbricated (Auyero 2003; Back 2007; Mills 2000). Life stories in particular, can enhance understanding of social change and historical shifts. This is possible due to the ability of life stories to give some sense of totality, involving individuals, communities, society and history (Bertaux 1981). As Plummer states: 'it is quite mistaken to see life histories as thoroughly individualistic – lives move persistently through history and structure. Much more than almost any other method, it allows one to grasp a sense of the totality of a life' (Plummer 2001, 40-1; see also Atkinson 1998, 41). Plummer's '*radical, pragmatic empiricism*', 'takes seriously the idea that knowing – always limited and partial – should be grounded in experience' (2001, 14).

I will use life stories *as a resource* (Plummer 2001, 36) to explore what the biographical accounts can teach us about being a Chilean exile or children of exile within the UK and, in particular, about those social scenes' ability to provide a sense of 'home'. These are 'researched life stories': interviews gathered and generated intentionally by the researcher in relation to a research aim (ibid., 28-34). During biographical interviews, 'epiphanies' or revelations about 'turning-point moments' of a

subject's life are signified and retrospectively and interactionally recreated within the narrative act (Denzin 1989). Rather than reflecting an objective world, these stories are creative, authored, rhetorical and interpretive constructions. Through them, persons construct their life experiences in story form, giving meaning, making sense and signifying how they see their lives in the present (Denzin 1989; Riessman 2008; Doucet and Mauthner 2008; Coffey and Atkinson 1996). These biographical constructions are grounded in settings and normative frameworks, suggesting that such stories are never only an individual creation, but are moral, cultural and social constructions.

In ethnographic fieldwork, interviews are 'part of an ongoing process' in which 'each interview contributes something more to a sociologist's emerging understanding of a given social milieu, as he or she takes notes of the changing social landscape in which informants are embedded' (Dempsey 2010, 350-1, following Heyl 2001). 'Following the life or biography' (Marcus 1995, 109-10) is an ethnographic strategy that permits identification of the associations of sites, places and contexts which are significant in migrants' lives. This is in line with de Certeau's claim about stories' ability to 'traverse and organize places; they [stories] select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories' (1984, 115). Indeed the stories I gathered were crucial in identifying the social scenes I focus on, and in recognizing the interconnections among them. They also delineated further settings and situations to be explored.

During an early stage, while conducting a first set of interviews with exile children and British-born Chileans, I noticed that men and women were all naturally inclined to talk about human rights activities and *la cancha* when they narrated their life experiences in The UK. Places like the front of the Justice Court building during Pinochet's detention in London and the emblematic football field in South London are some of the sites where their lived experiences meet. The resonance of these scenes in my interviewees' tales was so prevalent that, with the facilitation of some of my informants, I re-visited some places and participated in their related activities to conduct participant observation, the method which I explain next.

Regarding the profile of my interviewees, I considered a high degree of variability among them. I interviewed men and women of different generations. Sometimes their profiles were, to some extent, pre-defined by the character of the scenes themselves. While the scene made around commemoration and protest is chiefly middle class and has a predominantly female presence, the social football scene has predominantly a masculine character and its members mostly have a working class background. So, my main criteria were gender and generation (first generation, exile children and British-born Chileans/second generation), seeking some level of variety regarding their level of engagement in these scenes and class background.

In total, I interviewed thirty people. I interviewed at least three people for each profile (i.e. men and women from the three generations).¹³ This was a *purposive* sample of interviewees who were selected intentionally because their profile, connections and experiences would help me elucidate the questions of this study (Flick 2009). Firstly, I consider the sampling principles of 'judgment' and 'opportunism' (Burgess 1990, 55). 'Judgement' refers to the pre-established criteria and 'opportunistic' refers to openness to managing and even (re)redefining the sample according to the attributes of those places and people who, fitting the main criteria, are willing or able to be incorporated into the research fieldwork. Later, I used snowball procedures to diversify and extend the sample (ibid.). My first interviewees were roughly selected because they were exiles or children of exiles living in London. Later, when I was also conducting participant observation, I chose people who have had a relation with the scenes. This relation to the scenes were either because of their involvement in the past, via social networks (e.g. via political affiliation, friendship or kinship), or through current active participation.

Exploring migrant belonging as a narrative actualization helps avoid generalizations and homogenizing ideas of migrants' communities in relation to geographical origins and ethnicity. Through biographical accounts, communities emerge as narrative achievements in relation to different contexts of life (Olwing 2002).

¹³ See annexe 1.

Migrants' biographical accounts contain stories of departure and arrival that are productive for exploring the intersections between personal, historical and political circumstances of movement. At the same time, biographical trajectories also show relationship between those processes and the making of ethnicity, race and gender (Brah 1996; Ahmed 1999; Knowles 2003).

During the life stories, I drew a set of 'narrative topics' that I wanted to explore through my participants' tales (Plummer 2001, 27; Denzin 1989b, 189; Holloway and Jefferson 2000, 24-6). These included departure from Chile; arrival and settlement in London; life during and after the dictatorship; the relation to the country, the community, the family; and participation in the social scenes of Chileans and Latin Americans in London. Rather than a fixed set of questions, I used these themes to give my interviewees more input and guide the conversations (Atkinson 2002; Riessman 2007). Instead of imposing a structure on the narrative, the participants' own ordering and phrasing was attended and followed (*ibid.*).

The interviews were conducted in my participants' preferred places, often in their houses, in the scenes' related locations and/or close to their work places. I met all my interviewees on more than one occasion, either in arranged meetings or casually in the context of fieldwork. I met them both alone and as part of groups. These interviews lasted between one and three hours. However, it is difficult to state duration and when interviews actually ended since – apart from ongoing interaction – sometimes before or after the arranged interview exchange we continue our conversation over other activities: we ate together, jointly visited a field-site or attended an event. As I continued seeing many of my interviewees during my fieldwork, I continued expanding my understanding of their lives.

Diverse encounters helped me to increase my rapport with them and also gave them the chance to reflect on their lives and develop their stories in relation to our mutual involvement in particular situations. Sometimes we became friends. This was

particularly the case with Fidel, Alex and Miguel whose personal histories I got to know better. Their different locations and profiles, in terms of age, class background and engagement in the social scenes, offered me particular 'embedded perspectives' (Rock 2001, 34). I compared these perspectives among themselves, with the views of other interviewees and my own observations *in situ*. I did this while remaining aware of the 'situated, limited and motivated' character of these informants; yet also recognising these actors' crucial role introducing me to different social scenes, people and stories (ibid.). Life story interviews were, as the above suggests, informed by participant observation, a method to which I turn next.

Participant observation of the scene(s)

Participant observation is almost indistinguishable from interviews and conversations, as well as other forms of dialogue and interaction that *emerge in the field* (Gans 2009; Atkinson et al. 2001). Given their interrelationship, I refer to 'participant observation' as a method that includes both observation and oral narratives, particularly *naturalistic life stories* – i.e. those not artificially generated, but that occur naturally in an everyday context (Plummer 2001, 28). During my observation, I had the role of a *participant-as-observer*. That is, an overt form of observation 'that involves situations where the researcher participates as well as observes by developing relationships with informants' (Burgees 1991, 81). In this case, it included looking, listening, photographing, sound-recording and gathering material *in situ*. I inquired in observed actions and interactions through questions and conversations. Being a 'participant as observer' provides the fieldworker with the 'freedom to go wherever the action is that is relevant to the investigation'; it allows her to penetrate into diverse social contexts and relationships to achieve some understanding of the subjects' worlds (ibid., 82).

I conducted participant observation in the places and events connected to the mentioned social scenes. In relation to the social football scene, along with other

people, I participated as part of the public/audience in *la cancha* for one football season, between March and September 2011. The participants congregate there once a week and so I joined them there every Sunday. Miguel, a football player who went into exile at three years old, facilitated my access to the scene and my contact with its members. Apart from observing in *la cancha*, I 'followed the scene' through the related practices and sites occupied by the participants. This included football tournaments, going with Miguel's friends to the park during the week and visiting some members of the scene in their houses. In relation to the commemoration and protest-based scene, I participated in the different occasional encounters they had during a year of fieldwork. This included, *Ecomemoria's* tree-planting ceremonies, demonstrations in front of the Chilean embassy and other gatherings such as screenings and lectures. This scene is particularly mobile, and so I followed *Ecomemoria* to attend a commemoration that took place in Wales.

Participant observation is suitable to obtain access to 'tacit knowledge – those things that people know yet that they do not consciously know that they know' (Banks 2007, 58). This concept is at the base of ethnography's ability to go beyond what people declare and to transcend language, giving access to non-verbal dimensions of experience (Dempsey 2010; Amit 2000). Nevertheless, certain sites, situations and performances could be difficult to comprehend through direct involvement only. They can be also tricky to access, given ethnographers' cohort, ethnicity, class, gender or age, amongst others aspects. In this research, alternative methods and sources, such as interviews, archives, artefacts and media materials were incorporated 'to explore processes not immediately or appropriately accessible through participant observation' (Amit 2000, 12). The application of diverse methods and sources is a common strategy in ethnographic research, as Atkinson et al says:

'...the ethnographer may find herself or himself drawing on a very diverse repertoire of research techniques – analyzing spoken discourse and narratives, collecting and interpreting visual material (including photography, film and video), collecting oral history and life history material and so on.' (2001, 5)

Along with conducting interviews and collecting visual objects (which I will explain later), during participant observation I also made 'photographic fieldnotes'. Sweetman refers to Bourdieu's use of photography during ethnographic fieldwork. Quoting Tesilian, he explains how some of those captions worked 'intensifying [his] way of looking at Algeria' (Sweetman 2011, 249). 'Photographs taken during an enquiry that one re-examines at leisure, like recordings, can allow one to find details unnoticed at first glance, that one could not have had the opportunity to look at in detail during an interview' (ibid.). That is, photographs can help to develop a richer description and reveal sociological insights. Also, photographs taken during fieldwork can aid in reflecting and obtaining (partial) access to forms of knowledge that comprise part of an 'intangible' dimension of life (Whincup 2004). For instance, there is the knowledge and social processes that are embodied in habits, routines and daily practices (Chaplin 2004; Sweetman 2009), as well as in social interactions, materialities and space (Knowles 2006). Through visual methods, I tried to intensify my way of looking at how subjects 'do migration' in relation to particular spaces and forms of sociability.

Vernacular visual archives and home-making

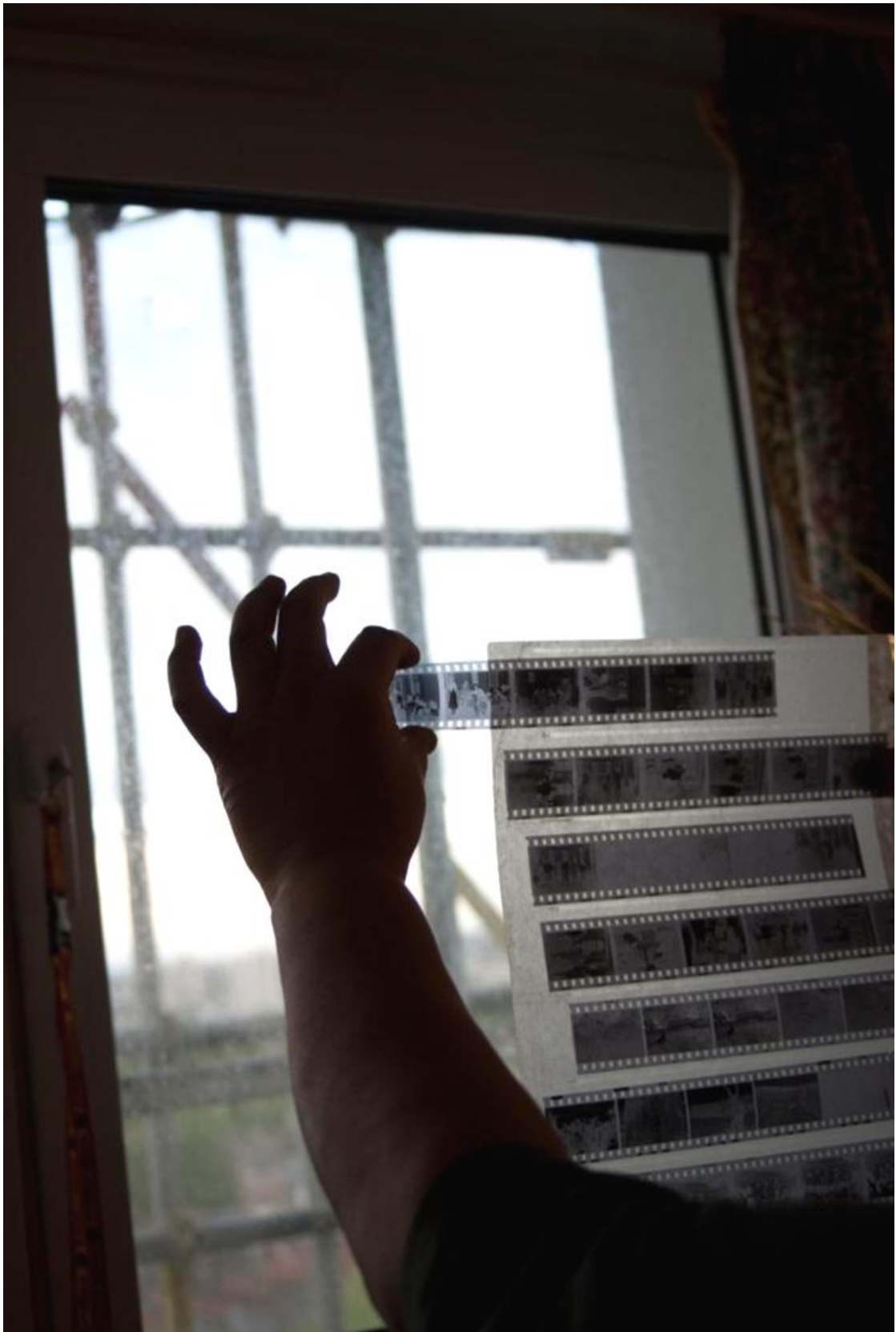
Given that exiles' and diasporas' (hi)stories of movement are entangled with complex geopolitical and historical trajectories, photographic archives have been an important source to interrogate their experiences of dislocation and relocation (Hall 1984; McAllister 2006a; 2006b; Mannik 2012). In his analysis of photographs of 'black settlement' in London, Hall (1984) suggests that studying images of migrants' social scenes of the past – which may be obscured by the stereotypes of the present – can help challenge the representation of certain 'ethnic' and 'racial' groups as problematic subjects whose relationship with British culture is mainly based on conflict. By looking at life circumstances taken for granted, individuals and groups are approached in relation to ordinary situations rather than extreme moral constructs (Mannink 2012).

Hall was talking particularly about 'alternative archives', which contain 'frequently unrecorded, unrecognised, unspoken histories of everyday life and practices[s]' of diasporic groups (2002[1984], 258). Alternative archives take distance from other official records, such as 'heritage' archives, which are often removed from personal experience and re-constructed by the middle classes who tend to experiment with the representation of locality and 'sanitize' community with stereotypical images (Byrne and Doyle 2004, 167). Alternative archives also take distance from media representations, which repeatedly represent 'ethnic minorities' through the prism of marginalization, conflict and social problems (Hall 1984). Such public records evidence the power and authority that operate in the making of archives, which is reflected in the selection of some versions of history and the exclusion of others (Foucault 2002). In relation to grassroots archives, Cvetkovich says:

'In the absence of institutional documentation or in opposition to official histories, memory becomes a valuable historical resource, and ephemeral and personal collections of objects stand alongside the documents of the dominant culture in order to offer alternative modes of knowledge.' (Cvetkovich 2003, 8)

During my fieldwork, either spontaneously or in response to my requests, some interviewees shared with me their personal collections of visual materials. These consisted not only of photographs, but also of leaflets, banners and selected news reports. Among these recollections, there is a specific archive that shaped the course of my fieldwork: a collection of vernacular photographs made by a serious amateur photographer, Fidel Cordero, who came to the UK as a teenager in the 1970s.¹⁴ He describes himself as the former 'photographer of the community'. Fidel's photographs were made in 35mm in both negative and positive film. He hand processed and developed the films himself. The majority of his photographs had been kept in a corner of his house as filmstrips whose images were still waiting to be seen.

¹⁴ In the rest of the chapter, I describe Fidel's archives of images following Rose's (2007, ch. 10) guide to understanding the social life of visual objects. This attends the materiality of the visual object(s) in question, what is done with it in a particular location, its mobility and its effect (in this case what the visual objects do in terms of home-making).



Looking back. London, 2011. By the author.

Fidel's collection moved with him across different homes. It moved from Scotland, where he lived as teenager, to London, where he lived until his death. In the early 1990s, when the Chilean dictatorship finished and the CCHR, where he used to work, was dismantled, Fidel stopped using his office briefcase which, compellingly, became the repository of his collection of filmstrips – this briefcase associated with his life during the 1980s came to 'archive' part of the visual history of the Chilean diaspora that unfold during the same era. As the briefcase itself, the images are about a time assumed to be gone.

The images contained in Fidel's archive show political activities such as demos and picket lines, fundraising activities and solidarity concerts, and also informal gathering around football fields and other social events. His archive puts together different social scenes, which are partly connected through his own imbrications on them as an exile and amateur photographer. Through images that reveal the collective experience of making home in London, as well as through home-based visual materiality itself, public cultures of the past and collective histories become appropriated in the intimate places of the present.

Within this archive 'of the community' are photographs of more personal events and family gatherings, as well as those related to his daily life in the 'English world' (a notion he uses to refer to his job and his involvement in local community activities). The archive also contains images of his early trips to Chile and his friends and family there. Personal, semi-public and public spaces, as well as distant and more approachable geographies, occupy the same space in his collection. By challenging spatial and temporal margins, Fidel's archive materialises the 'multi-placed' (Brah 1996, 194), 'multi-level' and 'porous' character of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

Fidel's archive also unsettles preconceived ideas of refugees' settlement based on victimhood. These representations are sometimes unrecognized because they do not fit with our expectations; because they challenge the enduring stereotypes that our

societies have constructed (Steedman 2000; Hall 1984; Mannik 2012). Establishing a dialogue between what is depicted in the images and the historic, social or biographical context of their making becomes necessary to confront what is portrayed (e.g. leisure and enjoyment) within the historical contexts in which these images are produced (e.g. living the consequences of State sponsored repression) (McAllister 2006b; 2006a; Langford 2006; Mannik 2012). What is 'outside the frame' must be attended (Chalfen 2002, 142). We need to 'unfix the gaze' (Hirsch 1997, 141). Vernacular photographs do not talk explicitly about emotional conflicts, distress and material deprivation (McAllister 2006b). They partly operate through suppression. Annette Kuhn refers to suppression as 'the amnesias, the repressions, that make possible a sense of belonging, fragile and ambivalent as it might be, to class, family, nation, and to a dominant ethnic group' (1995, 7).

There are different ways of making those tensions apparent both during fieldwork and later during the analysis and writing process. During fieldwork, conducting either elicitation exercises (Harper 2002), what Kuhn calls 'memory work', (1995), or what Moreno-Figueroa calls 'contextual translation' (2008) are different ways to explore omissions, tensions and contradictions. They can allow participants to become aware of what belongs to the taken-for-granted or to deal with memories and emotions from which they usually 'defend' themselves to avoid a sense of vulnerability (Hallway and Jefferson 2000). During writing, on the other hand, combining text with images – particularly ethnographic written account and interview excerpt with photographs – allows for the untangling of some contradictions and inconsistencies between what is narrated and what is seen (Mauad and Rouverol 2004).

Fidel's images are vernacular photographs, what Chalfen calls 'home visual media'. That is, 'mediated forms of audio-visual communication that are created in private, personal ways and meant for personal and private consumption'; 'images made by family members, generally at or near home, and for use at home in personal and home oriented ways' (Chalfen 2002 143). The history of these private visual archives is therefore entangled with home-making and dwelling places. Personal

collections of images, particularly, are kept in private spatial domains, by which the intimate and affective appropriation of publics comes to the fore (Cvetkovich 2003). Keeping these archives privately is in itself a process that unsettles the public/private interface.

The display, accessibility, preservation and mobility of photographs are processes that are closely related to visual objects' meanings and functions (Edwards 1999; Rose 2007, 216-26; 2010). *Carrying, locating* and *collecting* visual recollections say something profound about the way Fidel and others inhabit the present in dialogue with past experiences. In relation to photographs as 'objects of memory', Elizabeth Edwards states that '[t]he act of keeping a photograph is an act of faith in the future' (1999, 222). Similarly, collecting these visual objects says something profound about the Chilean diaspora's desire to keep some memories working in the present and potentially in the future for others, like me, who can indirectly bear witness to important milestones and more mundane dimensions of migrants' lives.

Attending these sources, I argue, allows for another glimpse of the complexities of the public/private interface involved in migrants' home-making and the multi-layered approach that is required to engage with it. Working with visual archives involves an engagement with the visibility/materiality interface – one that engages with the embodied, material and political character of the visual realm (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012). Particularly here, and also in the first sections of chapter Ch. 4, I contribute to understand the process of making home through the entanglement of visual and material dimensions. By preserving and relocating different temporalities and places, vernacular archives invite exploration of what is otherwise taken for granted in the places of the present. Despite the mundane character of these images, as both sources and objects, they reveal a great deal regarding the complexity of home-making.

One on hand, as matter, this collection 'does' important work by revealing how home-making operate through the possession and display of visual objects. Also, the

specific content of these images completes the meaning of the archive. Pictures of a time and era that is now supposedly gone, of places that have been abandoned or altered today, of people who have departed or changed, of geographically and chronologically distant locations, all come to otherwise enliven the spaces and places that the Chilean diaspora of London actually inhabits. While observing the social scenes today, Fidel's photographs helped me to 'give notice that something was missing' (Gordon 1997, 15). Attending this growing sense of awareness, toward the end of my fieldwork, I developed a method which incorporated photographs made by Fidel and myself.

Working with images of continuity and change

I came across Fidel's archive in the middle of my fieldwork when I was conducting participant observation and interviewing actors of the scenes. Months after I knew him, Fidel lent me his archive of filmstrips. I scanned his images and looked at them, either with him or at home by myself. While revising, scanning, digitally restoring and looking at Fidel's photographs, I identified many spaces, people and performances that I already knew through my on-going fieldwork. Being images from the 1970s and 1980s, they showed me how the social scenes I was looking in 2011/3 were more than thirty years ago.

I first looked at images in terms of an 'indirect observation', to obtain access to spaces and times into which I cannot enter by myself, such as childhood relationships, family/community rituals, myths and history (Flick 2009). This fairly superficial first level of analysis helped me to reduce the complexity through the selection and arrangement of large amounts of visual material (Becker 1998; 1974; Byrne and Doyle 2004). It also helped me to establish a dialogue with the content of my own photographic fieldnotes.

After excavating in Fidel's visual collection, I went back to fieldwork. With my analogue cameras, I kept photographing some of these diasporic social scenes while conducting participant observation. I made 35 mm photographs using Ilford black and white films, as Fidel did. He enthusiastically lent me his equipment and gave me some technical advice. With Fidel's mixers, thermometers, tanks and black bag, which had not been used for more than a decade, I started to develop my own black and white photographs 'at home' as he used to do. This process involved an exchange of objects, skills and visual outcomes with Fidel. It also allowed me to build a relation of trust and collaboration with him.

My engagement with both Fidel's collection and my own image-making helped me to keep constructing the field of my research. By using Fidel's photographs of the social scenes taken in the 1970s and 1980s, and my more recent images, I went back to the field to conduct the last set of interviews. I counter-posed Fidel's and my images of the same social scenes. I invited some of my research participants to reflect on process of continuity and change through them. While looking at two images of a commemorative picket, Alicia's says:



Claiming justice for the disappeared. London, 1979, and Wales, 2011. Fidel Cordero and the author

'But this [picture A, on the left] is sad and this [picture B, on the right] is so hopeful... we know that we have done something really good! You know? And this [A] one is all about "where are they", and "what are we going to do?" This [B] is empowering, this is less so I think. Immediately, looking at this [a] and I

feel like arghrgh!! [noises denoting a rejection]. Because, I think... the thing about the women being on the front line ... these have been always kind of women pushing, pushing, pushing the agenda, pushing forward..... men would be giving discurso político and kind of trying to rationalize something that was very practical and about direct action... and not giving to women necessarily the recognition and respect...'

Alicia, who came into exile as child, highlights distinctions between a performance founded in mourning and victimhood, and another that appears to be less so. While in the performance of the 1970s gender scripts appear to mitigate women's empowerment, the one conducted in 2011 involves a more balanced gender configuration and intergenerational engagement. This exercise allows us to understand place-making in relation to different historical moments, changing stances, retrospectively and in connection to the present.

Through this exercise, I wanted to comprehend different generations impressions and feelings about their community's history and get closer to the 'lived experience of change' (Byrne and Doyle 2004, 166-7). By looking at images of change, individuals are 'forced to reflect on the place of collectives of people to which they have *belonged in the past*, and to which they might still belong in the present and future' (ibid., 171). In other words, this exercise allows us to explore participants' perceptions, experiences and feelings in relation to the transformation of their environments across time.

To some extent, this exercise resembles what Harper (2012) calls the 'visually comparative method' in the study of social change:

'Photograph what was photographed before, and do it carefully, matching lenses, camera formats, precise framing, weather and seasonal variables and

other elements that affect how the photo will look. All the elements that make a photo look a certain way can be controlled, so the only source of difference in appearance is the difference in time between photos made at different times' (Harper 2012, 91)

The method Harper describes has been used mostly to study transformations in urban physical environments. My focus, however, has been in social scenes that, despite being situated in place, are also embodied and mobile. They are transiently placed and set in motion through active and sometimes itinerant repertoires. These features make controlling 'external' factors impossible. Unlike the method described by Harper, the stability of the places and the continuity between different repertoires across sites are aspects to investigate, rather than a methodological basis.

Elicitation exercises helped me to enhance my understanding of these scenes, their repertoires and their transformation across time, as well as the way they are apprehended by different generations. The use of photographs in elicitation exercises lies in their ability to *evoke* 'information, feelings, and memories that are due to the photograph's particular form of representation' (Harper 2002, 13; a complete review in Harper 2012, 155-87). 'Photo-elicitation', a method first developed by Collier, consists of introducing photographs in the context of an interview 'to invoke comments, memory and discussion of broader abstractions and generalities' (Banks 2007, 65). Photo-elicitation has diverse advantages, such as activating memory, making interviews less monotonous for the participants, facilitating a rapport for the researcher and setting up a context from which subjects can elaborate their accounts (Harper 2002). In other words, in photo-elicitation, pictures are relevant because of their role in developing the participants' narratives, engaging them and supporting them in the act of remembering and telling their stories.

Elicitation puts research participants' agency and reflexive profile at the centre of the research process. It encourages them to actively participate in the production of knowledge and interpretation (Pink 2007; Stanczak 2007). 'Collaboration' is the notion

often used to describe both that way of engaging research participants, and process in which participants make and interpret images more broadly (Harper 2012, 155). My research on the Chilean diaspora also involves collaboration in those terms. Fidel's role taking photographs and the reading of the images by my research participants were part of that form of relationship. Moreover, collaboration here also involved *apprenticeship*. Unlike other participative media research projects, however, the researcher actively learnt from an older informant's photographic practice and she did so by adopting an out-dated media rather than cutting edge technology (cf. Puwar 2012). While dialoguing with the crafts and expertise of this practitioner, there was 'some degree of "becoming otherwise" by working collaboratively' and by 'curating' his collection for further stages of the research (Puwar and Sharma 202, 44). The process in play is material, affective and symbolic. Not only images are interchanged but also skills and artefacts. By looking at Fidel's images, learning the craft of making them and using both his and my images, I also developed new attentiveness to the making of diaspora space.

Ethic dilemmas come into play while working with personal collections of images (Moreno-Figueroa 2008), particularly with those recollections that show disregarded and mundane instances of communal life (Mannik 2012). Some visual scholars have encouraged us to embrace an ethics engaged with the ethnographers' emerging knowledge of the people they work with (Banks 2007), particularly with their visual culture (Pink 2007). The familiarity with the researched community or people should also guide and orient researchers in the making and publicity of images. During fieldwork I got consent from those I talked to. During conversations the desire of giving public visibility to their experiences and to their own fight in exile from abroad was a recurrent topic. I also observed that they were willing to be photographed in public events. Eventually they even asked me to take them a photograph. In my exhibitions, they were happy and moved to see themselves and other people they knew in the pictures that were on display. So, this was an antecedent based in contact with them and observation which motivated me to bring these images to public view.

But there was a more complex ethic dilemma at stake. On one hand, there is the improbability of getting informed consent from every photographed person. People in the pictures might remain distant or forever gone, unknowable and difficult to reach. The traditional ethic manual would advise that, without permission from these actors, the pictures should not be shown. On the other hand, we confront the lack of public acknowledgement of some experiences. Moments of collective engagement which, despite being significant for their protagonists, have been historically denied a place in official public tales. An ethic that, rather than simply following ethic manuals, is engaged with oppressed experiences would encourage the researcher to bring these visual narratives and experiences to public view (Puwar 2013). The last one is the ethic I embraced.

In other words, there is a tension among both ethic stances, a clash that is particularly important for the case of this research. As we shall see, the public engagement of Chilean exiles abroad across time not only has aimed to denounce the dictatorship and the lack of accountability regarding human rights violation, but also to bring to light their own fight and engagement with Chilean affairs from abroad as exiles. The publics they enacted were also part of, as Auyero would put it, 'a quest for recognition' (2003). The tension among both kind of ethics, then, makes some questions emerge: Should we put these photographs back in their fringy places given the improbability of getting permission and approval from some of those pictured there? Is this course of action the most 'ethic' path to take? It seems that both alternatives – showing these images without asking for permission to each person who appears on them or, alternatively, keeping them hidden given the lack of full informed consent – are decisions ethically questionable. Yet, one decision must be taken and one ethic must be embraced.

Displaying home-making

Curatorial practices, through exhibitions and other forms of public display, are starting to be incorporated in social sciences, either in the production, representation or dissemination of research, a work that often involve collaboration with artists (Latour 2005; Puwar and Sharma 2012). These initiatives are part of the wider agenda of making public sociology and public ethnography (Plummer 1999; Buraway 2005; Gans 2010; Vannini and Mosher 2013). Degarrod (2013) makes the point that making ethnographies public, particularly through exhibitions, contributes to making justice by giving public recognition to overlooked experiences. Visual displays are also among other strategies that contribute to bring sociology alive, while potentially transmitting knowledge to the research participants and wider publics (Back 2007; Back and Puwar 2012; Degarrod 2013).

This research's installation puts in dialogue different social scenes that are intertwined with my research participants' spatial routines and life trajectories. The display combines textual narratives (which come from interviews), personal visual archives and my own photographs made during fieldwork. They are presented in four forms of display: slide-projection, photographs/text interface, a film projection and a living visual object. All of them relate differently to the social scenes and accounts of this written monograph. Through the installation, unnoticed migratory spaces and private records of home-making are made public.

First, the slide-projection shows images made by photojournalists who worked in the CCHR and travelled to Chile during the 1970s and 1980s. Fidel, who used to work in the CCHR, gave me a box with these image-objects. The depictions aimed to develop social awareness among Chilean exiles and English organizations in the UK. They show political acts of protest and militancy, places of work and work-flows (in line with the socialist agenda), clandestine and official press, and diverse landscapes of Chile. The slides reflect 'the news from home' (Akerman 1977) that Chilean exiles were receiving

from the 'homeland'. The slides' images echo the exiles expectations before their return trips. My encounter with these slides was toward the end of my fieldwork and allowed me to get a new grasp of Chilean exiles' public life before departure. Playing with the thin line between reality and fiction, these images also helped me to know the Chilean diaspora's imaginary of Chile before their actual return.



***'Marchando por los cambios'* (marching for the changes) in Chile. London, 2011. By the author.**

This slide-projection will be located at the beginning of the gallery space. Spatially and technologically, it invites the viewer to engage with another time and space: the 'then' and 'there'. The sense of (a)temporality is also promoted by the visual media. Analogue films are both tactile and visual. These aspects are not merely formal, as Marks notices in *The Skin of the Film*, 'but have implications for how the viewer relates bodily with the image' (2000, 171). For example, Marks says, analogue media is particularly important for emigrants and exiles. For them, they become treasured recollections of images 'back home'. 'Because they are so hard to find, these videos quickly lose their status as mechanically reproduced media and become rare, unique and precious objects' (ibid.). The deterioration that suffuses the images, their decay, comes to signify, Marks notes, 'the failure of memory' (ibid.). Similarly, the slides' images of this installation refer to another place, time and era impossible to fully reach today. The 'pastness' of this

material is also emphasised by the texture of the film and the obsolescence of the form of display (i.e. the analogue projector).

The slides will be thematically organized. This slide projection is particularly connected to the first (context) chapter, which relates the life of the exiles during the dictatorship, particularly departure, detours, settlements and returns. It shows what was happening in parallel to those processes in the 'homeland'. The slides also echo the Chilean exiles' expectations of Chile before their actual return trips and, therefore, shed new light on their early experiences of dislocation and relocation.

Set opposite to the slide projection, a film made by Ecomemoria will be shown. In conversation with the slides, this film travelled in the opposite direction: from the UK to Chile. Unlike the slides, the images were made in a post-dictatorial and transnational context. The film shows the tree-planting ceremony to commemorate two '*desaparecidos*'. This piece particularly dialogues with chapter six, which covers the tree-planting ceremony and Ecomemoria. By being in dialogue with other scenes in the exhibition, it also establishes connection with a wider field.

The contrast among the analogue images taken during the dictatorship to be sent to the UK and the video recently made by the Chilean diaspora to be sent to Chile, reflects the way how diasporic connections are materialised through the circulations of objects at different times. The political agenda based on increasing 'awareness' regarding human rights violations, permeates both forms of circulations. One, however, highlights the exilic imagination, memories and orientations in connection to the 'homeland', and the other, by contrast, shows actual transnational inhabitations of an intergenerational group of exiles through their engagement in distant landscapes and with diverse people. This contrast, therefore, says in visual and material form something else about the transit from exile to the diaspora.

The next section combines photographs, taken in different moments. It shows two photographs per each social scene: one was taken by Fidel which shows how the scenes were in the 1970s/80s, and the other taken by me which shows how the scenes are today. Both images were made with the same technologies and techniques by two 'serious amateur photographers'. This section of the exhibition connects with different chapters as it relates to the social scenes as a whole. The photographs bring to life the scenes' situated and mobile places and practices inviting the viewer to navigate across them.

As it has been said above, the contra-positional photographs were shown during the ethnographic interviews I conducted to prompt memories and reflections from my interviewees, which in turn related to continuity and change that could be discerned among members of different generations. Some of the quotes that came from this elicitation exercises, along with sound recording of the scenes, were used in the exhibition. Specifically, two pieces that combined sound and text were presented both before the beginning and after the end of the series of photographs. This consisted in two sound-pieces, each of which combined the interviewees' reflections about continuity and change of a scene with the sonic landscapes of that scene – e.g the visitor will be reading the reflections about gatherings in front of the Embassy's and, at the same time, listening the sounds of some of the demonstrations that have taken place there recently. I used text rather than recording of the voices to keep the participants in anonymity. Both pieces are meant to work in dialogue with the pictures in the exhibition space because the reflections emerged while the interviewees were looking at them.

Finally, the linen wall used by picketers during the annual commemoration of 11 September in front of the Chilean embassy in London will be displayed. This is a smaller version of a much bigger textile wall that was first used during Pinochet's detention in 1998. It resembles another concrete wall that actually exists in Chile. This linen wall is a basic component of the last chapter of the thesis. The portrayed faces of the

disappeared show that the Chilean diaspora not only has dealt with memories of a place left behind; there are other absent presences implicated in their daily lives. This is a living object which will be in the exhibition space only for a couple of days before moving again to the demonstration of 11 September 2014.

The installation promotes, rather than illustrates, another way of narrating and bringing to life the Chilean diaspora experience of home, belonging and displacement (following Becker 2007). It allows me to expand my writing by challenging the supremacy of words as form of representation and by incorporating new audiences to my (academic) work (Degarrod 2013). Moreover, it also invites the reader to explore the Chilean diaspora changing landscapes of belonging otherwise. It invites her to navigate across different temporalities and spaces, transiting between public and private domains while putting all these dimensions (finally) together in one single space. The installation provides a different way for the reader to weave the lines that connect the different social scenes; it allows her own 'immersion'. This complements the textual account that follows which is written as an itinerary across different social scenes. Yet, while in the written monograph the reader's trajectories are already set, the exhibition allows her to make her way through them in her own terms.

The living archive of the Chilean diaspora

In his essay about the conception of an archive that organises the work of the black and Asian diaspora, Stuart Hall (2001) developed the notion of the 'living archive of the diaspora'. 'Living' emphasises the idea of an active archive, one that is always in progress (cf. Taylor 2003). It 'means present, ongoing, continuing, unfinished, open-ended' (ibid., 89). Moreover, saying that this archive is of 'the diaspora', Hall explains, underlines this archive's peculiar status. What is a common feature among its components, Hall notes is a 'syncretic dynamic which critically appropriates elements from the master code of the dominant culture and "creolises" them, dis-articulating

given signs and re-articulating their symbolic meanings otherwise' (in Hall 2001, 90, quoting Mercer). Archives have specific boundaries. Yet, in the 'diasporic' archive, the boundaries are not 'given', but 'remain to be critically specified'. Rather than looking for uniformity, the trick is to describe it 'in terms of what sense or regularity we can discover in its very dispersion. The critical effort is to discern the regularity in its heterogeneity' (Hall 2001, 90-1). Looking at the archive in this way requires attending shifts, ruptures and discontinuities.

Even though the Chilean diaspora's relation to the UK is not one of 'coloniser' and 'colonised' (as the archive that Hall reflects on is), this group's performances, location and forms of conviviality with the local context also signal a process in which, as we shall see, vernacular Chilean culture and history merges with that of The UK. This is a process of inter-mixing that works through re-articulations; it re-signifies the archive components. Different scenes, indeed, acquire different forms across time. 'Archiving' these transformations requires openness, Hall says; an openness in line with the archive's 'living' and diasporic character. There are different genres contained in this archive. These do not only involve photographs, but also the performances, stories, ephemera and written accounts, changing repertoires and places. These elements' transformation across time partly relates to specific conjunctures. The transit from politicised arena of the 1970s and 1980s to the 'cultural politics' of the next decades, for example, partly explain the differences performances in which the Chilean diaspora engage to express their demands.

Another aspect that comes to the fore through the possession and display of archives and obsolete technology is the idea of 'nostalgia'. Fidel's tasks of archiving and preserving might well embody a desire to mourn what has been lost (Cvetkovich 2003). Looking at an archive might represent a desire to *return* to an original place where things began (Steedman 2001). Yet, going back to the 'living' dimension of the archive mentioned by Hall (2001) and the idea of 'productive nostalgia' developed by Blunt (2003), it is important look the archive's 'past' in light of the present. By becoming aware of the actual prevalence of the performances depicted in the images, one can

see how the past always is re-instated (Gordon 1998). By combining past and present images of the scenes, I aim to recover this active character of the Chilean diaspora's history and the enlivening of this history while these actors search for a home in London.

This research is both made through archives and, concurrently, engages with the development of another. It investigates and creates new records (Cvetkovich 2003). The archive I am referring to includes the collections of visual objects I have found in the field, the stories I have gathered, the repertoires I have come through and what remains documented in my written accounts. It tries to incorporate what is ephemeral and, therefore, resistant to documentation. To some extent, this resembles Cvetkovich's 'archive of feelings', which contains an eclectic assemblage of different genres (e.g. oral history, memoirs and films) and 'sites' of public cultures (e.g. grassroots archives and concerts).

Conceiving archives in this way invites me to think about my role as researcher differently. Both writing-up the text and assembling the exhibition involve organising, classifying and choosing what is relevant to include, (re)present and make (to different extents) public. 'Constructing the field' of ethnographic research (Amit 2000) is not too different from 'curating' (cf. Puwar and Sharma 2012). The potential of researchers' role as curators involve selecting and resituating the work that others have done (as I do by using visual objects produced by the diaspora). Ethnographers tasks, after all, involve gathering, classifying, translating and presenting to others what has been gathered through fieldwork. Puwar and Sharma use the notion of 'curating sociology'. They define this as 'a methodological commitment to collaborative knowledge production for creative public intervention and engagement' (2012, 43). Yet, unlike their approach, in this research I did not work with artists, but with the craft of an amateur photographer. This form of curation as collaborations has ethical implications (Pink 2007, 53) as it brings to light 'alternative' visual archives, which depict scenes that for most part have remained hidden.

Chapter 4 – Troubling the Boundaries Between Private and Public Fields

This chapter shows how two *loci*, a house and a park's corner, are coupled through both home-making practices and their ability to provide a sense of belonging. While Mrs. Ávalos's house domesticates the external world in the intimacy of her house, *la cancha* displays the 'homing' of a public place. In unsettling the delimitation between private and public domains, particular attention is given to women's location and labour involved in homing. Through the entanglement of public and private home-making, and the creation of diaspora space, these women contribute to particular conceptualizations of home and home-making (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Salih 2003; Ehrkamp 2013). They do so by troubling private and public boundaries, by unsettling normative ideas of diasporas, belonging and place, and by weaving spatial and temporal connections through place-making.

The following account attends textures, images, objects and repertoires, landscapes, trophies, food and gender scripts. These serve as empirical means to observe how gender ideologies and relations are constituted, reproduced and questioned. 'Gender ideologies', Al-Ali explains, refer to 'the normative attitude and system of thought which naturalize and legitimize predominant social hierarchies that tend to privilege men as a group'. On the other hand, 'gender relations' relate to 'the way culture or society defines and organizes rights, responsibilities, access to resources, decision making processes, and the division of labour of men and women in relation to one another' (Al-Ali 2010, 119). Even though these ideological and practical regimes privilege men, women are not simply oppressed and subjugated through them. Nor are they in need of protection and confined to private terrains. In either visible or subtle ways, women negotiate difference and power relationships across public and private transnational terrains (Ehrkamp 2013; Salih 2003).

Along with attending women's role in re-making the boundaries of home in the diaspora, I look at the material, sensory and emotional landscapes that the Chilean diaspora create. These landscapes resonate with memories of life before departure from Chile and also with their ongoing history of settlement in the UK. Sensory landscapes, by being connected to personal and collective memories, challenge private-public boundaries. Also, by establishing connection to distant locales, sensory landscapes unsettle distinctions between local and global domains. Finally, through these landscapes, the Chilean diaspora also activate memories of their life in the host country, which unsettles normative ideas of migration, geographies and home.

Belonging connections are actualised through materialities and embodied practices in different city places (Law 2001; Knowles 2003; Rhys-Taylor 2007). The photographs exhibited in the accompanying installation reinforce this material and embodied aspect. Landscapes and practices, along with depictions of different eras of *la cancha*, bring its lived and textured dimension to life, and it does so in connection to the other scenes that are also on display there.

The following account starts in Mrs. Ávalos' living room. Her arrangement of different visual objects – trophies, photographs and landscapes paintings – and her practice of collecting and archiving connect distant and more approachable places, absent and living presences. While reaffirming traditional ideas of womanhood, she also put her agency at work by creating alternative sceneries that link her to a broader social, spatial and historical context. Through these connections, rather than being confined to the private sphere, she appears enmeshed with wider historical and social webs. From Mrs. Ávalos' living room, we move to *la cancha*, where her offspring still participate. Firstly, I reflect on *la cancha's* as a field of belonging, attending the sensory and material landscape developed there. Within this landscape, I argue, women situate themselves in particular ways that make them the public face of the private home. They are incorporated in specific ways in this male led terrain. By 'making-home in public', they subvert only partially the principles and hierarchies that tend to privilege

men. Yet, reinstalling the domestic in public through feminised practices also allows them to participate as agents, taking part in political mobilizations, economic activities and cultural production. Women's position in *la cancha* is recognised as inherent to the place's homely dimension – even if they are included in partial ways, they are not precisely out-of-place (cf. Puwar 2004). In the last section, I present the face of *la cancha* as a 'dysfunctional home' and the consequent decision of some members to distance themselves from the scene. Women's positions in relation to class, gender, age, education and ethnicity are crucial to their chances to transit to other fields.

By moving across different spheres, the chapter shows the 'porosity' of home (Blunt and Dowling 2006). It also destabilizes ideas of home as heaven by showing some of the hierarchies and tensions involved in home-making. It shows women dealing with social and cultural constraints without depicting them simply as victims, but as agents who make a place for themselves in a way that is not exempt of tensions and contradictions. Moreover, by presenting these public and private domains as enacting translocal connections, the Chilean diaspora's form of home-making unsettles essentialist ideas of diasporic belonging.

Behind a door's framed glass

'If you want to observe the precision and delicacy of their care, it is better to start by observing their attention to things'

(Miller 2008, 24)

'We have always been in *la cancha*. We are part of it really'. Olguita is the daughter of Hector Ávalos, the founder of the Latin American football league of Clapham Common. On a sunny Sunday afternoon, I met her in *la cancha* on the green around the pitch

where she is often socializing with an intergenerational group of Chilean exiles. We agreed to meet in Brixton to visit her mother, Mrs. Olga Ávalos, from whom Olguita inherited her name. While a famous Colombian *vallenato* plays on her radio, we move off in her car, leaving behind the hectic tempo of the Brixton Road, going up along Acre Lane toward a residential area in the heart of Brixton.

Standing at Mrs. Ávalos' front door, I can see an English flag hanging from inside the blue door's framed glass. The meanings associated with the public display of this red and white national icon – such as the nationalistic sentiments of the (white) English population, particularly football fans – are somehow unsettled by its presence in the house of this Chilean refugee woman. From her Victorian redbrick house, the flag opens up the scene to Mrs. Ávalos' home.

In the living room, cuddly toys lie scattered on the carpet. A smell of humidity and tobacco pervades the air. One of the walls contains virtually all the decoration. Football trophies, photographs of the league's teams and portraits of her family take up the two shelves located at both ends of that wall. Thick curtains stop the daylight from entering the room. Yet, the light reflected in the myriads of silver and golden cups, medals and plaques, makes the space appear luminous and bright. These visual and material recollections belong to the past and present eras of the Latin American football scene of Clapham Common: the era of her husband, her children and grandchildren.

Between the trophies, landscape paintings hang on the wall. They depict the hilly streets and houses of *Valparaíso* – Mrs. Ávalos's and Hector's coastal hometown in Chile. The canvases and photographs are carefully arranged. They surround the central space of the wall where a relatively large photograph of herself and Hector is standing. They are in their forties and are embracing each other. Both look lively and joyful. They are smiling toward the camera wearing identical black berets. At the bottom of this

spot, over the chimney frame, more snapshots of her spouse and offspring complete the scene.

The 'cultivation' of home (including the display of visual objects) has been highlighted as a central aspect of home-making, a task often carried out by women and which is material and affectively made (Young 2002; Blunt and Dowling 2006, 4; Rose 2010, 41-2). Indeed, there is an important emotional investment in Mrs. Ávalos' adornment and recollections. On her wall, as in her telling, the centrality of her husband is palpable. Hector Ávalos died twenty-three years ago, yet he is still an active presence. Indeed, the arrangement of those diverse objects of memory appears to comprise a sort of holy altar devoted to him and the legacy that he has left both to 'the community' and to his close family circle. Mrs. Ávalos protects the memory of Hector by projecting it materially on her wall, keeping his personal possessions together in another room and defending his legacy as 'the only creator of *la cancha!*' as she claims he was.



Colo-Colo football team. London, 2011. By the author.

Today, Mrs. Ávalos hardly goes to *la cancha* and rarely meets the close friends she made there in the 1970s and 1980s. Apart from her family life, there is little sociability involved in her routine. Mrs. Ávalos' migrant condition is inherent to that of being a widow, mother and protective grandmother. Like other first generation exile women, particularly those with a working class background, she does not go out much and her knowledge of the English language is precarious. At first sight, her figure echoes ideas of womanhood rooted in Catholicism. In reference to Italian émigrés in London, particularly old diasporic women, Fortier explains how 'confined in the home, not speaking English, [these women] become the epitome of the sacrificial and suffering immigrant condition of existence' (2000, 147). This archetype portrays the 'sanctification of motherhood', what in the Italian case has been labelled as 'Italian *mamismo*': 'the veneration of the mother figure as "the symbol of what is more sacred within a family"' (ibid., 148). Mario, a former footballer who played on Hector's team, brings this gender construction to the fore when he jokes that Mrs. Ávalos 'is like Bernarda Alba'. This is a character from a famous play of the Spanish dramatist Federico García Lorca: an affluent widow who chooses to live under a condition of strict mourning, surrounded by her daughters, after her second husband's death. She decides to live a life behind closed doors imbued by ideas of purity and strict morality.

Victor, Mrs. Ávalos' son, relates her act of collecting and archiving to that traditional depiction of womanhood, particularly to her mother's unconditional devotion to her father. These domestic and aesthetic practices, then, are not necessarily a materialization of women's aspiration of independence from men (cf. McMillan 2003). 'She archived everything because she was always besides my father, always! You know that, in the old times, the woman was always beside her husband... the women managed everything'. When her daughter Olguita enthusiastically proposed to Mrs. Ávalos the idea of showing me this archive, particularly the football league magazines that her father used to draw up manually all by himself, she replies 'No way!' (*'¡Por ningún motivo!'*) in a definitive tone. 'I also told Victor that no way!', she reiterates, indicating that her son had suggested the same. The refusal of Mrs. Ávalos to share her archive suggests that, like her matriarchal role, the making of this

archive is imbued with moral principles. 'Values and beliefs', Pink says, 'inform different uses of spaces and "things" in the home and how spaces and objects are implicated in social and kin relationships' (in Pink 2004, 13, following Chevalier 1998). Indeed, keeping this collection a mystery, only visible to herself and her family, reveals the emotional charge of these recollections, which predominates over its utilitarian value (drawing on Miller 2008, 25). In line with diasporian women's role in the transmission of cultural norms (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1993), the cultivation of her very persona as a respectful widow and her role protecting the true legacy of her husband, show how diasporas do not always challenge engrained gender principles. Mrs. Ávalos reinstates traditional tropes of womanhood – women as 'symbols of virtue, beauty, nurture and justice' (Puwar 2004, 6). Apparently, as other old migrant women do (Fortier 2000; Ehrkamp 2013), Mrs. Ávalos also sustains those traditional principles to different extents.

Even though Mrs. Ávalos' activities appear conditioned by strong gender ideologies and relations, it is important to attend to how she also becomes an agent through her determination in collecting and arranging those different visual objects. Unlike those orthodox constructions of gender, Mrs. Ávalos' cultivation of this space does not simply involve mourning and detachment from the external world. The trophies and family snaps also depict achievements and a projection toward the future, rather than pure grief. As Miller (2008) asserts, connection with material objects reflects the ability to establish significant bonds with one's wider milieu. Through the materiality of home, one connects with what is significant beyond this private terrain. Rather than being isolated from public spheres, what is at stake is these public spheres' domestication and intimate appropriation (Miller 2001; 2008; see also Connerton 2009, 20). Through the material and visual culture of home, connections with other people and places are established, stretching the domestic sphere beyond her house (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 112).

Through those different material recollections, Mrs. Ávalos has created a 'little cosmology' that protects her from the evident losses and departures that emerge like

absent presences in her daily routine (Miller 2008). Through this collecting and displaying, Mrs. Ávalos makes home by keeping memories working within the intimate spaces of her current life (Hecht 2001). As a diasporic formation, her collection creates an alternative space ‘in-between’ different territories and temporalities. It puts together what is absent and what is physically approachable. In this sense, the way in which those visual recollections are displayed, hidden away and, therefore, accessed and preserved in Mrs. Ávalos’ home, completes their meaning (Miller 2008; Edwards 1999).

Materialising other diasporic landscapes



Mrs. Avalos' Belongings. London, 2011. By the author.

Within the British context, home-making through material culture has been mostly explored in relation to diasporic groups whose relation to London is founded on a (post)colonial connection. In this context, the domestic sphere has been conceived as providing an arena for the relocation of past homes, textures and sensory landscapes.

For example, while analysing how visual cultures of home refract the landscapes of South Asia and East Africa into British domestic places, Tolia-Kelly proposes that through the reinstating of those sceneries, memories of other places of belonging are 'archived' in the home, securing a sense of self, of continuity and belonging (2004, 675). Another example that gives a wider visibility to hidden domestic settings is the art-based research project on 'The "West Indian" front room in the African diaspora', through which McMillan (2003) relocates this meaningful place in the gallery space. The front room, McMillan explains, is 'a generic term which includes the living room and sitting room and for aspirant white working-class families, it was inscribed with middle-class values' (2003, 405). Drawing on Stuart Hall's reflections on black settlement in The UK (1984), McMillan proposes that the grooming of this interior space comprises a claim of belonging and respectability. This is a quest for recognition which, rather than simply mimicking the host society's culture or re-placing remembered settings, 'creolizes' popular culture and develops aesthetic forms that challenge any claim for authenticity.

Even though Mrs. Ávalos' living room is not part of an aesthetic-domestic pattern like the West Indian front room is, the visual/material culture it contains resonates with what can be found in other houses. Through a few objects or by developing more complex sceneries, the Chilean diaspora also create spaces that can take their inhabitants and some visitors 'back home' and develop a sense of connection with remembered geographies.

Mrs. Ávalos' living room is filled with the iconography of football, images of the league and her kin, and illustrations of the Chilean city-port of Valparaíso. Popular mass culture, family and communal memorabilia, and Chilean vernacular imagery are central. The low quality reproduction of the images – some of them simply printed on A4 letter paper – demonstrates that the content and memories projected matter, rather than the sophistication or the quality of the display. This display does not have an 'impression management' role directed to visitors, attempting to gain a certain

respectability based on middle-class values (cf. McMillan 2003). Yet, this adornment and display has an audience in mind. Her four children, eight grandchildren and two grand-grandchildren will be from time to time with Mrs. Ávalos in her living room surrounded by these objects of memory. Through material recollections and social interactions, this locus has the power to ensure that those who partake there are well aware that the history of the dusty fields of Clapham Common belongs to the community that is weekly actualized there as much as it belongs to each one of her kin. *La cancha* it is part of a collective heritage as much as it is a personal possession and a family legacy.

In this human-scale site of memory, a not-always-deliberate act of remembering is pursued (Connerton 2009, 34-5). The home acquires its own material agency (Miller 2001). The place Mrs. Avalos creates resonates to some extent with Fidel's archive presented in the previous chapter. Her living room, seen as an archive, is also lived, active and always in a state of becoming; it puts in dialogue different places and temporalities; it appropriates publics and past lives of some social scenes in the intimate places of her present. Yet, Mrs. Avalos' archive works through alterity. It is both a place and environment of memory that combine archives and repertoires (cf. Taylor 2003; cf. Nora 1989). Also, Mrs. Avalos' archive involves an actual display. She makes the connections and decides what to include and to leave aside. By presenting those visual objects in her living room, she makes the connections between the community and her family, drawing also her own trajectory from Valparaíso (Chile) to London (England).

Explaining how the front room reveals particular 'conjunctures', McMillan says that this space materialises a particular moment 'in British history signified by cultural political shifts brought about by anti-colonialist struggle and movements for independence, civil rights, and Black Power' (2003, 399). Mrs. Ávalos' visual/material display also articulates specific conjunctures however, that are not clearly related to The UK's well-known imperial history. There are other, more pervasive, wider

connections that come into view here. Looking back at Mrs. Ávalos' home, the always-familiar port of Valparaíso becomes something strange. Its presence in this living room in London allows other connections to emerge.

Valparaíso recurrently appears in the life stories of diasporian Chileans. Many of them also have landscape paintings hanging on the walls of their homes in London. Compellingly, this port city is also a place where the histories of Chile and the UK collide. Anglican churches, former English navy leaders (whose names have baptised Valparaíso's emblematic streets and squares), as well as social clubs that (sometimes in a condition of decadence) still stand there, are some of the vestiges of this less well-known colonial connection. Looking out on the Pacific Ocean, this place reveals a longstanding interchange – an alternative transnational and intercultural transaction to those enlivened through the circuits of the 'black Atlantic' (cf. Gilroy 1993).

After Sir Francis Drake's arrival in 1578, and following Charles Darwin's trip more than two centuries later, a colony of British merchants also came across the sea in the early nineteenth century to settle in Valparaíso, either in residential quarters, in the hills or in seafront warehouses down below (Beckett 2002, 44-5). The opening of the port to British merchants was part of a process that ended with exclusive (colonial) Spanish access to the Chilean coast. Burgeoning claims for 'political freedom' emerged to hide the fact that, in a different way, Chile – and particularly Valparaíso – had become another colonial enclave. Relating the commercial, social and political status of British merchants in Chile, Beckett states that '[f]or the first time, an important connection had been established: between the financial health – the survival, in fact – of the Chilean government, and the prosperity of British business interests' (ibid., 45). This transnational exchange gave shape to an unequal relationship that operated almost to the end of the century, developing a 'pattern of relations between money-making and politics', Beckett states (ibid.).

This connection between Chile and the UK is reminiscent of other, more pervasive, historical connections that are brought to light within the landscapes created by the Chilean diaspora in London. After all, the power of diasporic configurations partly resides in its ability to put in dialogue and to challenge strict delimitations between spaces and temporalities, articulating complex geopolitical connections and revealing some continual social webs. Making this connection is also a potentiality of home material and visual cultures – a potentiality which shifts focus to what visual objects ‘do’ rather than solely to their imagery and content (Rose 2011; 2007 216-236). The Chilean landscape in Mrs. Ávalos’ house gives visibility not only to a past of migration, but also to other (hi)stories that remain intangible today – a response to the invisibility of the routes of the Chilean diaspora and their persistence in the actual daily landscape of London.

The visual and material cultures in Mrs. Ávalos’ living room do not simply provide an ‘archive’ of remembered places conceived as original (cf. Tolia-Kelly 2004, 676). While Valparaiso is somehow unapproachable, *la cancha* exists materially some minutes away from Mrs. Ávalos’ house. The sense of home cultivated there does not depend only on bringing back geographies of places left behind. Also, memories of the Chilean diaspora’s terrains of belonging in London – that is, recollections related to the places of the host society – are negotiated there. The landscape of Valparaiso hanging on the wall of Mrs. Ávalos’ house in Brixton needs to be seen in dialogue with the images of *la cancha*, her family portraits, the English flag hanging by her door, as well as the trophies and medals. These different objects cannot be understood in disconnection from one another. In other words, the city port of Valparaiso is not the only landscape that is in play. The landscape that actually matters is made out of that wider range of visual objects. All of them appear as mapping Mrs. Ávalos’ complex belonging connections. The ‘there’ and ‘here’, the ‘then’ and ‘now’ and ‘in-between’ are all part of a complex mesh.

Cultivating home in the open field



***La cancha* from the upper greens. London, 2011. By the author.**



***La cancha* from the lower greens. London, 1980s. By Fidel Cordero.**

The place where *la cancha* is located at first sight seems like a self-contained area, hidden behind a line of small hills to the north, veiled by dense trees to the west and close to the edge of Clapham Common Park to the east and south. These physical surroundings constitute a natural demarcation of the place from the rest of the park, where cricket and soccer are played on the green lawns and where a predominantly middle class group of young people and families hang around, have picnics or sunbathe in the summer. While these actors' presence and lifestyles are visible simply by walking across the different paths of the park, to fully see *la cancha*, it is better to immerse oneself within this particular locus. There, the fresh, green surroundings of the trees and the grass contrast sharply with the dusty, brownish surface of the pitches and the grey metallic structure of the goals. For nearly four decades, this natural and physical setting has provided the foundation for *la cancha* to emerge as a 'social space' through the different trajectories, connections and stories that have been generated there (Lefebvre 1991, 402; De Certeau 1984).

When the sun is shining, whole families and various groups of men and women, adults and children come on to the stage alongside the football players. They surround the pitches, circulating, standing or sitting on the grass, either out in the open or under the trees. People share their food over a picnic, sometimes traditional Latin American meals, which are cooked particularly for important tournaments. When the place is busy, the claps and shouts of the loyal supporters, the sound of the players' calls and their feet on the clay become part of a major aural composition. Within this sonic landscape, the noise of the police sirens coming from the surrounding streets and the echo of the aeroplanes over the crowd's heads nearly fade away. The density of this acoustic atmosphere makes difficult to understand what those voices speaking in Spanglish, Spanish and thick Londoner-English are saying. *La cancha's* aural compositions, secluded location and the quality of its physical surface, have all played an important role in the making of *la cancha* as a homely space.

When the day is sunny, Olguita Ávalos goes to *la cancha* to meet her relatives, friends and other fellow long-term members of the scene. *La cancha* is still active in

Mrs. Ávalos' life through her offspring. Her 21-year-old grandson (Olguita's son) is the captain of the oldest Latin American team in London, the *Manuel Rodríguez*. Her two daughters often go there with their younger children, many of whom aspire to play on that team too. Her son Victor, along with other exile children (who today are adults) and British-born grandchildren, also make *la cancha* part of their weekly routine. Like the wall in Mrs. Ávalos' house depicts intergenerational continuity and legitimates her participation in the making of *la cancha*, her offspring's actual involvement in this place every Sunday highlights the transcendence of her personal trajectory there.

Latin American football league's committee decided to move from the green pitches of Brockwell Park to the dusty courts of Clapham Common in the late 1970s. Don Artemio, a former unionist who came to London in the mid-1970s, was part of the committee at that time. 'There [in Clapham] we could play properly', Don Artemio says, referring to the three adjacent pitches and their 'real game' size. He adds, 'and we liked it here because the pitches were dusty fields, like in *el barrio* [the neighbourhood].' Don Artemio relates the aesthetic and tactile dimensions of the landscape to the neighbourhood he once inhabited in Chile, where empty spaces were improvised as pitches on which neighbourhood games were played – a scenery that embodies 'the aesthetics of nostalgia', to use Bishop's terms (in Blunt 2003, 724). Along with the dust, the congregation of a dispersed 'community', the recreation of traditions and the circulation of food, sounds and news from 'home' connected Don Artemio and many others to a seemingly familiar landscape (cf. Law 2001).

Don Artemio attended *la cancha* this football season as he was visiting his family in London from Chile, where he returned after the end of the dictatorship in the early 1990s. He identifies himself as one of the founders of the social football scene in *la cancha*, a description not free of controversy. Mrs. Ávalos, defending the legacy of his husband, alleges that Don Artemio – 'who may call himself the founder of *la cancha*', as she ironically says – was not yet part of the scene when it actually started in the mid-1970s. At that time, they used to play in the green pitches of Brockwell Park.

Yet, the league and the crucial era ('the boom') of *la cancha*, Don Artemio contends, started properly when the players moved from Brockwell to the dusty courts of Clapham Common in the early 1980s. By then, Don Artemio was part of the league's committee and had created the Chilean team Manuel Rodríguez – allegedly the oldest Latin American team of London today.



The third pitch. London, 2011. By the author.

The competing claims over the foundation of *la cancha* by Mrs. Ávalos and Don Artemio reveal its significance. Affirming this significance is particularly relevant today, when *la cancha* is perceived as a space in decadence. This place was initially relevant for them to overcome their initial sense of estrangement. In *la cancha*, they could identify themselves with others and create a common terrain. This was a meaningful place for both adults and children. Luis, Don Artemio's youngest son, remembers his encounter with other children there: '[going to *la cancha*] was a way to see the friends one had made in the refugee hotel. To feel more like being in a family... because in the school you felt a bit lonely, because you couldn't speak the language', he says. As Shilling explains, contact with fellow migrants is crucial for refugees to cope with their acute sense of dislocation – 'there is often a search for existing immigrant communities

that can provide the recognition and validation of self-identity otherwise missing from their new lives' (2008, 166). During the dictatorship, people not only went to *la cancha* to play football, they went to engage with each other (Román-Velázquez 1999, 59). Various forms of political mobilization also took place there. These mobilizations comprised an alternative to the CSC.

The scene was led by union members like Don Artemio and workers who had been involved in grassroots movements before their exile, which influenced the scene's political hue. Keeping their political commitment and activism abroad allowed them to deal with the disruption caused by exile (Bermudez 2010, 83). Memories of the early days are often accompanied by an idealization of 'community'. These political activities and more gregarious social exchanges took place within a sensory landscape that connected them to home. Elderly members, such as Mrs. Ávalos, affirm that 'this was the only place without differences', which refers to the lesser relevance of the partisan politics that have divided Chilean exiles abroad. Yet, this idealization is not free of controversies as I will show later in this chapter.

As he did during his previous visit, four years ago, Don Artemio has made *la cancha* part of his weekly routine. He goes there over the weekends to socialise with his relatives and friends, to watch the game and to share traditional Chilean food he has prepared during the week. Under the big trees, where other first generation exiles are also often sitting, he stands with a cardboard box. This contains *arrollados de chancho* (pork rolls) carefully enveloped in aluminium paper, *empanadas* (Chilean pastries) that are still warm, or *pan amasado* (artisanal bread) which has been recently made. While selling *arrollados*, Don Nelson explains me that Colombians 'do not like our *arrollado*', which is spicier and hotter (*picante*) than theirs and is prepared differently. Miguel, an exile child whose former partner was Colombian, adds that 'they like it roasted, it's tasty too!' On other occasions and in other places, comparisons between 'our' and 'their' *empanadas* are mentioned as well. Food becomes a way of materialising their identities in London and developing distinctions. By the preparing

and sharing of food, home-cooking also becomes a medium to transmit ideas of national uniqueness based on flavours and taste.



Sharing *empanadas*. London, 2011. By the author.

Like the dust on the pitch, home-cooking in the green is part of a wider sensory landscape through which an interchange between place, memory and perception operate (Pink 2009). Yet this interplay also becomes manifest on occasions when nobody brings food. Memories of ‘the good times’ of *la cancha* between the late 1970s and the early 1990s are inseparable from the commensality that used to take place there. The temporal gap that exists between what *la cancha* once was and what it has since become directs people to highlight what is physically absent. Virtually every person that I knew there, or with whom I looked at photographs of the place, would tell me about the large amount of people who used to attend (a quantity that in their accounts range from five hundred to eight hundred) and about the stands of international food they had there. While pointing out a space behind the second goal (on the east side) and moving their hands as if they were drawing a hollow space, various voices stated that ‘there were a lot of food stands there’, ‘in all that area there

was food from everywhere’, ‘Colombian, Bolivian, Ecuadorian, Chilean, all beautiful food!’, ‘my father used to do barbecues there’. By re-telling these spatial stories *in situ*, they all enlivened the same corner. Through this process, their sensory memories of tastes and smells and commensality acquired an uncanny presence, creating an alternative geography in the landscape that was visible for some of them. These site-specific memories suggest that Don Artemio’s home-cooking during this visit not only involved a nostalgic connection with Chile, but also a reminiscence of *la cancha*’s ‘boom’ as some people refer to that era. In other words, like Mrs. Ávalos’ living room does, this space connects them to their story of settlement and not only to a place behind.

These personal memories are not merely imaginative, but also sensual; taste, smell, tactility and sight came to the fore (Petridou 2000; Hecht 2001; Rys-Taylor 2007; McMillan 2003). This is a process in which ‘one can taste kinship, smell witches, and hear the ancestors’, as Stoller states (1989, 5, quoted in Pink 2004, 9). The aesthetic work that takes place in the landscape through textures, practices and sensory memories relates to a form of situated knowledge of ‘Chilean-ness’ and ‘Latin American-ness’ – a reminder that ethnicity, even when it is not material in itself, has material dimensions and implications (Knowles 2003, 10). Despite the ethnic and national significance of those emplacements, *la cancha* should not be seen as the foundation for simple nostalgic evocations of a left behind or imagined ‘home’, nor as the expression of an ‘ethnoscape’ which emerges from a deterritorialized form of inhabitation (cf. Law 2001, following Appadurai 1996). The Chilean diaspora develops ‘belonging connections’ (Knowles 2003) through embodied practices, textures and sensory memories that are, even if only momentarily, grounded in a place.

In dialogue with Mrs. Ávalos’ living room, *la cancha* also enacts a particular landscape. Bodies in space, physical infrastructure and multiple sensory connections are involved in its making. The dusty pitch, the congregation of a dispersed community, the recreation of traditions and the circulation of food, sounds and news from ‘home’ have traditionally connected many of those who have participated in *la cancha* to a

seemingly familiar terrain. Moreover, by persisting there, the ongoing history of that very place (and the history of the Chilean diaspora's settlement in London) is enlivened. These different dimensions promote among *la cancha's* participants a situated understanding of their collective history and what it means to be Latin American in London; it creates a tangible terrain of belonging for them.

Women's place



Under the trees. London, 2011. By the author.

Under a thick net of trees, a group of mostly women and children spend the day. They sit comfortably in small folding chairs, forming a semi-circle facing the pitch. In a predominantly masculine environment, the place of women in *la cancha* is still recognizably there, surrounding the dusty fields. While protected under the trees from the rain and the sun, they expose their ordinary lives to the public gaze. The association of women in *la cancha* with that particular location is noteworthy. In the western

popular imagination, trees comprise an iconic place of gathering, a hospitable ground, a point of assembly and a place for community life (Moreira 2009). Chairs comprise a powerful symbol of stillness and civilization (Caplan 1978, in Ingold 2011, 39). Even though these women are located in a public space, their occupation and place-making in *la cancha* resonate with ideas of closeness and insiderhood.

In *la cancha*, women become the public face of the private home, as well as the protectors of the symbolic border of the 'Chilean community'. Al-Ali explains:

'Gender relations are also at the centre of diasporic cultural constructions of social identities and collectivities where women tend to constitute their symbolic "border guards". Specific codes and regulations around women's dress codes, mobility, general comportment and sexuality delineate "proper women", constructed as carriers of the diasporic community's "honour" and inter-generational producers of its culture, and "proper man"' (Al-Ali 2010, 120, quoting Yuval-Davis 1989, 66,67).

Conversing about women's place in *la cancha*, Don Artemio described to me on more than one occasion the same scene – 'the scene of the flower', as I have come to call it. This scene shows how the gender norms and relations mentioned by Al-Ali above become emplaced. This scene took place in a women's day during the 'boom' of *la cancha* in the 1980s. The scene is simple: 'It was a women's day and we (Chileans) told all the teams that every player had to bring a flower for the women'. And so, on that day, regardless the initial refusal of some players, every lady received a flower from their male counterpart. Don Artemio proudly repeated this story to me on three different occasions. He describes the committee's determination to conduct this act of recognition as inherent in the (Chilean) political profile of the scene at the time.

The scene of the flower appears to embody the way that women in the scene are often described. The flower is part of an act that distinguishes women's femininity, while the act of receiving it highlights their passivity and dependency. On the other hand, men's providing and active bearing are highlighted by this collective act of giving. This is a performance in which gender scripts appear to be set, as are female bodies' actual location within that place today. It materialises tropes of femininity and masculinity through which women and men are traditionally included into the nation: while '[w]omen feature as allegorical figures that signify the virtues of the nation', men appear 'represent and defend the nation. It is men, when it comes to actual leadership on the ground, so to speak' (Puwar 2004, 6).



Under the trees. London, 2011. By the author.

Women's have had a 'restrictive inclusion' in the scene (ibid.). Their position is particularly described as 'companions' of those who have a legitimized position there – namely (adult) men. This is indicated as an attribute of this place from its early days. Alex, exiled as a teenager, participated in the league in the 1980s. He describes this space as 'masculine familiar'. He says:

'If they [women] had younger children who were in the league they would participate. The league was not just football, because around there was a lot of political movement and movement for solidarity. There was a lot of fundraising. In this [the fundraising activities], women participated much more... or [they participated] if they had a boyfriend playing football... Some young women were forbidden to go there, because there were too many rogue guys.'



Meetings off the pitch. London, 1980s. By Fidel Cordero.

In line with others, Alex suggests that the women were there mostly as mothers and partners; that they did not have a space of their own there. Similarly, Luis, talking about his wife's and daughter's apparently enjoyable presence there on the weekends, says: 'she [his wife] stands it there (*se aguanta ahí*). The girl as well; she doesn't like it too much, but she stands it there... she goes because I go'. Yet, apart from meeting there to socialize as (companions) spouses and mothers, women have participated actively through activities that are crucial for the homely atmosphere of the scene and, as Alex also stated, also for long-distance solidarity funding.

Carmen, a good friend of Mrs. Ávalos, often goes to *la cancha*. She is one of the oldest members of the scene who has participated there from the 1970s. Her daughter, son and some of her grandsons are usually among the public, along with other members of her extended family. Before coming to London, Carmen used to live in an emblematic shantytown in Chile. As a militant of the MIR, she was involved in grassroots organizations within their local communities during the UP. After being arrested and subjected to torture during two months in a detention centre, she was sponsored by the JWG and came to London with her three children. Once in the UK, the prospect of studying was not in her plans. Like many who came through the JWG, she was not offered this chance (Kay 1987, 97). Carmen focused on caring for her family and house. *La cancha* was one of the first places she visited on her arrival and remains an important place of public engagement for her. Carmen remembers her part in the scene through home-cooking during the 1980s, when she used to prepare *empanadas* with Mrs. Ávalos. She says:

‘We made a lot of *empanadas* with other *compañeras* (comrades) and all the money that was gathered was for Chile. It was sent to the relatives of detained [people] to travel and visit their relatives... We worked for years in the Solidarity for Chile there... There we were until it finished. Sometimes, in the darkness under the snow and rain...’

Women’s tasks involved camaraderie, commitment and political mobilization (Shayne 2009). The emotional connections with a place left behind and the transnational remittances for long-distance solidarity funding derived partly from a feminised form of labour whose tasks were associated with the domestic sphere. These tasks, however, were made in public and related to issues of public concern. They were connected to the political profile of *la cancha* that prevailed mostly until the 1980s, when the dictatorship and the CSC was in steady decline (Ramírez 2014).

Regardless of what seems like the prevalent position of women in this place, women have not merely been companions or homemakers who domesticate the public sphere. Apart from being politically active in their gender specific ways, during my fieldwork, various members of the scene mentioned the seasonal formation of a women's football league, particularly during the 1990s (see also Román-Velázquez 1999, 58-60). Alex refers to the women's league, saying that 'once in a while they were allowed to play – for national championships, in that ambit only'. Describing women's incursions onto the pitch, Luisa, on the other hand, referred to women players as 'brave', as they would be occupying the pitch while 'men were looking on and laughing [at them] at the other side', she said.



Recollections of playing. London, 2011. By the author.

The pitch was not an arena that was intended for women (or for 'the wives' or the 'wags'¹⁵ as, jokingly, Miguel and Rod called them on one occasion). To occupy the dusty fields, women needed to be 'brave' and 'allowed to play', as Luisa and Alex refer. They

¹⁵ Wags is an English football slang built from the words 'wives and girlfriends'. It was explained to me that 'wags' is a 'non-nice' name for famous footballers' wives – women who like 'easy money' and 'easy stuff', who go the football matches 'dressed as if they were going to a fashion show'.

had to be willing to become more visible, despite the risk of derision and infantilisation by those who considered themselves the proper users of that terrain (Puwar 2004). Their position as football is also particularly visible and subject to inspection. Standing, shouting and cheering on the game, as well as criticizing and preaching the players because of their poor performance, are actions that are considered trivial when performed by men – acts which do not deserve any particular attention. When women enact them, conversely, they lead to comments and jokes. ‘What happened to that ma’am?!!’ one man ironically asked his friends while they were looking at an Ecuadorian woman shouting at the game from the touch line. ‘Crazy’, ‘hysterical’ and ‘scary’ were the words that sounded in response within an exploding laughter.

Alicia became part of the scene as a teenager in the late-1980s, when the political profile of *la cancha* was decaying. She recognises the role of women as home-makers, yet this recognition collides with her critical stance toward what she calls the ‘sexist’ profile of the scene:

‘... I felt like without them [women], this space wouldn’t have been what it was. Because the women got the kids, got the food.... So there was recognition, but at the same time... I felt that there was more to life than sitting around watching your man...’

The idea that ‘watching their man’ was women’s motivation to be in *la cancha* is a prevalent one within the scene. Yet, also prevalent is the notion that women made *la cancha* ‘what it was’ during its golden age. Again, this assertion suggests that women contributed to its making as a homely space. Women complete this place’s meaning. Instead of being rendered out-of-place, they take a legitimate (yet restricted) position there (cf. Ehrkamp 2013; cf. Puwar 2004). Yet, Alicia also implies that women’s home-making there was not necessarily liberating for them. *La cancha* is a public space that is not necessarily emancipatory for women (cf. Fraser 1990). ‘There is a recognition’, as Alicia says. Yet, as she regrets, that recognition is granted within the boundaries of

motherhood, companionship and care (cf. Puwar 2004, 26). This terrain is simultaneously both inclusive and restrictive. It allows migrants to resituate and manifest their identities, politics and culture there, yet, for women, it does so within certain boundaries (cf. Ehrkamp 2013).



Watching the game. London, 1980s. By Fidel Cordero.

Women were not subjugated to stay there and indeed, not all women got involved in *la cancha* under the same terms. Luisa, a first generation exile, describes her engagement with *la cancha* as occasional, gregarious and instrumental. She would go there to contact someone or to enjoy popular culture. Although her activities did not clearly differ from those of everyone else, their bearing varied. As a professional who has followed postgraduate studies in the UK, she had the appropriate cultural capital to engage at different levels. Apart from spending time in Clapham Common, she was involved in other organizations and public activities, to which many working-class people (with less professional qualifications) were not able to contribute in the same terms. Talking about her increasing disengagement of the scene, Luisa remembers that ‘it was boring to do the same thing every weekend. I wanted to get to know other parks!’

Both Luisa and Alicia left the scene in the 1980s and 1990s. By embracing professional careers and taking part in spaces of social engagement and conviviality beyond *la cancha*, they loosened the generational relation of power that, to some extent, marked their presence there (cf. Ehrkamp 2013, 25). Their gender, class, ethnicity and education partly explain the ability to navigate through different terrains (Brah 1996; Salih 2003). The inclusion of some members of the Chilean diaspora in this place might also talk about their exclusions elsewhere.

Saying that women are excluded in the social football scene would be too simple. Rather, they are included in this communal terrain in gender specific ways. They have a recognised position there that is needed to complete the meaning of *la cancha* as a hospitable space. Indeed, the nostalgic claims for this place's lost golden age are also related with women's and their home-making practices that are relatively absent today (Ramírez 2014). Women have been important actors in *la cancha* from its early days. Through long-distance-solidarity funding, they participated in economic activities, cultural production and political participation. Through this, they have managed their appropriation of public spaces and their appearance there. In *la cancha*, making a home within a public space does not necessarily involve transcending gender ideologies or the power relations tacitly involved in daily home-making (Blunt 2003, 721): these principles have shifted to a different terrain.

A dysfunctional home

'I liked the environment [of *la cancha*] when it was very international and [people] sold all sorts of different things... The children loved to go, but I didn't like it because I found it too violent. ... Because it was rough! But it had a [social] function. Imagine the people who were cleaning from five in the morning until

ten at night! What other place did they have?!... It was the only public activity for a lot of people. When we got to London the illegals [migrants] didn't go out at all!

Luisa frames the relevance of this space – as well as her ambivalent relationship with it – in the context of the dislocation, exploitation and alienation that some of the people of the scene were facing daily during the mid-1980s and also the 1990s. *La cancha* became a significant space for undocumented migrants whose routes across London were constrained daily (Román-Velázquez 1999; 2009). However, even when *la cancha* allowed them to cope, that did not make it an idyll. Alicia describes *la cancha* as a 'dysfunctional space'. Drug-related stigmas, particularly toward Colombians, involved different levels of mistrust and fragmentation (see Guarnizo et al. 1999, 373, 375). In other words, this increasingly more inclusive (Latin American) arena formed there was not necessarily progressive or emancipatory (ibid. 1999, 389).

La cancha acquired an ambiguous reputation that was reinforced by stories of excess through violent behaviour, addiction and gambling. These have been related elsewhere to Latin American 'machismos': a cult of masculinity that might be exaggerated 'in order to compensate for wider experiences of disempowerment' (McIlwaine 2010, 295).¹⁶ This also shows how gender, ethnicity and class pervade in complex ways the making of this space and its occupants' different positions there. Alicia reflects:

'So, there's a nice and romanticized idea of the pitch... everyone says, "yeah! It's wonderful! It was amazing!" But there wasn't a very nice side of it. There were a lot of men escaping, escaping their realities. ... I think it was a necessary space to survive what they had to survive, but at the same time... because there was so many people running from something... and all get together and was like... crazy... It's really hard to explain because is such an important place, and is

¹⁶ See footnote number 7.

really so important for all of us. But at the same time is a horrible place. But that's my experience... So, you can have a dysfunctional space which is significant anyway... something like that.'

Saying that *la cancha* 'was home', a place where Latin Americans could retreat and break from the daily constraints, deprivations and dislocations is not an idealization of it. This place could well be a shelter, yet not necessarily a haven (cf. Bachelard 1994). The meaning attached to certain places differs in relation to personal circumstances and experiences. Alicia's intricate attachment to *la cancha* is partly explained by her ex-partner's involvement in the scene through drinking and her own participation doing so from the greens. The 'good times' of *la cancha* (the 'boom' of this place) were also 'difficult times' for some of the scene's members. Fraught experiences give to this 'important place' different and even contradictory significance.

Both Alicia and Luisa left the scene when they ended their relationships with their partners, a process which involved, at least temporarily, cutting their bonds with this football-based Latin American scene. Both of them were economically independent and had jobs they found rewarding. Indeed, their professions are still the same since then. Unlike Mrs. Ávalos and Carmen, they went to the University and had jobs that connect them to the 'English world', as they say. Alicia, who arrived as a kid, also had the skills to navigate different spheres of the British society. Class, education and age are factors that play a role in their prospective positions and ability to move across different terrains in the UK.

While Luisa focused on working with other migrants to improve their life conditions in London (see p. 43-4), Alicia re-directed her energies to work in a Union and, overall, to work with other Chileans as a passionate activist in the context of Pinochet's detention. In both cases, the break with the social football scene meant a chance to take a new direction (Ahmed 2006). Following Alicia, in the next chapter, I move to analyse a new stage in the life of the Chilean diaspora of London.

Conclusion

Through diasporic home-making practices, migrants appear not simply as caught in tropes of nostalgia, but establishing emotional and physical connection at different levels, bridging places remembered and currently inhabited. By creating environments of connection with wider domains, diasporic home-making can unsettle ideas of private home as secluded and bounded. Also, by reinstating in public places senses of closeness and insiderhood, as well as traditional gender principles and practices, the idea of intimate publics and public homes is delineated. Also the inherently emancipatory character of public places is contested. Both in private and public places, gender ideologies are not necessarily challenged. Actually, in some cases, they seem to be sustained. Yet women are not simply victims, submissive or passive actors. Within gendered environments such as *la cancha*, women negotiate difference and power by relocating an acceptable face of femininity. At the same time, that very relocation of conventions is a manoeuvre (Ehrkamp 2013) to become political, economic and cultural agents. This is not a heroic act. Women's ability to negotiate their position there depends on diverse factors, notably class and education, factors that allow some of them to navigate and acquire legitimate positions with other meanings elsewhere and to transit to other forms of collective engagement in other domains.

The porosity and multi-level dimension of home is expressed in public and private spheres. In the case of Mrs. Ávalos, geopolitical connections between Chile and the UK are drawn in the intimacy of her home. Both in her house and in *la cancha*, one can appreciate how memories of a place left behind in the context of migration are not the only reminiscences that matter, but also their history of making home in London through *la cancha*. This place is re-appropriated through memorabilia in Mrs. Ávalos' house and through her offspring's actual involvement in *la cancha* as well. Similarly, in *la cancha*, the practices of home-cooking, for example, are means of connection, not only to a place left behind, but also means to recover and bring back forms of sociability that are linked to a previous era of the social football scene. Through

practices, visual objects and physical environments, normative ideas of belonging, place and diaspora are unsettled.

Chapter 5 – ‘*El piquete de Londres*’: a diasporic space and moment

‘I split with Adrian in early 1998 and Pinochet was arrested in October 1998. So I was kind of grieving for the relationship when I had to [she makes a body gesture which suggests ‘remove’] a lot of people I never saw again and I saw again in his funeral [a year ago]. But I had to, I needed it. But I suffered a loss because I had to leave my community; the Latin side of me had to go because I couldn’t sustain a relationship and had to separate from my partner... When Pinochet was arrested, before I knew it, I was immersed in this campaign... It was so intense! It was so absorbing! My energy, my time, my emotions, *my everything!* ... In that sense, I felt a loss but I didn’t mourn... I met really good people, interesting people that were different; different to the Latin American scene I knew through the pitch... I met other new Chileans. I met Chileans I hadn’t seen for years.’

Ahmed (2006) uses the image of ‘lines’ to depict (and ask) how people become oriented in the world by following certain paths. According to Ahmed, we are oriented when we are ‘in line’ with others and with the features of the world; a sense of orientation that emerges from an increasing sense of ‘familiarity’. For Ahmed, ‘the question of orientation’ is profound. This is not only a question ‘of how we “find our way” but how we come to “feel at home” in the world we inhabit’ (ibid., 7). After losing two important points of orientation in her life (i.e. the social football scene and Adrian), Alicia could find her way and make herself at home again through her participation in the picket lines – an initial disruption soon became a chance to take a new direction (ibid., 18). Suddenly (‘before I knew’), immersed within the emotional intensity of this social body, Alicia became an activist, a role that she still embraces through her participation in *Ecomemoria* – a human rights and ecological project, and the afterlife of *el piquete* which I expand on in the next chapter.

Ana was one of those ‘interesting people’ Alicia knew during Pinochet detention. She is also Chilean Londoner and an activist in her mid-30s who came to London as kid in the 1970s. The following lines come from a public speech she gave in the context of a Latin American festival in Machynlleth, Wales. She speaks energetically to an audience made up mostly of English, Welsh, Latin American and an intergenerational group of (British-born) Chilean people. Like ‘*el piquete de Londres*’ (the picket of London) – that itinerant rally she describes – her speech transports and moves those who are congregated transiently there. She recalls:

‘Everywhere where Pinochet was, we went and stood outside, and screamed and shouted, and banged drums, and cried and laughed, and we spoke about the day’s events, and we even had a barbeque outside one of his residences. And for 503 days we *followed* that man *wherever* the British authorities decided to put him. And it was an international campaign. We had delegations coming from Belgium, we had people coming from Sheffield [someone from the public shouts “*Escocia!*”], Scotland, we had people from *all over the world* when they could come and join the picket. And when Jack Straw, under the guidance of the British government, decided to send Pinochet back that was something that *ripped our hearts out*. But there was also a sense of keeping what we’d *re-established*. What we’d re-established was a *network* of human rights *activists* that had already existed from 11 September 1973 onwards... And part of that were people like me and Alicia and other young people who joined together with their parents in those picket lines as we hadn’t been able to do back on 11 September 1973. We were those little kids running around, pretty much like Lea is today [Alicia’s daughter who plays in the scenario and starts grinning at the public when she hears her name]. And we were able to *take part in that movement*’ (Public talk, August 2011, emphasis in the original speech)¹⁷

¹⁷ The original intonations in speech—that is, considering the way how actors’ intonation and how they actually speak—are kept in *italics* throughout the paper, as are Chilean folk terms and slang.

Alicia personal account of the significance of *el piquete* and Ana's depiction of the collective processes lived there, take our attention and emotional registers to different levels. Personal recollections, contradictory feelings and bodily reactions converge in the making these tellers' audiences, either in the intimacy of Alicia's house in New Cross or as part of a multicultural public in a distant town in Wales. Somehow, their mode of bearing witness to a pivotal moment for the Chilean diaspora resembles, consciously or not, the characteristics of the process that they try to depict.

In this chapter, I show that *el piquete de Londres* is crucial for comprehending the changing fields of belonging of an intergenerational group of Chileans who inhabit a post-dictatorial and diasporic context. As Ana's speech vividly illustrates, *el piquete* involved the assembly of a dispersed group and a form of mobilization in which political claims were performatively appropriated and led. Transnational connections and intergenerational interactions were also at play. *El piquete* comprised the emergence of public diaspora space through political claims that, as we shall see, have affective and 'carnavalesque' dimensions. By 'making noise' – as the picketers often describe what they did – 'interferences' and 'disturbances' intruded into the well-settled patterns and displays of the official national discourse (Attali 1985, in Puwar 2012, 232-233). With this, those who had not participated in historical consensus in Chile, and had remained largely unnoticed in the daily fabric of the city of London, became publicly perceptible and recognizable. Internal conflicts and differences also re-emerged. Through these processes the Chilean diaspora's sense of home, displacement and belonging was, once again, re-formulated.

El piquete was invigorated by an assembly of actors whose migrant routes are not clearly connected to The UK's imperialist legacy and whose performative politics are not mobilized by a postcolonial struggle (cf. Gilroy 1993; cf. Werbner 2002). Latin Americans are not directly linked to the Commonwealth or to The UK's former colonies. As such, they provide an interesting standpoint to look at both other emerging diasporic formations (Román-Velázquez 2009) and how these particular diasporas relate with The UK's history and past (Huyssen 2007). Bearing in mind the

particularities of the Chilean diaspora of London one could ask: What kind of social, spatial and historical routes of the Chilean diaspora, and connections to The UK, are (re)fashioned from this specific diasporic space and moment? What its emergence makes finally visible and speakable for them?

The account that follows draws mostly on the analysis of ethnographic interviews, including elicitation exercises and informal interviewing during fieldwork. I also attended press news, particularly that collected by one of my interviewees, as well as banners, program of *el piquete's* daily activities and other forms of documentation gathered by them during *503 of el piquete de Londres*. Within the gallery space the textile wall with the faces of *desaparecidos*, which was first used in *el piquete*, connect to this and other chapters. Also some images of the performances enacted in different places of the city during Pinochet detention will be displayed. In what follows, I describe the context in which this diasporic moment and spatial formation emerged.

Pinochet's detention and el piquete in context

It all started on 22 September 1998, when the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (1915-2006) visited London. The international news transmitted the images of a joyful eighty-two year old man wandering around the city, buying souvenirs with his wife Lucía and drinking tea with his longstanding friend and ally Margaret Thatcher. But the media could not foresee what was about to come. Thirteen hours of travel from Santiago to London had affected his aging figure and so, on 9th October, he was interned in the London Clinic to have relatively simple back surgery. In the midst of his recovery, while denying the rumors of his death 'on the operation table'¹⁸ and with a growing local

¹⁸ Independent, October 12th 1998, "Pinochet in London Clinic". Article available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/pinochet-in-london-clinic-1177827.html>

awareness of the presence of ‘a murderer among us’,¹⁹ the unexpected happened. In the late evening of 16th October about ten detectives from Scotland Yard entered Pinochet’s room, securing the building’s exits and disarming his bodyguards. Then, the worldwide groundbreaking news: Pinochet was under arrest to face, for the first time, a trial for the crimes against humanity committed during his military regime between 1973 and 1990 in Chile.²⁰



Personal collection of news report, flyers and banners. London, 2011. By the author.

Decades before Pinochet’s detention, in the 1970s, Chilean exiles were The UK’s most visible Latin American group (McIlwaine 2011, 3-4). During the 1970s and 1980s the presence of Chilean exiles was visible, not so much in numbers, but due to their active presence in the public sphere through the CSC and other organizations which bridged

¹⁹ The Guardian, October 15th 1998, “A Murderer Among Us”, by Hugh O’Shaughnessy, Chairman of the Latin American Bureau (Robertson 2002, 396, in Nash 2007, 5).

²⁰ The detention was solicited by Baltasar Garzón, a Spanish judge who argued that the crimes committed during Pinochet’s regime were ‘against humanity’ and, therefore, he could be judged in Spain according to international law. See a brief review of the legal case by Sugarman in <http://www.opendemocracy.net>

the Chilean left with the local public of the UK (ibid.; Bermudez 2011, 225-226; see also Wright and Oñate 2005; 1998:9-10).

Pinochet's detention took place twenty five years after the *coup d'état* and eight years after the re-establishment of Chile's democracy. In 1998, 'here' in the UK, return movements back to Chile and the end of the dictatorship had visibly diminished Chileans' presence in the public realm. Also, migrants from other Latin America countries had been arriving continually since the 1980s (McIlwaine 2011, 4; Román-Velazquez 2009, 106-107) and Chileans were becoming a minority among them. Communities founded in national politics were increasingly refashioned by alternative activities, life-styles, motivations and loyalties (Ramírez 2011). The social activities and spaces historically occupied by Chilean exiles, such as *la cancha*, were gradually incorporating the wider Latin American and British milieu (Ramírez 2014). Meanwhile, 'there', in Chile, 'forgiveness' was becoming part of a political program of consensus building and looking forward to the future, displacing the experiences of those who were still living with the scars of the past (Richards 2000, 9,11; -Barris 2009, 4-5). Following Stuart Hall's conception of the diasporic, I approach the detention of Pinochet as a pivotal point in this specific 'political, historical and theoretical conjuncture' (2012, drawing on Brah 2012 [1999]). A moment of the 'here' and 'there'; when an awareness of a 'double inscription' (re)surfaces; when structures of inclusion and marginalization, sameness and difference, and multiple belongingness come to the fore – 'the moment of *the diasporic*' (ibid, 29, 30).

The analysis here is not located within discussions of citizenship and multiculturalism (cf. Yuval-Davis 2006). Unlike other political mobilizations led by Latin American migrants in London, *El piquete's* did not emerge as a response to migrants' deprivation of citizenship rights and the resulting need of policy change (cf. Però 2011; cf. Kemp et al. 2000). Nor was their political action a strategy to contend with the consequences of migrants' negative stereotypes. Indeed, in 1998 the burgeoning debate about the 'multiculturalism backlash' had not yet fully entered The UK's public sphere (cf. Però 2011, 119-121). The claims at stake in *el piquete* contest other forms of

invisibility such as those rooted in myths of historical progress and disavowal; claims that are intergenerationally embraced and directed to a worldwide audience (cf. Bermudez 2011).

Pinochet's detention has been studied sociologically from the perspective of human rights and cosmopolitanism (Nash 2007). This approach has unsettled the taken-for-granted-ness of national borders going, interestingly, beyond the transnational frame – 'human rights do not just cross borders', Nash states, 'they contest, disrupt and sometimes re-configure them' (2007, 419). Huyssen has also noted that the trial to Pinochet was part of a moment of dialogue between 'national and transnational memory debates'; a dialogue that was later suppressed (particularly after USA's 9/11), by burgeoning discourses that emphasized the 'clash of civilizations'. 'When civilizations clash' Huyssen says, 'the space for diasporic thinking, transnational exchange, and cultural hybridity shrinks' (2007, 83). From Chile, the cultural theorist Nelly Richard focuses on the national impact of Pinochet's detention. She describes it as process that 'quickly and confusingly remobilized history and memory as zones of political enunciation, of social intervention and media performativity' (Richard 2003, 265; see also 2000, 9). In her analysis, women's occupation of the public sphere (with their claims and public appearance), 'updated' the suppressed memories and the divided versions of national political history. With this, the 'strategies of national unity' that were in play were subverted (Calhoun 1999, 226). I find Nash's assertion about borders and Richards' reflection on the re-configuration of national publics illuminating. Yet, my approach to the 'Pinochet case' is neither as the opening of a new era in the international human rights arena nor as the shaking of the amnesic history-lines of Chile, but as a new stage for an intergenerational group of Chileans exiles making "home" beyond the nation(s).

'All those people, all that history': creating a space of connection

'I remember it was a Saturday, a Friday night, and my brother called us. We went to the London Clinic. It was 3 or 4 in the morning and people got together. *It was amazing!*'

When Pinochet was arrested, the news about his detention travelled, primarily, by word of mouth in London and increasingly around the world. 'Chileans coming from everywhere'²¹ pouring towards the London Clinic gave shape to a growing vigil, marking the beginning of the 503 days of *el piquete de Londres*. This was a social body in permanent motion. Mobilization was literally what was happening. They moved from their houses to the road and across the city, re-arranging and re-directing their spatial routines during both day and night and occupying different locales, such as the areas around the London Clinic, Parliament, Virginia Water and Belmarch. This movement away from, between and within places is, as Ahmed suggests, 'affective: it affects how 'homely' one might feel and fail to feel' (1999, 341). It involves a form of home-making in the city where dwelling and movement are deeply entangled and rearranged (Knowles 2003).

The picketers did not simply meet there but they were connected from before. Nancy, who arrived as a teenager, says:

'This was the product of years of campaigning. Years of organization by different groups. Years of being informed and mobilized. And when Pinochet is arrested you have all of that. That net which was constant, was active, but it consolidated then...'

²¹ These phrases and words in quotation marks, which appear while describing situations, scenes or atmospheres, yet without a specific source, are extracted from different interview accounts. Given their generic content, in some cases, I will not make reference to specific people. Yet, they are preserved with quotation marks to keep the multi-voiced nature of the account that follows (mine through theirs) and to capture their own way of talking about the processes in question. With this, I also try to develop an account in close connection with to the 'lived' dimension of *el piquete*.

El piquete was created through 'entangled' pathways (Ingold 2011), an entanglement that was suddenly materialized and reactivated through this milestone. For some people, such as Nancy, *el piquete* was the continuation of an on-going trajectory of activism. Nancy had been working in human rights and solidarity initiatives since her arrival as a teenager. Her political activism had included dancing in folk groups, working as a translator for Amnesty and, as an adult, archiving information about the *desaparecidos* and *ejecutados politicos* for political reasons). Yet, unlike Nancy, the majority of those who partook in *el piquete* were not involved in these kind of initiatives at that time.

That is the case of Alicia, whose words opened this chapter. She became involved in *el piquete* just a couple of months after ending a long-term relationship with Adrian. 'In the middle' of a period of grief caused by the loss of a familiar terrain, *el piquete* helped Alicia to move on. In line with her experience, many others refer to their participation in *el piquete* as a chance for 'healing' their aches and pains ('*achagues*') both emotional and physical. 'I think that all the people who were ill recovered there', remarks Luisa, a first generation exile, 'so you can see the power of passion!' Not only momentary, but also longstanding disruptions and distressful feelings were here re-negotiated.



Claiming justice. London, 1980s. By Fidel Cordero.

El piquete 'gathered people who had lost all their hopes', says Alex. 'Hope', 'ire', 'stress', and 'impotence' joined the 'excitement', 'euphoria of being together' and 'delight' of having Pinochet in captivity 'here, at home'; feelings that were also intermingled with the enjoyment of becoming part of a 'spontaneous' social encounter among the Chilean diaspora. Describing how complex the emotional intensity was Johanna, exiled as teenager, says that 'it was a beautiful time, because all the people there were kind of demonstrating their anger or, in a way, releasing their ire'. Somehow, the 'beauty' of sentiments like 'anger' and 'ire' that might otherwise be taken as undermining people's temperance acquired, conversely, a liberatory potential. Challenging divisions between political and affective domains, this social formation remind us that 'feelings are central to public life' and that 'affects can be mobilized and circulated to create new and counter-cultural forms', as Cvetkovich and Pellegrini remark (2003, s/n). Through these feelings the demonstrators could publicly manifest that, along with a relegated part of Chilean recent history, they were still very much alive.

When Pinochet was arrested, Alicia and many others treasured recollections of those 'old times' of active public engagement. During the 1970s and 1980s, children and adults, women and men had participated in activities of public protest, contention

and commemoration. Solidarity demonstrations for Chile, Nicaragua and El Salvador were among the transnational humanitarian mobilizations aimed to condemn the USA's intervention in Latin American revolutionary processes (the same interventions that had backed Pinochet in the overthrowing of Salvador Allende's government before). Chilean exiles had also taken part in miners' strikes during the Thatcher administration. Thatcher was, after all, an important ally of Pinochet and her policies contradicted Chilean exiles' world-views. Also commemorations for the *desaparecidos* and *ejecutados políticos* and demos to defend exiles' right to return were amongst those scenarios of political contention. Now, in 1998, in London, they were connected through those same memories and repertoires, which had been largely inactive and came out *in situ* through diverse forms of exchange and interaction.

Some of those who had participated in Allende's 'revolutionary project' refer to their involvement in *el piquete* as a second opportunity to play a role in an historical process. It came to represent a space of renewal and revival. 'So it was like a new activity, like coming back to strong political activism', Luisa remarks and adds:

'Then again you create a sense of unity. My house was absolutely transformed! Not only was it always full of people but also, sometimes, we had to make banners and we stayed overnight. It was like going back to the times before or during the UP, when you worked all night and you didn't have any sense of time.'

Regardless of the resonance of these processes in their past experiences, their participation in *el piquete* also constituted a unique precedent. This was not only in terms of the structural transformation in the international legal domain (i.e. initiating international trials for genocides), but also in relation to their personal chance to have a favorable involvement in history. Alex reflects:

‘Some people decided to stay at home. I will never understand them. What opportunity do most people who have been victims of history have to become participants in history?! ... Any exile has that opportunity, *any exile!* To pass from being a victim – I don’t want to say to become an ‘actor’ but – to be a participant in something so important, not only on a personal and national level, but also on a worldwide level. Something that allows us to have a little bit of justice with what has happened. Not only with what has happened to my father [who was tortured and imprisoned for three years] or to my brother who is still disappeared, but to *all those people, all that history...*’

As Alex’s words depict, the trial of Pinochet was for many (‘all those people’) a chance to come to terms with their own experiences of loss, oppression and displacement (‘all that history’). *El piquete* was somehow lived as “the gift of an unexpected line” which gave to some members of the diaspora “the chance for a new direction and even a chance to live again”, to use Ahmed’s words (2006, 18). This process was not lived externally but as an extension of their personal and collective history. It contained the potential for them to overcome their victimhood and the mitigation to their agency imposed by state sponsored repression in the past.

Alex’s words also suggest that not everyone partook in *el piquete*. Some of them even ‘decided to stay at home’, as he says. Pinochet’s detention up-dated shared experiences and a common agenda as much as it enlivened internal tensions. During exile ‘open conflicts’ were mostly linked to political party allegiance (Olsson 2009, 666). Different parties embraced dissimilar revolutionary principles and versions about the causes of (and responsibilities involved in) the end of Allende’s government. These divisions took a different shape in a post-dictatorial era.

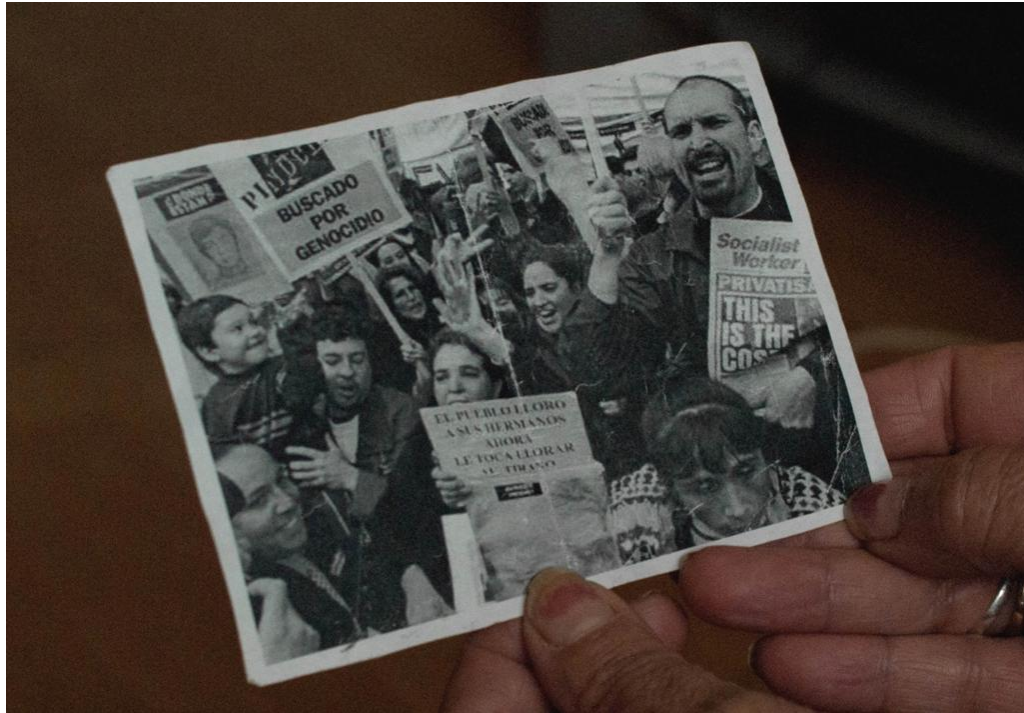
Sergio, a militant of a political party which was part of the *Concertación* (the coalition that was governing Chile at the time), states that ‘people who participated there [in *el piquete*] have *never* had any political weight and they will never have it!’

Indeed, *el piquete* was not made by the establishment or people connected to spheres of power. What was a weakness for Sergio was, conversely, its main virtue for the picketers. *El piquete* is often referred by its makers as a non-partisan terrain. Yet, those exiles who, like Sergio, were *Concertacionistas* only partook in *el piquete* initially. In Luisa's words, they did not sympathize 'with all the *bochinche* (turmoil) that we made'. Yet, the *Concertacionistas* affirm that they did not marginalize themselves from *el piquete* due to a different agenda. Unlike the Chilean government – which wanted Pinochet back in Chile to be judged there – they also wanted Pinochet to be extradited to Spain, Sergio affirms. They distanced themselves from *el piquete* due to the perceived suspicion and scorn towards them. There are different versions regarding this division. What appears as consensus is that this moment re-fashioned a break, particularly among the first generation, which still remains.

On appearance and recognition

In his reflection about the meaning that the picketers give to *la pueblada* – an uprising that took place in two oil towns in the southern province of Neuquén in Argentina – Ayero proposes that: '[b]eing-in-the-road has the power to rescue them from the official oblivion, offers them the chance to emerge from indifference' (2003, 76-77). Similarly, when people talk about *el piquete* they are not simply reviving the case in question but also their own protagonism. The attention of the press meant that the case appeared on the front pages of the most important newspapers. This and the support that they felt from British society, which they identify as 'sympathetic' and showing 'solidarity' and 'genuine support', strongly marked the experience of the campaigners. Local politicians from the Labour Party such as Tony Benn and Jeremy Corbin – who are recognized in the political scene of the country – would be supporting them alongside ordinary British people. Some sympathizers became committed members of the picket lines during the 503 days and others would show their solidarity more informally by bringing food and coffee or by making gestures of support and

festive noises with their car horns while they were passing by. Carmen declares that ‘it felt good that people recognized what had happened in our country and what we were doing’.



‘We appeared in the newspaper’. London, 2011. By the author.

The picketers were, in their view, supported by ‘the people’, while Pinochet was supported ‘from above’, particularly by the Chilean government lobby and by emblematic British figures like Thatcher. The *pinochetistas* (Pinochet’s ordinary supporters) who came to London during the crucial dates of the trial were also seen as having a privileged position through the economic support of the ‘Fundación Pinochet’. The confrontation with the *pinochetistas* was not simply symbolic. It was also physical, particularly at Belmarch on the day of the resolution about the extradition of Pinochet to Spain. Julio, a British-born Chilean, remembers that the *pinochetistas* made gestures, passing their fingers across their necks, suggesting that the opponents to Pinochet would be killed. ‘They tried to scare the people,’ he says. Johanna recalls when ‘they made a sound across the [metallic] fences and said “here are your little dead, here are your little dead”’ (referring to the *desaparecidos*). This encounter was perceived as a ‘taste’ of how things were under dictatorship in Chile; a perception that suggests that

the spatial and temporal connections that *el piquete* triggered were not always pleasant or resulted in the formation of alliances.

The imbalance between the Pinochet supporters who had the money and the anti-Pinochetists who had the 'manpower' was described by one newspaper as 'a real David and Goliath struggle'.²² In particular, the remarkable encounter between Pinochet and Thatcher during the case – when she thanked him for his help during the 1982 Malvinas/Falklands War and for 'bringing democracy to Chile' – illustrated the continual but changing character of this imbalance.²³ The Pinochet-Thatcher alliance during the dictatorship, and then during the dictator's detention, symbolized, according to Nidia, a first generation exile, 'two different moments'.

'Before they had a relation which was very strong, which we couldn't break.... But the second one, to compare, that was an *emotional joy for us*. ... We said (laughing), "leave them to do what they want, *to make a fool of themselves*". We could denounce them, we were prepared to denounce them and make a lot of noise. And that's what we did: a lot of noise'.



'Friends Again'. London, 2011. By the author.

²² The Guardian, *ibid*.

²³ See a brief account in <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/304516.stm>.

In *el piquete*, 'making a lot of noise', the desire to 'be heard' and 'noticed' or to become a 'participants in history', appear, to use Auyero's terms, 'as a cry against invisibilization, against the threat of disappearance' (2003, 76). Noise became a disturbance produced by the entrance of those bodies which have been drummed out from established versions of 'national' history – 'a disturbance that cannot be placed in a recognizable pattern... a disorder' (Attali 1985, 26–7, in Puwar 2012, 232-3). By literally and figuratively 'making noise' experiences that have remained unnoticed can finally be granted expression. And so, we can also ask, 'who is this "we" who want to be seen, acknowledged, recognized?' (Auyero 2003, 77).

The Pinochet case and *el piquete* enlivened a sense of 'we' through the creation of a diaspora space where a mixture of oppressive experiences under the Pinochet regime and histories came together. 'All those people, all that history', in Alex's words, refers to those who were disappeared and murdered by the regime, tortured victims and, more ambiguously acknowledged, to the exiles themselves. Absent and present bodies came to visibly occupy the same space. As some forms of activism in Latin America have shown, the alliances forged while dealing with the losses involved in state-sponsored repression can even surpass what is conceived as human, proximate and fully knowable (e.g. Sosa 2011; Gordon 1997, 108-115). As we shall see, this liaison became performatively visible through forms of commemoration and mobilization in the city.

The quest for recognition enunciated from *el piquete* touches upon (in)visibility as a key dimension of belonging (Puwar 2006; Werbner 2002, 10). From here I want to propose that if the situated politics of belonging involves a concern with violence, the kind of violence that is contested from *el piquete* is that which comes from invisibilization (Yuval-Davis 2006, 5). What is disputed is the recognition of some histories which somehow appear to have never happened neither in The UK nor in Chile, and yet they are still happening all over the place. Hidden connections and complicities, geographical disruptions and marginalized ghosts, which have been stepping on the paths of the Chilean diaspora of London and in others' trails well. In the

next section I will explore how some of the invisible hi/stories and pervasive inhabitations become tangible and articulated in the city “in stone, ritual and flesh” (Puwar 2006, 81).

‘New’ languages, new enactments, new inhabitations

It is 23rd March 1999, on the eve of the House of Lords’ resolution regarding whether Augusto Pinochet is immune from prosecution or not. His detractors and his supporters in the UK, Chile and around the world are waiting to find out if the dictator will be extradited to Spain to face trial for the human rights crimes committed during his military rule. In the meantime, between buildings and statues that glorify England’s colonial era, thousands of small hand-crafted wood crucifixes have been planted in the green lawn of the square facing Parliament. Inscriptions with the names of the *desaparecidos* and *ejecutados políticos* of the regime, and black and white portrait photographs of them, have been attached to the horizontal line of some crucifixes. Diverse people wander around, either as members of a growing vigil or as part of the daily social fabric of the city of London. Among the public a small number of people are dressed in black and wearing white masks. They wander around, embodying the absent presence of the disappeared and the murdered victims. It is already getting dark, and the light of the Big Ben reflected in the ivory forest of crosses and in the pale masks of the unknown faces appears to light up this haunting scene.²⁴

²⁴ Account reconstructed through the picketers’ personal recollections, included their memoirs, personal archives of printed press and photographs.



News report depicting anti and pro Pinochet demonstrations. London 2011. By the author.

In *el piquete* new and old formulas were enacted. A 'repertoire of contention' was both enlivened and re-invented. 'The notion of a repertoire', Auyero states, 'invites us to examine patterns of collective claim-making, regularities in the ways in which people band together to make their demands heard, across time and space' (2008, 573, following Tilly). *El piquete* was the product of 'an impressive period of creativity', someone states, which combined new ways of occupying public space with traditional leftwing forms of protest. Among the latter we can mention displaying the portraits of the disappeared, reading out their names and recalling well known leftist utterances (detailed in the following chapters). These ceremonies created social spaces through contestation and mobilization which momentarily intruded into the daily flow of the city landscape, disrupting the assumed meaning of certain symbolic locations (Auyero 2008, 574; cf. Werbner 2002, 16). The compelling act of planting crucifixes with the names and photographs of the *desaparecidos* in Parliament both transgresses and re-appropriates the meaning of that particular spot. The crucifixes bring to the space of the living what is assumed to be gone. Presenting the names and portraits of the *desaparecidos* interrupts the selective erasure that has been inherent to the

construction of national history. Over a territory that memorializes The UK's imperial past through a melancholic sanctification of past glories and war (Gilroy 2004) the history of another repressive sovereign system is engraved. The connection has been always there. It has been there throughout the routines of the diaspora in London; in the Thatcher-Pinochet alliance and the Malvinas/Falklands; and in the procession for the Chilean statesman Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842) which takes place every year in Richmond.

Inspired by Sosa's (2010) experimental approach to one of the most emblematic 'performances of mourning' of Latin America—i.e. *Las Madres de la plaza de Mayo* (the mothers of the May Square) in Buenos Aires, Argentina—I have come to see this fleeting yet powerful act of spatial appropriation as one that brings to the open a 'public secret' (Taussig 1999). Yet, faraway from Latin America, it does so from a diasporic angle. What it is being performed are not only the private experiences of loss and survival (disappearance and exile), nor simply the transnational seizure of matters of 'national' public concern (state sponsored repression). The crucifixes planted in front of that worldwide recognizable spot are a stark reminder of the pervasive existence of some silent, hidden, invisible (hi)stories; of happenings which inhabit that specific corner of memorabilia and the more complex web which expands from there. By appropriating Sosa's compelling question 'can you dare to affirm that the spectacle that is being performed right in your face does not belong to you in an uncanny sense?' (2010, 69) I propose that what the performance above delineates (or exposes) is not only a dialogue between intimate and public domains, or simply a transnational interchange, but a contestation and a re-configuration of assumed territorial and historical official demarcations.

This mixture of familiar and unusual enactments links to another dimension of belonging, which has to do with the domination of actual city spaces and the chance of such spatial domination to make visible, even if it is only transiently, some 'im/possible inhabitations' (Puwar 2006). Like other demonstrators, Miguel, who came into exile aged three years old, affirms that 'we were the first ones who occupied that space in

front of Parliament. They couldn't take us out!' The campaigners state that they were not treated with suspicion by the authorities. Yet, the constant presence of the police (perceived as being 'on our side' and 'supporting us') suggests that they were under a degree of surveillance. After all, they were occupying spaces which had not been intended for them. Still, during the 503 days of *el piquete* they were not requested to leave those places. Apparently, they soon moved from being occupants of those spaces—or, put in another way, '*okupas*' (squatters) – to be proper inhabitants of that terrain (cf. Puwar 2012, 338-339).

Those performative strategies of spatial appropriation were, according to some demonstrators, a reflection of the experience of 'living in two worlds'; of the daily 'schizophrenia of living in an English world, and participating in all its aspects, and then having a Chilean life', Alex states. Recalling his participation in an anti-homophobic demo in the 1980s, which consisted in dressing in black and 'winking' at people passing by in the street, he says that 'they had very entertaining campaigns, very clever. So we learned all those methodologies and we applied them in the campaign against Pinochet'. He adds:

'It was very notorious at what age people arrived here, because the people who were too Chilean continued with their old form of protest in a very traditional, *very partidist way*, a *very partidist* discourse. You listened to them and it was like *going back to the 1970s!* While we, who had been here for the same number of years, who had integrated into this society, who had worked in miners' strikes, who had participated in the university, who had participated in the schools... *just like English people!* We saw that this work had to be *different!* "It wasn't about right or left, it was about *right or wron*" [he switched into English when he used that phrase]. The Chileans continued with their super partidist discourses... *and they were right!* All their analyses were correct! But it wasn't the language of this society; it wasn't the language that people could understand. We talked another language. It was the language that we had learned *in practice*, living in this society'

Speaking 'the language' of 'this society' meant an embodied and growing understanding of the British public's cultural codes and, therefore, the skill to establish a dialogue with a wider public (drawing on Ingold 2001). Distinctions between those who were 'too Chilean' – and adhered to a partidist nationalistic political logic – and those who engaged with an international and human rights framework (if not a humanitarian 'common sense') are frequently asserted, particularly by exile women and children and the second generation. That "old form of protest" was seen as the inability to engage with the broader local and global context, and the unwillingness to embrace a more inclusive and transnationally oriented sphere of action.

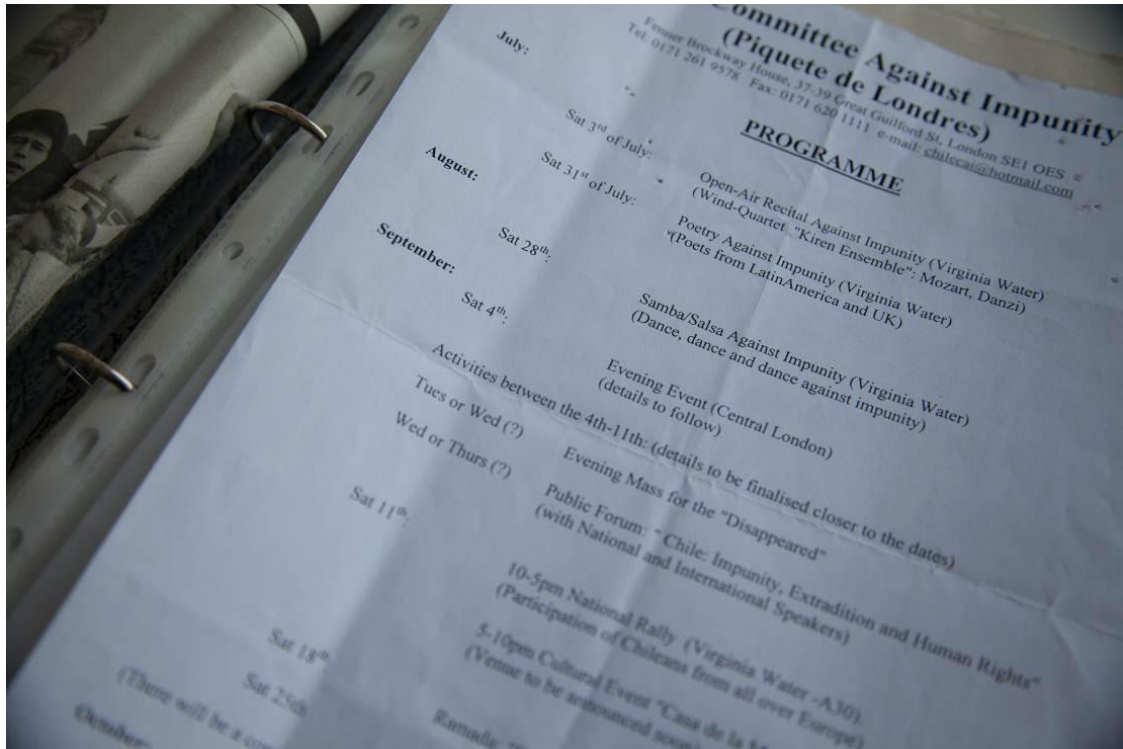
Despite their renovation, public performances did not exclude vernacular Chilean cultural forms. These were reconfigured and reconstructed in dialogue with the local context (Gilroy 2002, 284-5). Following Bakhtin's *Dialogical Imagination* (1981), Werbner (2002) explores how diasporic publics emerge 'dialogically' through encounters among diasporic actors who occupy different positions within their societies and communities. 'Dialogical encounters', she states, 'disclose broader processes of cultural contestation and hybridization' (2002, 7). Only through the 'doing' of *performance*, she argues, we can explore diasporas' 'double or multiple consciousness' (2002, 11, drawing on Tölölyan 1996). The Chilean diaspora developed these 'dialogical encounters' by subverting traditional ways of acting which had been mostly male and first generation led. Yet, these encounters not only involved diasporic actors. They created conductive spaces to interact with a wider environment (including their 'hosts') while putting in play *their own* 'migrant' and 'native' background (cf. Brah 1996; cf. Ahmed 1999). In what follows I expand on both these performances' character and the interactions in play.

The carnivalesque as means of public engagement

El piquete's processes of spatial appropriation, meaning-making and public convocation, apart from performances like that of the crucifixes, included playing drums, singing, jumping, shouting and cheering, and dance competitions, barbecues, concerts and talks. Sometimes they used masks to represent the disappeared or to mock figures of power such as Pinochet and Thatcher. "We sang music of protest", Carmen adds referring to '*Nueva Canción Chilena*' (new Chilean song).²⁵ 'We were very united, we were singing all the time'. Carmen got a drum for his grandson to play at Virginia Water where Pinochet was under home-detention. Together with him and others, she sang the national anthem but modified the lyrics to put them in line with the contingencies of the Pinochet case. These routines did not deny the seriousness of the claims at issue but made the humorous and the festive equally official as a means of public demonstration.

El piquete combined political claims with some patterns of play and spectacle. Its enactments involved formulas and aesthetics that differed in their forms and goals from those of their more privileged counterparts. However, as it should be clear by now, its strategies of representation took place *within* and *alongside* official public spaces (cf. Gardiner 2004). They were not hidden from the public eye (cf. Werbner 2002, 15).

²⁵ The *Nueva Canción Chilena* was popularized during Salvador Allende's electoral campaign and during his government. It is widely recognized as a musical movement with a clear left-wing political militancy.



El Piquete's programme of activities and events. By the author.

Remembering the different routines and interactions in play, Julio, a second generation British-born Chilean Londoner, recalls:

'The young talked with the old. It was *a good environment; it was free*; it was not something very serious. It was also like a party, *like a carnival!* Sometimes they beat drums, there were events. It was almost like celebrating the fact that Pinochet was detained, and the young had a good time together.... At that moment you felt as if you were Chilean, as if *you were in Chile!*'

Luisa adds:

'Imagine a picket that is in the street, with people coming from everywhere, and *you cannot control it! You don't have the right to control it either!* People who had had *terrible experiences* [would go], other people [would go] because they enjoyed the disorder (*la chuchoca*) and because it was attractive (*encachao*),

because other people were coming or simply because someone was playing the guitar. *For different reasons!* But they were all motivated by the Pinochet thing and *the people were united!* The more people the better and *they were all well hosted'*

There are few people who would dare to call *el piquete* 'a carnival' as Julio does. Yet denying its carnivalesque dimension in favor of the official business that was at stake will undoubtedly lead us to 'distort the picture' (Bakhtin 1968, 6). Luisa's and Julio's words suggest a suspension of regulations and hierarchies: the creation of an environment which 'was free', where 'nobody had the right to control' the others and where intergenerational exchange between 'the young' and 'the old', and among "people coming from everywhere" were in play. The relocation of forms of expression (such as music, language, dance) and the migrant bodies themselves disrupted geographical distinctions, creating a space which at times was imagined and felt as 'like being in Chile' or, as someone stated earlier, like 'the times of the UP'.

Julio also suggests that connections emerged among the second generation; connections that were somehow latent. Carmen, who came into exile with three children, says that 'our kids were brought up (*criados*) on the pickets', making reference to the demos of the 1970s and 1980s in London. Sara, a second generation Chilean, comments that 'we all were in the wheel but we didn't know it', depicting their common experience of inhabiting the same social web. Alicia states 'we recognized each other!' making a reference to the experience of knowing others who, like herself, had grown up as part of an exile family and 'community'. 'We had such a similar upbringing, *such a similar upbringing*, that we connected immediately!' she says.

Those connections were, nevertheless, complicated by a parallel intergenerational and ideological disconnection. This was founded in the dismissal of party allegiances, nationalism and ranks. Given the weight that partisan politics had in exile during the dictatorship, such dismissal is significant. New generations often refer

to their rejection of the '*poliquería*' (politicking); a term they often use to refer to pointless and empty political discourses. Gender peculiarities are mentioned in this context, particularly by younger demonstrators in reference to the behavior of their parents' generation. 'The man would be giving a *discurso político* and kind of trying to rationalize something that was very practical and about direct action... But they [her mother and Luisa] were very quiet behind the scene', Alicia states. This resonates with the gendered character of home and belonging in which women are expected to transmit, cultivate and preserve national ideologies and practices, while male voices are expected to publicly act 'to represent the cultural need of the group' (Anthias 2006, 22, 24; see McIlwaine 2010). Interestingly, in *el piquete* the next generations come to acknowledge their different social location in relation to their parents' stances in the public domain.

Following Gilroy, these breaks can be seen as opening 'opportunities to be more creative, to be more future oriented' (in Bell 1999a, 26). This is important because very often diasporic communities' affection to the past, he argues, promotes 'patterns of political work' which are 'strongly authoritarian in character' (ibid.). Then, creating new spaces of belonging does not simply involve the incorporation into existing forms of organization but, as Yuval-Davis helpfully reminds us, it 'may entail a transformation of those very forms' of collective engagement (2006, 8). In line with this, in *el piquete*, new forms of political expression, organization and aesthetics were displayed. In this arena, the carnivalesque, as a mode of expression, exchange and translation, allowed the making of a space of fun and celebration as well as one of disputes and contestation (Werbner 2002, 187-210). As Alex's phrase 'today it isn't about right and left but about right and wrong' suggests, the intergenerational break was largely about revealing and subverting how politics (and being political itself) had been understood and performed before and how it should be conducted then in that diasporic terrain.

Even so, it would be misleading to take *el piquete* just as a festive jubilee. 'Dramatic' moments and accounts of 'terrible' events were also recalled. Fernanda, exiled as a child, during our interview read aloud for me an excerpt which came from a

selection of printed quotations that were gathered and then distributed in *el piquete* by a collective of filmmakers. With this, she brings to life one of those 'painful' testimonies:

'...Our father died in Chile in a prison in Santiago during Pinochet's regime. The results of the autopsy revealed a brutality beyond horror. ... Our father's autopsy reported that they broke every bone in his body, they burned him from the neck down with a flame-thrower and then they shot him about twenty times. They didn't mess with his head because they wanted him to be conscious of the pain he was suffering during the three days they tormented him from the moment of his capture. They first took him to a military base and then to *Peldehue*. I ask you – how many times can a man be killed?'²⁶

Through affiliations and confrontations, performances and speeches, some British-born Chileans became aware of the burden of the dictatorial history of Chile and of the magnitude of its repression. Ricardo and Johanna, a married couple who arrived separately as teenagers in the 1970s and 1980s, saw Pinochet's arrest as 'something that marked our lives'. 'It was good', Joanna said, 'because our children understood the reason why we are here'. In *el piquete* memory and understanding of the past were 'generated' within a common pattern of life activity rather than simply being 'transmitted' from one generation to another, or from survivors to witnesses (Ingold 2000, 138; cf. Taylor 2003; 2011). A past of migration and their ghosts acquire visibility through a process which does not simply involve mourning and grief but which is also productive (Blunt 2003), in this case, by developing (dis)connections between generations and between the diaspora and its context, and by allowing new subjectivities and collective formations to emerge. This involves looking at diaspora not only in connection to loss. We need also attends 'its negotiation with the majority culture within which it operates' and the way how they open up themselves to 'alternative futures' (Huyssen 2007, 86).

²⁶ Small films, 'Pasaporte a la Justicia', documents with testimonies collected and distributed in *el piquete*.

After eighteen months of legal battles, despite the fact that the magistrate had given consent for extradition, Pinochet failed the senility test and was sent back to Chile on medical grounds. Feelings such as 'disillusion', 'pain', 'nausea', 'sadness' and 'anger', were in many cases suffused with a sense of imbalance between the victims' experiences and the treatment that Pinochet received in London. 'He was like a king! He was visited by his family. He didn't have freedom but he had a house with everything in Virginia Water, like a rich man!' Carmen says. Yet, for some picketers, it was 'successful anyways, because everyone knew', Ricardo claims. For others, taking part in *el piquete* 'defined' them in terms of their allegiances, beliefs and convictions. 'It reaffirmed various things' in relation to England, someone says. The process was lived differently. Yet, it largely involved a new stage for its participants. For Nancy:

'It was a recognition that we weren't wrong. ... as if history absolved you a little bit (laughs). That we weren't those mad *extremists*, evil *communists*, who only wanted the destruction of the country—which was a very successful campaign [in Chile]. But also, from the personal point of view, [it involved] stop being a victim.'

Since the end of the trial 'a lot of Chileans have been falling apart', someone says, getting together mostly at specific events. One of these events was that one where the speech that opened this chapter was delivered – a speech given by a member of Ecomemoria, an organization that is the afterlife of *el piquete* and which is at the ore of the next chapter.

El piquete subsists through personal material recollections and it has a pervasive presence in everyday tales. The desire to bear witness to this moment manifests itself today through some demonstrators' personal memoirs (Alegría 1999)

and some grassroots organizations' systematic recordings of the process (see www.memoriaviva.com). Just as the Chilean diaspora's memories of Chile and of settling and growing up in London were transiently revived and recombined on the piquet lines, the memories of *el piquete* are also actualized and reorganized from time to time in the local present of the Chilean diaspora's everyday lives in London.

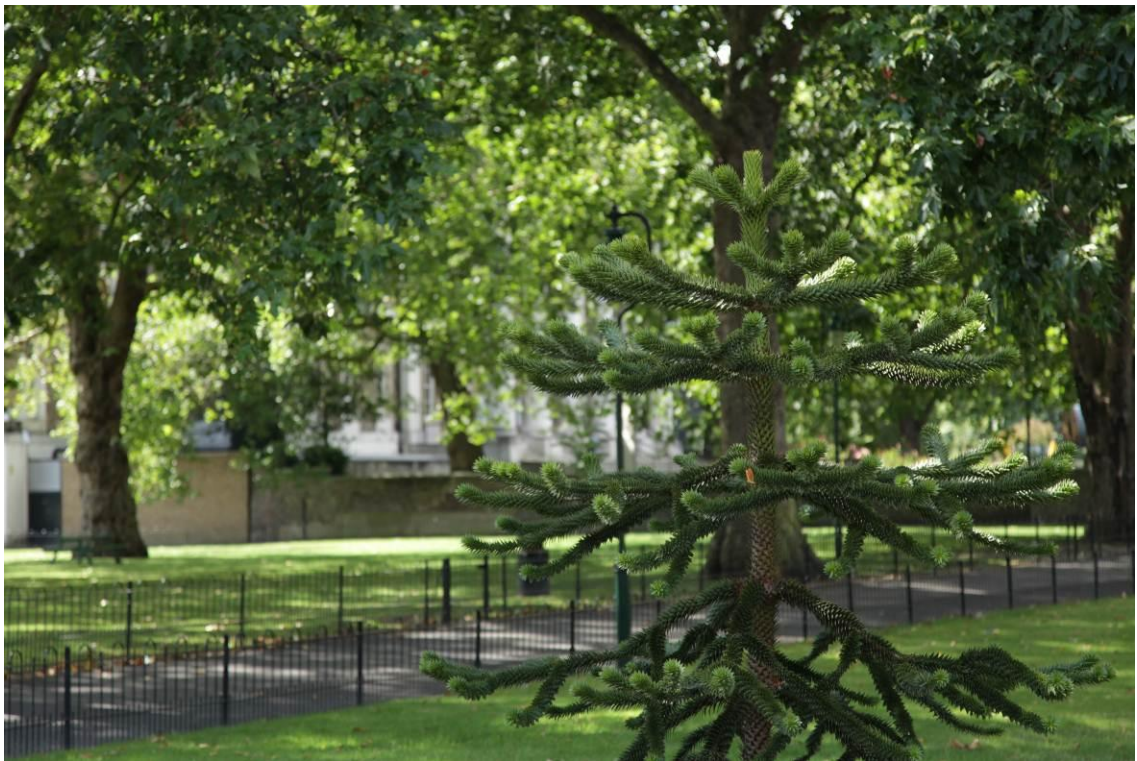
Conclusion

El piquete demonstrates how 'diaspora' emerges as a space and a moment in relation to specific historical, political and theoretical conjunctures (Hall 2012, 29). Through the creation of zones of contact that troubled geographical and temporal margins, *el piquete* forged a transnational public space from a diasporic vantage point. The public appearance of an intergenerational group of exiles, and their claim for justice for the *desaparecidos* and *ejecutados politicos*, brought to light the existence of those assumed to be assimilated and gone. During this process, the entanglement of Chilean history with the local context of The UK became visible. The Chilean diaspora comes to show its own connection to the host society's past (Huysen 2007). Active histories and memories – such as those related to Thatcher's administration and the political climate of the 1970s and 1980s – were enlivened through situated interchanges and enactments. The recognition of 'noisy silences and seething absences', to use Gordon's words (in Puwar 2012, 235), became then part of (or the condition for) the creation of a hospitable space. Also, 'voluntary silences' related to the internal distinctions and tensions within the diaspora itself were acknowledged (Werbner 2002). Such awareness does not simply signal endless conflicts. It also comprises an opportunity to open up other forms of organization and public participation. What is in play through the enacted performances the expression diasporic subjectivities that engage differently with both the country of settlement and that of origin (Alexander 2013; Gilbert and Lo 2010).

El piquete offers a conceptualization of diaspora space as an affective, embodied and empirically articulated terrain. This is a space made in the city through movement and situatedness, and through locally conducted exchanges with a larger history and broader geopolitical domain. It involves dialogues and contestations within the diaspora itself and between the diaspora and the British society. *El piquete* also reminds that moving toward antiessentialist approaches should not lead to dismissal of diasporas' historical grievance. The Chilean diaspora's way of making home can be separated neither from the circumstances that marked the exiles' original displacement, nor from the circumstances of their arrivals – namely Pinochet's state sponsored repression and, here in the UK, local mobilizations and the transit from Labour to Thatcherism. The latter means that also past political moments of The UK are resized and appropriated by the Chilean diaspora: Thatcher's mandate and the demonstrators of the 1970s and 1980s have become part of a shared history. The connection to history, however, does not tie them to the past, but through it, the Chilean diaspora's own trajectory becomes grounded in the local context. It creates corridors between the 'here' and 'there', transgressing taken-for-granted territorial and geographical demarcations. The history of the Chilean diaspora of London is bridged to (instead of separated from or assimilated by) that one of The UK.

More generally, *el piquete* helps foster appreciation for new diasporas' distinctive connections to The UK, and how such connections are made visible, activated and weaved in the places of the present while resizing them. Through the encounter among the Chilean diaspora (an entity in formation) and a wider public context, the diaspora has re-centered The UK as a significant locus. Yesterday's 'forced migrants' from Latin America, like Chileans, have come to form 'new' diasporic configurations; configurations which are affective, physical and historically actualized. The diasporic moment and the space made through *el piquete* allow for appreciation of part of that complexity.

Chapter 6 – Enlivening the diasporic cartographies of home



A commemorative native Chilean tree in the British IWM's gardens. London, 2012. By the author.

Two *araucarias* have been planted in the gardens of the Imperial War Museum (IWM) in London. Also known as ‘*pehuen*’ – the native *Mapudungun* name for the *Araucaria Araucana* – this is one of the most iconic native trees of Chile and is protected by the state as a national patrimony. This ‘national tree’ was named centuries ago by the Spanish conquerors in reference to the *Araucanos*, the *Mapuche*²⁷ people who inhabit the region of *Arauco*, in Central Chile. It is deemed to be a sacred tree by this indigenous ethnic group. In the IWM, these distinctive trees differentiate themselves from the other genres that inhabit its gardens, yet they are all steadily growing and extending their roots while becoming part of the same landscape.

The trees in front of the IWM have been planted by Ecomemoria. This is an intergenerational London-based collective of Chilean exiles which comprises the afterlife of *el piquete* and which is at the core of this chapter. They have been sowed there in memory of two missing and murdered victims of the Pinochet regime. Somehow resembling the hand-made wooden crucifixes that were transiently planted in front of Parliament in London during Pinochet’s detention in 1999 (p. 175-6; Ramírez 2013, 35-6), these two *araucarias* locate some vestiges of Chile’s history of repression in this meaningful spot. On one hand, the Chilean diaspora of London has geographically rearranged the active memory of Chile’s brutal dictatorial regime. By memorializing those who are missing, the diaspora take hidden stories of disappearance and death closer to the territories where they actually inhabit today. Moreover, by planting *araucarias*, a tree named by Spanish colonizers, around a building which houses objects and narratives that memorializes The UK’s imperial conquests and war, they have re-located vernacular symbols connected to other histories of colonialism. With this, a form of place-making, which conveys memories and meanings with deep ethnic, political and historical resonances for the Chilean diaspora, comes into play.

²⁷ The Mapuches are one of the biggest ‘indigenous’ ethnic groups in Chile. ‘Mapuche’ is a term used to denominate those ethnic groups which speak Mapudungun, yet popularly it is used to refer to those living in the Araucanía, in Central Chile.

The above is just one instance of Ecomemoria's wider endeavour, which is described in the official website as:

Through the involvement and support of local and exiled communities, human rights and ecological groups, **ecomemoria** plants trees for victims of the Chilean military dictatorship all over the world. By creating a 'virtual forest' across the globe, we aim to create awareness and provide a 'living memorial', a platform and voice for those who still seek justice for their loved ones.

ecomemoria will culminate in a forest in Chile of native trees for each victim,

*..a tree for every memory
a life in every tree
reforesting the planet
sowing a new conscience*

Trees and a forest, exile and local 'communities', activist groups, victims and their 'loved ones' are among the components and actors involved in (and convoked by) this project. The agenda of Ecomemoria, Nancy explains, is to fight 'against forgetting' (*'no al olvido'*) and also to promote the 'rescue of the environment'. 'Because the dictatorships not only persecute and punish and terrorize and harass humans', she says, 'but they also destroy the environment... they do not like diversity... [and dictatorships are] Intrinsicly linked to an economic policy that is destructive'.

As this chapter will show, and how the example in IWM anticipates, Ecomemoria connects different territories. Multi-local tree-planting ceremonies and the remaining trees around the world make multiple connections. I argue that these

processes are part of a form of place-making which works at different scales. Grounding Chilean native trees where the diaspora resides and envisioning a 'native forest' in Chile are part of a wider set of strategies of both representation and re-location. Though performative enactments the 'here' and 'there', far and near, alive and dead, familiar and strange, are delineated, complicated, bridged and collapsed. This brings attention to the Chilean diaspora 'particular diasporic spatiality' which along with involving spaces of actual physical migration, 'makes room also for imagined, discursive, material, cultural, virtual and socially networked places and travels', as Knott notices (2010, 79).

Through different displays, the Chilean diaspora actualises ties to its particular pasts and ethnicities. Yet, at the same time, through the non-partisan left-wing and ecological aspect of their project and the incorporation of the local ('non-Chilean') communities in the tree-planting ceremonies, these actors reach a space beyond the 'ethnic enclave'. This *aesthetic of diaspora* enables the 'construct[ion of] a syncretic culture entwined with diasporic consciousness and transculturalism through the method of collage and by not means globalization', as Kaya says (2002, 45). It actualizes subjects' and communities complex sentiments and memories, while allowing us to trace some of the consequences of global mobility (Gilbert and Lo 2010, 151).

The environments, actors, enactments and planted trees are part of an itinerant performance that, as such, often remains unspoken and is resistant to documentation (Taylor 2003; Cvetkovich 2003). This chapter, therefore, could be conceived, firstly, as an analysis of Ecomemoria project and its performative dimension and, secondly, as a way of 'archiving' another component of the multi-faceted forms of inhabitations and home-making of the Chilean diaspora of London. Part of this archiving (Ecomemoria's and mine) will be presented in the exhibition, particularly a film of the tree-planting ceremony made by Ecomemoria and photographs of that event. These images work in dialogue with those taken by Fidel depicting commemorations for the *desaparecidos* in the 1970s and 1980s, and with the images of the other connected scenes.

In the first section of this chapter, I briefly present Ecomemoria as a project. I refer to the origin and trajectory of this group from *el piquete*, as well as the Chilean diaspora's archiving mission through Ecomemoria's precedent project, Memoria Viva. In the main section that follows, a specific tree-planting ceremony performed in Wales serves as an example of Ecomemoria's form of memorialization. The specific location and occasion chosen by them (a transnational festival in a 'green city'), along with the actors and *mise en scène* produced there during 'the rite' (as they call it), illustrates the diasporic commemorative space created by Ecomemoria during the event (Ramírez and Serpente 2012). Finally, the last section of this chapter goes beyond the specificity of that ceremony and explores the itinerant and multi-sited character of Ecomemoria's mission. This includes the mobile character of the commemoration, which always takes place in different locations, the dispersed trees that remain growing in different territories and Ecomemoria's planning of a forest of native trees back in Chile in a near future.

Ecomemoria, a 'living memory' project

Ecomemoria is mostly formed by first generation exiles who went into exile either as adults, teenagers or children. The majority are based in London, with one of their key members living in Chile. They mostly work as academics or in British NGOs, charities and unions. The group is formed of about ten core members, a number that notoriously increases during ceremonies when they incorporate their families and friends to help out and even perform. Even though the organization is not founded on political party allegiances, their members have a relatively identifiable political trajectory. Like in *el piquete*, the MIR, the Communist Party and the MAPU are among the political parties to which they are mostly related, either directly or through their families. Political discrepancies aside, they share a common agenda regarding human rights issues and a critical stance towards the previous and current post-dictatorial

Chilean governments. They contend the unwillingness of the Chilean State to make justice for the crimes against humanity committed during Pinochet's regime.

Ecomemoria situates its foundational moment in the detention of Pinochet in London. When Pinochet returned to Chile, the disappointment and frustration was followed by an acute sense of disorientation. After being captivated for 503 days by that mobile demonstration, picketers struggled to go home and conform. 'I just felt really lost,' Alicia recalls, 'we carried on meeting. It was like "we have to do something!"'. The campaigners would comment feverishly on 'the lack of political will in Chile to put the torturers on trial', she remembers.

During Pinochet's detention, a group of first generation Chilean exiles had started an intense archiving process. Nancy and her brother, Alex, were involved in this. Explaining that archival work, Nancy says that the idea was to 'compile all that information which was disseminated to all levels and concentrate it, collect it, and make it accessible to any person who wanted to access it'. The archive included information about the number of victims and the details of every individual who had been disappeared or murdered by the regime. Information about the circumstances of their capture, disappearance or death and about the actual state of the judicial case was incorporated into it. When Pinochet returned to Chile, that archiving effort gave shape to '*Memoria Viva*' (Living Memory), an on-line platform that is part of the wider International Project of Human Rights (IPHR).²⁸ Memoria Viva would keep the memory of the victims and the judicial cases alive by providing antecedents to continue prosecuting the perpetrators.

²⁸ The IPHR, is a non-governmental organization formed in 1998 during Pinochet's detention. Its website states 'Our position on the problems of human rights violations is basically legal, ethical and preventative. No healthy, solid, stable democracy can build itself upon a foundation of forgetting the most serious crimes against the right to life, integrity and freedom committed in Chilean history and within a policy of state terrorism that unleashed maximum political violence against society. We reaffirm that there is no ethical nor judicial reason why crimes of human rights violations should remain in impunity. We are asking that crimes against humanity be punished in the same way that common ones are' (<http://www.remember-chile.org.uk/>).

Memoria Viva has increasingly expanded. Along with the antecedents of those victims, the website today contains information about the perpetrators, accomplices and details about diverse detention and torture centres. Recently, information about the collective experience of exile and Pinochet's detention in London has also found a place there. As a living archive of the diaspora (Hall 2001), here archiving appears as 'historically located' and 'constituted within the lines of force of cultural power and authority; always open to futurity and contingency' (ibid. 93).

While Nancy tells me about Memoria Viva's guestbook, which was created both for people to leave their feedback and to provide information to boost the archive, the beginnings of Ecomemoria in connection with Memoria Viva come to the fore. Nancy says that 'it was very nice... some people started to use it as a site where they could relate to their disappeared. Because there isn't a tomb, there is nothing', she explains.

Ecomemoria is deemed to be Memoria Viva's emotional, physical and earthly extension. It creates a space of connection by combining mobilization and commemoration. As in *el piquete*, their members generate a space of encounter and exchange among the diaspora and a wider public. Overall, they develop a space in which diverse actors can physically and emotionally relate to disappearance through the actualization of marginalized memories and experiences that are emplaced and re-situated in the present.

The archive, along with other written records, spoken narratives and the built environments where the ceremonies are enacted, provides a framework that exists in dialogue with more kinesthetic ways of imagining, knowing and remembering (Roach 1996, 38, drawing on Halbwachs). As the afterlife of *el piquete* and an extension of Memoria Viva, Ecomemoria puts different repertoires and archives to work.

Such connection between archives and repertoires has been proposed as crucial in how memory is preserved, acted and transmitted in the Americas (Taylor 2003). Yet little is known about how these practices are conducted by those who have migrated from there to perform beyond that geographical location. Memoria Viva's 'archive' and Ecomemoria's 'repertoires' – to use Diana Taylor's distinction (2003) – are interdependent and are intimately related within this project. The speeches and performances given during the tree-planting ceremonies partly draw upon what has been documented there and also on additional antecedents that are provided by the commemorated victims' relatives. Here, literacy does not work in exclusion of other modes of knowing, but Ecomemoria offers a compelling example of 'text-performance entanglements' (Conquergood 2007, 317). In the next section, I will show how the emplacement of these recollections takes place during a particular ceremony in Machynlleth Wales.

Setting the stage

Through a path that at times runs along the shores of vast lakes and old wooden railway stations, increasingly we immerse ourselves in the green and mountainous landscape of Machynlleth, in the Dyfi valley of Wales. Following the trial of Ecomemoria, we have come along high speed motorways, leaving behind the megacity of London, still dazed by the commotion caused by the recent riots, which unfolded just one week before in August 2011. Machynlleth is a small town that has been popularly considered, yet not officially recognised, as the first Welsh capital city since 1404, when the rebel prince Owain Glyndŵr set up his Parliament there. Also portrayed as 'the nest' of Welsh nationalism, its history has been characterized by mobilizations against British imperialism. The uprisings in the 17th century, when various manor and royal houses were burned down during the course of a civil war, partly explain this anti-imperialist aura. Today, Machynlleth has slightly more than 2,000 inhabitants. It is recognised as Wales' 'green capital' and as a market town, with aging hippies trading arts and crafts.

While looking at some photographs of Machynlleth, Nidia says ‘the city overwhelms me... I like these kinds of activities (pointing to the open landscape), they clear my mind’. Immersed in an almost bucolic scene, this location offers a chance to become part of a more human-scale place, allowing the development of a more proximate sense of place to emerge.



The Clock Tower. Machynlleth, Wales, 2011. By the author.

I have come to Machynlleth to take part in a tree-planting ceremony that is one of the activities of the festival *El Sueño Existe* (The Dream Lives On). This is a Latin American celebration which ‘blend[s] artistic creativity with radical politics’, the festival’s website states. To depict the spirit of the event, in a public speech, an octogenarian bearded Welsh man says ‘we don’t separate politics from life and, therefore, from arts and music’, a spirit that resonates with that of the CSC in the 1970s and 1980s (Shayne 2008). The festival celebrates the figure of Victor Jara, a Chilean popular musician, songwriter, poet, theatre director, teacher and militant of the Communist Party. He actively participated in Allende’s presidential campaign. During the UP, Victor Jara

became one of the most important referents of *Nueva Cancion Chilena*²⁹ and the music of protest in Latin America. Later, after being brutally tortured and murdered, he turned out to be perhaps the most emblematic victim of the Pinochet regime. Ecomemoria will perform a tree-planting ceremony in this event for two victims who, unlike Victor Jara, are anonymous and whose (hi)stories are still unknown.

The festival mostly comprises a display of Welsh and Latin American vernacular culture. Music, poetry, crafts and traditional food are its main displays. Along with workshops, concerts, dance presentations and poetry recitals, there are stands with propaganda in support of various Latin American solidarity campaigns. The *Morning Star* newspaper and pamphlets of different trade unions are also distributed there. The festival's volunteers use t-shirts with a stamp of the face of Victor Jara that resembles – yet this time with a yellow background – the famous *Che Guevara* red printed textiles. In the main hall, with Latin American popular music playing in the background, psychedelic coloured murals with portraits of figures like Salvador Allende, Violeta Parra³⁰ and Victor Jara occupy the centre stage.

Waiting for the inaugural speech to start, a grey-haired woman, who is maybe in her early seventies, is sitting in the next line in front of me. She is eagerly conversing with a blond man who is probably in his early fifties. I can distinguish the English northern accent but not what they are actually saying. Her wrinkles and her twisted braid bun make her look like a perfect 'grandma of tales'; an image which is, nevertheless, disrupted by her black t-shirt printed in flashy colours. On the back, the t-shirt has written the inscription '*por la dignidad y la soberania, la patria o la muerte*' (for dignity or sovereignty, the homeland or death), on the front, there is a large portrait of a face surrounded by loud psychedelic colours and crowned by the words 'Hugo Chavez'.

²⁹ See footnote number 24.

³⁰ Violeta Parra is one of the most important exponents of Chilean folklore, not only as a composer and musician, but also as radio artist, folk researcher, plastic artist and poet. Her irreverence and defence to the marginalised groups of society have made her a referent for diverse social movements (Memoria Chilena 2013).

What the organisers quite openly assert in this event is an ideal based in what Massey calls the 'politics of difference'. This ideal is based in generating spaces of representation for different cultures and groups to come 'together without suppressing or subsuming the differences' (1995, 85). The solidarity between Latin Americans and Welsh people is extended towards trade unionists, ecologists and pacifists who see in this event the possibility of bringing to the fore their 'alternative' (if not 'marginal' and supposedly 'obsolete') agendas which emerge in opposition to the mainstream dominant economic and geopolitical global models. Regardless of their distinctive agendas, different groups are united by their common opposition to neoliberal globalization (Della Porta 2008).

The location of Machynlleth, the forum provided by this festival, along with the anti-liberalist and leftwing associations that emerge from its anti-imperialist and ecological agenda, provide a 'free space' and a safe terrain for Ecomemoria to manifest their cause in front of others without feeling under threat (Auyero 2008, 572). Later, in a public speech, Wales will be also mentioned by Alex as an old ally of Chilean exiles: 'Welsh trade unions and miners showed so much solidarity with Chilean people when we came to this country [in the 1970s]... thanks to the Welsh people!' Moreover, unlike the acts of memorialisation taking place today in Chile, in which the physical proximity to the settings of trauma and horror is an essential part of their commemorative power (Hite and Collins 2009; Taylor 2011), the Welsh landscape of Machynlleth is free from this dreadful dictatorial legacy. Similarly, unlike the picket lines formed by the Chilean diaspora in front of the Chilean Embassy in London every 11 September (which I will discuss in the next chapter), the presence of Ecomemoria in Wales involves an invitation to, instead of a contention with, an intended audience. Machynlleth, its inhabitants and the festival's attendees are considered allies rather than part of a competing, indifferent or opposing counterpart which they need to conquer, convince or compete with.

Ecomemoria creates counter-publics in which diverse bodies come together in space. As with queer performances here, 'the theatrical experience is not just about

what's on stage but also about who's in the audience creating community' (Cvetkovich 2003, 9). Diaspora space does not reject, but actually needs difference to emerge (Brah 1996, 181; Ahmed 1999, 340). Those who are displaced (in this case not only geographically but also ideologically) might make their estrangement their point of encounter. Here, 'the process of estrangement', as Ahmed says, 'is the condition for allowing the emergence of a contested community, a community which "makes a place" in the act of reaching out to the 'out of place-ness' of other migrant [and displaced] bodies' (1999, 345). In this case, both those who are deemed to be local (British and Welsh people) and those who are considered foreign (Latin Americans living in The UK), belong to the UK and to other remote terrains in intricate ways. Marginalized ideologies, geographical dislocation or national (in)subordination become visible through different artefacts, speeches and forms of exchange – through them, a fleeting common terrain of belonging transiently emerge.

Ecomemoria's agenda 'against forgetting' is relevant in understanding its location in this town, whose scale and tempo contribute to a sense of closeness and proximity. In *How Modernity Forgets*, Connerton argues that the main source of forgetting nowadays 'is associated with processes that separate social life from locality and from human dimensions' (2009, 5). 'What is being forgotten in modernity', he says, 'is profound, the human-scale-ness of life, the experience of living and working in a world of social relationships that are known' (ibid.). Speedy highways, the commoditization, mechanization and bureaucratization of labour, and highly mediated forms of interaction are developing a way of living based on remoteness and estrangement. Benjamin has used 'shock' to describe the overwhelming effect of modern life on the senses. Our daily immersion in mass crowds and our navigation of the daily flow of capitalism, make this sense of 'shock' the paradigmatic sensation of modern city life (Benjamin 1999, 155–200). Furthermore, shock also describes the way state terror manifests itself in the individuals and social bodies on which it is inflicted. The ghostly irruptions of systemic violence affect, in ambiguous, partial and contradictory ways, our experience of the world (Gordon 1997, 24). Nidia's previous reference to Machynlleth as a setting far from London that 'clears my mind' suggests a

momentary relief from a 'shock' imposed by the tempo of the city. Yet, as we shall see, the amnesia (another manifestation of 'shock') caused by state repression can be also mitigated by allowing other counter-histories to come into public view within the creation of a particular diaspora space.

Coming into play

'They are the musicians. That's *tía* Lili (aunt Lili)! ... I have seen them around. That's the thing. I know a lot of Chileans, nobody knows who I am, even though I have been in those scenes. I have seen them around, I have seen their faces, I can tell you... They were probably in the picket!'
(Alicia)

Just after 8.15 on a Sunday morning in August 2011, people start congregating to attend what festival's programme describes as a 'tree-planting in memory of victims of Pinochet'. The event is scheduled to start at 8.30 outside Y Plas, a former royal mansion from the 17th century which today houses the town council. About 50 people are waiting, surrounding two potted trees that are sitting on the lawns. Two Chilean musicians play the guitar and sing.



Surrounding the trees. Machynlleth, Wales, 2011. By the author.

Meanwhile, some meters from that gathering point, the core Ecomemoria members set up the stands and plaques for the trees. Before moving to help Nancy set the plaques, Alex introduces me John, ‘an old friend from *el piquete*’. We stay talking with John, surrounded by the members of Ecomemoria and their families and friends, who animatedly greet each other and socialize. More people keep arriving. I recognize John from the day before. His blond head was beside the grey braided bun of the woman with the Hugo Chavez psychedelic t-shirt. Alicia describes him as a ‘quite far left bloke’ who ‘has always felt a very close relation with Chile and the Chileans’. Like many British people of his generation, John tells me he became involved in the CSC in the 1970s and 1980s. His city, Sheffield, had one of the biggest settlements of Chilean exiles, so it became an important point of exilic politics at the time. Today, John’s path has coalesced with that of others who partook in the campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s and later participated with him in the 503 days of protest against Pinochet in the end of the 1990s.

Different social scenes of the Chilean diaspora and their extended network come together in this celebration, particularly those who partook in *el piquete* and members of the artistic scene. The latter is mostly made up of musicians and poets. They have come to perform in the festival. Some musicians, as fellow Chilean exiles and friends of Ecomemoria members, spontaneously become a crucial part of the ceremony. The extended families of Ecomemoria's core members are also incorporated into this ceremony; they engage in the making of a multicultural public and diaspora space in this remote town of Wales.



Engraving the plaques. Machynlleth, Wales, 2011. By the author.

The procession line

'Many of our tortured victims, our kidnapped victims, our disappeared victims are still among us today. Many of them, you probably wouldn't

realize, are walking with you, in Wales, in this festival' (Ana, Public speech)

The musicians keep playing chords that resonate with *Nueva Cancion Chilena*. They compose the sonic landscape, along with the multi-lingual voices. More people keep arriving. They mostly place themselves on the dusty clay path along, forming a line. The growing audience, who are still unfamiliar with the process that will follow, arrive, observing the trees and the musicians, while murmuring and waiting. Nancy gives instructions to organise what we soon understand to be a procession line. There is some anxiety about allocating the different positions. Not much has been planned in advance. The flow and configuration of the ceremonies vary in response to the characteristics of the place, the performers and the attendees, which change on every occasion.

Following Nancy's anxious yet definite directions, Alicia places her daughter, Lea, at the front. She will lead the procession, holding one of the potted trees. Luisa tries to do the same with her granddaughter, Danae, but the girl, moaning and grumbling, refuses to do so and prefers to walk holding her hand. A Welsh boy with a ukulele tied to his back volunteers to carry the other tree with Lea. Behind these children, Alex's younger son walks holding a clay vessel beside his brother. The musicians follow them. The rest of Ecomemoria and a wider group of people walk together along this well-trodden path of mud and clay. The children's steps enhance our peace. They slowly lead us toward the spot where the trees will be planted. Passing the lawns, little by little, the way becomes more and more indistinct. The demarcated path of clay finishes, and we make our way through a wild terrain of humid, rough long grass. We make a transient route through the fields.

Somehow, as a reflection of the counter-public that the event convokes, we create what landscape architecture calls 'desire lines'. These are 'unofficial paths, those marks left on the ground that show everyday comings and goings, where people

deviate from the paths they are supposed to follow', Ahmed explains (2006, 19–20). The making of these paths – as much as the performances and the acts of narration that the Chilean diaspora is about to enact – is a metaphor or a reflection of a diasporic process in which the world is not simply 'told', but it is actually 'made' (Brubaker 2005, 12; Ahmed 2006, 20; Alexander 2013, 595). By grounding paths the actors make themselves transiently at home and in their own terms. Through the procession, walking not only means lacking a place (de Certeau 1984, 103) but can also, as Roach claims, allow us to 'gain an experience of the cityscape that is conducive to mapping the emphases and contradictions of its special memories' (1996, 13). Walking in the procession, to the sound of Chilean popular music, makes the Chilean diaspora's exclusions, as well as their losses and claims, become both visible and audible (drawing on Roach 1996: 14, 16).³¹ It is the beginning of a process in which what is imperceptible and elusive, but omnipresent in the daily life of the Chilean diaspora, finally becomes apparent (Gordon 1997, 102).

The procession comprises an intergenerational arrangement. Lea, Alicia's daughter who is at the front, is almost the same age that Alicia was when she arrived in the UK in 1976. Looking at photographs of the ceremony and her daughter, Alicia says:

'... [when I was a child] a lot of things really messed me up... being too young, having too much information and not knowing how to deal with it. But with Lea, I'm making sure that she's there. She knows that she has a voice and she can use it if she wants to... just by taking her. She goes with me to all the demonstrations and everything.'

³¹ Drawing on Michel de Certeau's *Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), particularly the essay 'walking in the city', Roach analyses the Mardi Grass Parade, as well as the jazz funerals that take place in the cityscape of New Orleans. I would like to note that, unlike this ceremony in Wales, that parade is canalized and contained by police barricades. The performers take for their own the territory they inhabit daily. In Wales, by contrast, they are in a space which is free of any police presence and which they are transiently 'visiting'. Unlike the Mardi Grass parade and other diasporic processions (see also Fortier 2000), this one does not take place in the city, nor is the performance seasonally reproduced in an identifiable location.

Similarly, while looking at photographs in which her granddaughter appears to be playing in the fields, Luisa says:

I know that, for example, here my granddaughter had more fun with the landscape, laughing, playing [than with the speeches and the ceremony]... but it doesn't matter! That's better than what we tried to do before with the kids, when we tried to indoctrinate them. I think that the reaction is negative in some way. There was one generation that expected too much from us, because we gave them a very special image, and outside of the [political] environment, we were human beings with feet of clay (*seres humanos con pies de barro*). The parents had too much weakness, as human beings...

The procession puts the youngest participants in the front of the commemorative act. This gesture, as well as Alicia's and Luisa's words, signals the aspirations of the older generation of the Chilean diaspora in relation to the younger ones. By sharing the same space, participating together in different enactments, neither a single version of the past, nor heroic figures and epic histories are expected to be passively transmitted. Even though it is absent from their official statements, the intergenerational character of this performance signals an inherent part of Ecomemoria's project. Generational continuity is an important dimension of the living memorial that this group aims to cultivate (see Fortier 2000, 146).

Alicia's and Luisa's words also suggest that some memories are not passed on. Recollections which 'really messed me up', as Alicia says, as well as the more normative truths with which they tried to 'indoctrinate' the following generations, as Luisa recalls, are not – at least deliberately – told. Yet, the fact that some difficult or normative recollections are not declared does not mean those memories are not otherwise projected. The physical and the material converge with the abstract and the affective. This process, as Gilbert and Lo assert, 'usefully enlarges and complicates empirically

based views of living with, and in, diaspora' (2010, 152). As the next section will show, ceremonies and speeches involve a wider set of acts through which memories are performatively articulated.

The circle line

We arrive at the place where the trees will be planted. The trees have now been located in the open landscape a couple of meters from the plaques with the victims' names inscribed on them. Beside the plaques, two holes have been dug. The procession intuitively rearranges itself in a circle, with the trees as part of it. Alex reads the story of Michel, the first commemorated person. His sister in Chile had written the description. Alex's two sons follow him. They narrate again Michel's story but now as an interactive poetry. The procession, storytelling, rites and rituals are a form of 'orature' that is produced alongside (and not in contraposition to) mediated literacy (Roach 1996, 12; Conquergood 2007, 217). The script, delivered by the two siblings, was 'written to be spoken aloud', to use Roach's words. By making it public, 'the elocutionary dimension of self-invention' is set in motion (1996, 12).

We heard how this man of Syrian ancestry, born in 1954, became part of the Youth Communist League at age sixteen. We learned about his 'beautiful eyes', his thrilling imagination, the games he played as a child and his active social life. As a teenager, he was an enthusiastic supporter of Allende's presidential campaign and the UP. Michel was completing his military service at the moment of the coup. We were told that, after having to conduct raids in the streets as part of the new military regime, he asked to his superiors to be dishonourably discharged. In response, he was taken to a concentration camp in Pisagua, in northern Chile. One day, under the pretext of having to perform some work, he and other prisoners were taken into the desert. There, along with his comrades, he was shot and thrown into a common ditch. Just after the dictatorship, in 1990, some mummified bodies were discovered in a mass

grave in the desert. Among those bodies, whose faces revealed their fear and pain, Michel's remains were never found. Witnesses have declared that his body was cremated, reduced to ashes and thrown into the sea.

Once Alex finishes telling us Michel's story (shortened here), his two sons step up to the front to read and enact for us Michel's history again³². The young voices alternate in their telling; their voices remain firm, strong and never break. The actual script reads:

First voice:

Second Voice:

We have come to speak for Michel Nash

We come to praise him, not to bury him

Michel was 19 years old

**At the beginning of a journey,
a journey full of promises and dreams**

Michael was 19 years old and wanted a better world

**and for this he was taken away by a military patrol
and murdered**

=====

Michel was a child that loved books, reading comics and playing with his friends

***He had an innate affinity with those less fortunate than himself,
always volunteering to help others and work in his neighborhood***

*Michel joined the Youth Communist League at an early age,
immersing himself in community work and solidarity*

=====

**On the 11th of September 1973, the day of the military coup in Chile,
Michel was doing his military service**

³² The same form of speech is enacted for Maria Arriagada, the other commemorated victim. Still, I have decided to focus on the case of Michel as an example only. I do this because it exemplifies well the form of narrative they perform in public and because for this case I have the literal transcription of the full speech, which was given by Ecomemoria to me.

*Michel, like other soldiers,
was ordered to participate in the repression of the local population,
to arrest sympathizers of Allende's Government
and take arms against his brothers and sisters*

**Michel refused,
was arrested,
tortured
and sent to a concentration camp**

Michel was 19 years old

**days later Michel was taken away by a military patrol,
together with other political prisoners**

*In the middle of the desert Michel was told to run,
he refused,
and together with his compañeros,
was shot in the back and buried in a mass grave*

Michel was 19 years old

*Michel just wanted a better world for those less fortunate than himself,
and for this they murdered him,
and made him disappear,*

**they burned his body,
crushed his bones
and scattered his remains in the sea**

=====

But Michel refused to be silenced

**and he returns with every sunset
with the spray of the waves
and the cry of the seagulls,**

*He returns each day in the mist of the Camanchaca
that bathes the Chilean desert*

**With his emerald eyes,
dishevelled hair
and the brightness of his conviction,
Michel come here today, to stand next to us,
as we bear witness to the planting of this tree
in his memory**

*Because we have come,
with this tree,
to PRAISE HIM, not to bury him*

**And with this simple gesture,
with this tree,
here,
and now,
we continue his memory and his dream for a better world...**

*Porque el sueño aún Existe!
[because the dream lives on!]*

Like the procession, 'the rite' has an important intergenerational dimension. Yet, the interchange goes beyond what is assumed to be a proper human way of being; it involves a dialogue with a particular form of death: a dialogue with disappearance.



Staring the trees. Machynlleth, Wales, 2011. By the author.

The younger generations come 'to speak for' them, as they say. Through their own bodies and the trees, they symbolically bring them back to life. We are repeatedly reminded that Michel was nineteen years old when he was captured and his youth is reaffirmed through the youth of the speakers. The lives of the disappeared are remembered not just posthumously, but as a matter of the present, alongside the current lives of the exiles and the following generations. Through them and the trees, the disappeared appear as living in the future. Gordon refers to exiles as those who have 'already long disappeared' from particular territories (1997, 29), individuals who live a form of 'social death' (Gordon 2007, 143). Both diasporas and disappearance inhabit a liminal 'in-between' space: a state that the intergenerational group of Chilean exiles often describe for themselves as being 'between two worlds' or 'living in a limbo'.

There is also the dialogue between different landscapes and their different temporalities. In the script, Michel's disappeared body – which was 'burned', 'crushed' and his remains 'scattered' in the sea – is relocated 'there' in the Chilean landscape, where 'he returns with every sunset, with the spray of the waves and the cry of the seagulls'. At the same time, by planting trees here in Wales, and by aligning the trees in a circle with our own living bodies, the disappeared are offered a hospitable space in a new landscape. In Wales, far away from the Chilean desert, the ghosts have travelled, following the routes of those who, like many of us and maybe without noticing it, live haunted by them, or by the eras, memories and ideals that they represent. Through this speech, his body is located both 'here' and 'there'. The ceremony offers to those absent presences the chance to inhabit a liminal space that is made within a diasporic frame.

'Memory is political', Ana will later say in a public speech, 'because it can be manipulated', 'distorted'. Ecomemoria, she explains, has come to talk about those whose experiences do not count in overarching national narratives. 'Who cares about our versions of the past? Or about Michel's family's version? The most powerful have

the ability to project their meaning over everybody else's. They will try to affirm "their truth" of events'. The members of Ecomemoria know that different regimes, the dictatorial and post-dictatorial in this case, operate through forgetting. 'The more total the aspirations of the new regime, the more imperiously will it seek to introduce an era of forced forgetting' (Connerton 1989, 12). New regimes might do so even by eliminating from the map those people who have witnessed the past (ibid., 13-14). Ecomemoria's enactments counteract well-spread ideas (in Chile) of disappeared victims as extremist people, who were a danger to society. Ecomemoria present them as ordinary human beings whose sense of commitment to social justice in Chile, rather than fanatical extremism, was the cause of their imprisonment and disappearance. The space developed creates 'counter-memories', a notion which signals 'the disparities between history, as it is discursively transmitted, and memory as it is publicly enacted by the bodies that bear its consequences' (1996, 26). It is a performance that dramatizes the cultural politics of memory; a story that, as Roach might say, has 'echoes in the bones' of many of the attendees, not least the bones of the performers.

Through the production of new histories, intimate and mundane family memories of Michel not only reach a wider audience, but also distant localities. Marginalised histories and forgotten victims become public in unimaginable destinations. The victims are not simply rescued from oblivion, but their memory and the way they should be remembered are created anew. This is a deliberately selective act of remembering, of fighting forgetting, as Ana suggested before. By presenting the cases of the victims as unresolved, judicially and actually through the non-appearance of the bodies, they can claim that the cases are alive and the victims are still not ready to be buried.

The Closing Line

Nancy has been looking at her nephews from the first line of the circle. She is visibly moved. Many others are also weeping and looking at the trees. As silence start to fill the space, the audience is invited to respond with a well-known left-wing chant, which some of us know by heart (*de memoria*):

<u>Call:</u>	<u>Response:</u>
¡Compañero Michel Nash!	
(Comrade Michel Nash!)	
	¡PRESENTE!
	(Present!)
¡Compañero Michel Nash!	
	¡PRESENTE!
¡Ahora!	
(Today!)	
	¡Y SIEMPRE!
	(And always!)
¡Ahora!	
	¡Y SIEMPRE!
¡Ahora!	
	¡Y SIEMPRE!

According to Connerton, during ceremonies, the body follows prescribed actions through postures, gestures and movements, actions considered prototypical (1989, 53, 59). These are recollections physically conveyed that make the enactments possible and intelligible. The effectiveness of the ritual cannot be separated from the ‘form’ or ‘ways of saying’. They give to the performance its mnemonic effect (ibid.). In this case, while the speeches presented were delivered in English, this (call-response) chant is kept in its ‘original’ Spanish language. The knowledge of an idiom, as much as our common familiarity with a particular socio-historical context, allows some of us to

respond. I am sure that I have heard that chant on other occasions in Chile. I do not remember when or where precisely. Yet, I do not have any memories of having responded to this call myself. This utterance, as well as the making of the ceremony itself (the procession, the circle line and the standing bodies), is part of a memory that is incorporated and sedimented in the body. It is invigorated by un-spoken traditions through skills, habits and gestures (Nora 1988, 13; Connerton 1989, 26). The exchanges in play are part of the enlivening and invention of a kinaesthetic vocabulary that is transmittable across the participants in bodily form (Roach 1996, 26-7). By harmonizing our vocal tones and verbal proficiency, not only disappearance, but also the routes of those who have travelled from Latin America to the UK become aurally perceptible and verbally articulated.

Performing is both a way of knowing and a way of transmitting knowledge (Taylor 2003): a process through which diaspora becomes 'embodied, spatialized and temporalized through performance rather than simply inhering in sentiment or consciousness' (Gilbert and Lo 2010, 151). Even though the Chilean diaspora's own traumatic losses and spatial removal are not mentioned, their trajectories underlie their speeches and acts. The Chilean diaspora is also performing the genesis of their dislocation and their complex losses: losses of people, a language, a utopia and a geographical terrain. Through this ritual process, the dislocation involved in exile, as much as the social fracture inflicted by disappearance, can be symbolically restituted. At the same time, by telling part of 'their history' and performing in front of others, a diaspora space that moves beyond normative ideas of integration and assimilation is created (Cvetkovich 2003, 118-155).



Planting trees. Machynlleth, Wales, 2011. By the author.

The ceremony finally comes to an end. The trees are placed in the holes that have been dug beside the plaques. The public is invited to pass to the front to scatter soil over the trees. Diverse women and men from different generations walk toward the tree to do so. Alex, who has been behind his two sons, moves to the centre with the clay vessel. He told us that it contains '*agua de boldo*' (water of boldo) which, he says, is 'a sacred water of the *Mapuche* people'.³³ Nancy starts distributing seeds among the public that come in sachets for us to plant elsewhere. 'Cultivating the seed of memory', as they say, has the potential to extend the diasporic space generated there. The act of sowing the seeds, as much as the act of planting the trees, suggests that reckoning with our

³³ Their association to the Mapuche might also be seen as a tactic. Mapuches are a Chilean indigenous ethnic group who have been historically and geographically displaced within Chilean territory. This is the same ethnic group whose sacred tree (the *araucaria/pehuén*) grows today in front of the IWM. The expropriation of their sacred lands and the uneven acquisition of them are part of an ongoing regime of systemic violence that affects them. As for the Chilean diaspora, the making of a home is for the Mapuches an incomplete accomplishment. The allegiances formed in this ceremony and the invitation to inhabit this diaspora space is also extended toward them.

ghosts and grounding of our own roots are on-going attempts – both are achievements yet to come and promises that remain in the future.



'This is how it's gonna be, becoming one with its environment'. Machynlleth, Wales. August 2011.

Actualizing a diasporic radical cartography

'Diaspora is ambivalent about organicity, but it comes closely associated with the idea of sowing seed. This is a disputed legacy and a mixed blessing. It demands that we attempt to weight the significance of the scattering process against the supposed uniformity of that which has been scattered. It posits important tensions between here and there, then and now, between seed in the bag, the packet and the pocket and seed in the ground, the fruit and the body.' (Gilroy 1994, 208–209)

Soil and arboreal metaphors are ubiquitous ways to express social processes, both in discourses of belonging in general, and for diasporas in particular (Berg 2011, 3–4; Bloch 2005). As Gilroy's words suggest, the term diaspora etymologically refers to the scattering or sowing of seeds, a scattering process that does not signal the uniformity of that which has been dispersed and might grow elsewhere. Seeds can be differently grounded and grounds can be differently inhabited.

The notion of roots is also key as a (arboreal) symbol. It evokes a place of origin, a homeland, from where the scattered process has begun. Gilroy (1993), along with Clifford (1997), has again complicated this metaphorical representation of diasporic belongings by highlighting the notion of 'routes' (as an alternative to 'roots'). This notion, as Blunt and Dowling (2006, 199) explain, suggests 'more mobile, multiple and transcultural geographies of home... often deterritorialized, geographies of home that reflect transnational connections and networks'. This shifts attention to followed trajectories and places inhabited, considering not only a place that remains behind (temporal and geographically) but also present and future inhabitations.

'To put down roots' (*echar raíces*) and 'cut roots' (*cortar raíces*) are common expressions used by diasporian Chileans (particularly first generation) to convey their complex attachments to Chile and to the UK. Thinking about the dislocation she and her family experienced during their departure from Chile and arrival to London, Luisa refers to roots as matters that are uprooted, but which can again be re-grounded, made and re-made:

'[During the exile my concern was with] the contact, the roots. Here there weren't any roots. And later, after so-so many years, before my son died, many-many times ago, I told myself "maybe this was written elsewhere: that my roots would be cut and that I would arrive and plant roots in another place". I planted roots, my children are planting other

roots, my grandchildren will stay here and are these [British] roots. This is the space that I gained for my family!’

Like many other first generation Chileans, Luisa signals her children growing in England and having British-born children and grandchildren as being turning points in the way she understands her connection to London. Her roots appear to be different from the roots of her children and those of her grandchildren. She projects herself and her descendants as putting down roots here. Becoming (re)grounded is not a given, but an aspiration: something she attempts to achieve and something she ‘gained’ for herself and her family.

In telling me her life story, however, Luisa’s root metaphor and its conclusive connection to London is again complicated. About a year ago, in 2012, Luisa travelled back to Chile to throw the ashes of Adrian, her oldest son, into the sea. This was, she says, a ‘symbolic’ gesture. ‘I never asked him if he wanted to leave Chile. Hector never went back to Chile either!’ She describes this trip as ‘a way of closing a circle’, a visit during which she ‘almost got ill from so much emotion’. Returning the ashes of her son to their ‘origins’, meeting fellow exile friends who also live (or have lived) in London and revisiting familiar places were among experiences that developed a new sense of connection to Chile. Almost forty years after her departure as an exile, she finally felt at ease there. Her connection to Chile during this last trip was so strong that she now regrets not having gone before and even not having a place of her own which would allow her to travel and visit more often. Luisa’s suggestion of having planted roots in The UK has been unsettled after this journey and her sense of home has been, once again, re-processed.

Roots and routes are in dialogue. Both are lived differently in relation to different turning points in one’s life. Different people, regardless of joined histories and trajectories, ground them differently. Bloodlines neither define their attachments

straightforwardly, nor align the trajectories they might follow in the future in different sites. Territorial attachments might re-route themselves in relation to different social and personal contexts.

Tree symbolism, as allegory of diasporic forms of inhabitation, gives Ecomemoria's venture a particular outlook. In the formal description of Ecomemoria project, its members make no reference to the way in which their mission (and their multi-local grounding of trees in particular) relates to their own diasporic subjectivities, daily lives and aspirations. The effort involved in planting hundreds of trees remains in the background of their formally acknowledged duty. In what remains of this chapter, I would like to refer to the dispersed trees that grow worldwide. I will see them as a way of representing the Chilean diaspora's own allegiances and connections which, as Luisa's words suggests, are not fixed or given, but active and can be actualised. By planting trees around the world, Ecomemoria interlinks different locations. Through the process of taking different routes with the trees and planting their roots, the Chilean diaspora enlivens and made visible again the hidden and ghostly geography they inhabit (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). With this, an elusive counter-geography of home becomes perceptible and tangible on different scales.

Diasporic counter-mapping

According to Gordon, exiles and refugees are some of those 'figure of crisis'; 'in most maps they always appear last or not at all' (2007, 143). As such, Gordon says, they are 'hidden away and spectacularly solicited as objects of taxable fear'; they 'appear as giant ghostly abstractions, spectres whose intentions are vague and menacing' (ibid.). About forty years after their forced departure, the exiles from Chile (refugees in London) are becoming something else. Today, they are entitled to move across borders and have the formal right to reside in Chilean or British territory. Particularly

after Pinochet's detention, they are no longer willing to be a 'giant ghostly abstraction' as Gordon says. Even those who are actually assumed to be spectres (the disappeared) deserve some acknowledgment and justice, which Ecomemoria seeks to remind us and claim.

The planted trees in Wales, as well as those in front of IWM and elsewhere, are instances of a wider multi-sited and mobile process. Being located in different cities, towns, sceneries and cultural contexts, the trees connect diverse territories. Each tree might be better seen as the connecting point of a wider web, the points from which new lines can be continuously extended (following Ingold 2011). Along these lines, a ghostly geography appears.

'What the map cut up, the story cut across', de Certeau says (1984, 129). Taking this phrase as a point of departure, Conquergood discusses a world that is 'crisscrossed by transnational narratives, diaspora affiliations, and, specially, the movement and multiple migration of people' – stories which do not fit in the territories inscribed in the official maps (2007, 311). The 'map' is an 'official, objective, and abstract' mode of knowledge imposed by those in position of power. 'The story', on the other hand, is a 'practical embodied and popular' domain of knowledge (ibid.). Maps, Connerton adds, involve a process of forgetting because they neither communicate the processes of production and inhabitation of the places represented, nor the itineraries followed. The new 'cartographic space', he says, appears as 'abstract, homogeneous and universal'; it is 'characterised precisely by the erasure – the forgetting – of itineraries' (Connerton, 2009, 51). Ecomemoria could be seen as a radical tactic of counter-mapping, as drawing an itinerary and multiple routes. By doing this, they tell a story that transcends the specificity of the tree-planting ceremony.

The growing trees, the moving bodies, the omnipresent absences and the living landscapes are all connected. The memorial enacted by Ecomemoria works through a

kind of pilgrimage in which this memorial's meanings are encoded in fleeting configurations of spatial circulation, rather than in fixed locations (Connerton 2009, 13-18). Yet, unlike traditional forms of pilgrimage, the routes are not taken toward one specific location, but move to multiple localities around the globe. The 'activity space'³⁴ of Ecomemoria helps in understanding the spatial configuration of the Chilean diaspora and their transnational organization as the trees are planted where some exiles and their families reside today. It does not matter if these paths are made only occasionally, Massey says, 'what matters in the basic range and shape' (ibid.). In this case, and in line with the worldwide dispersion experienced by the diaspora in the 1970s, the world as a whole becomes the 'palimpsest pilgrimage place' (Connerton 2009, 16) traversed by a web of routes.

While maps are a form of spatialization and domination, 'tactics' do not attempt to produce 'proper places', de Certeau explains (1984). They challenge simple classifications. In the case of Ecomemoria, I propose, they do it by challenging the lines drawn by, and the normalising power of, the nation state. I do not want to suggest they are nomads who free themselves 'from all roots, bonds and identities' (Cresswell 2006, 50, quoting Best and Kellner 1991, 103). Spatial practices are not only understood here metaphorically, or as a space of imagination and identity. They also should make us attentive to the geographical moorings that emerge (Knott 2010, 81, following Jackson 2000). By developing connections to different localities, Ecomemoria signals how attachment and situatedness is entangled with itinerant trajectories, multiple tensions and allegiances.

There is an additional dimension of Ecomemoria that deserves attention: the forest of native trees in Chile. 'All the plantations around the world are related to a focus which will end up in a forest in Chile. That's the point of Ecomemoria', Nidia told me, echoing other core members. Through the personal donations of the members or

³⁴ 'Activity space' is a notion that Massey defines as 'the spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations' (1995, 54).

by collecting money (e.g. by selling t-shirts after the ceremonies), they acquired a land in *Curacautín*, in the South of Chile. 'Each tree will have a plaque with the name of the victims and obviously they will be native trees of the south of Chile', Nancy states. This forest comes to complete (as well as to complicate) the diasporic counter-mapping. Pilgrimage also involves detours from a place that might be kept at distance almost like a taboo that also works as gravitational point of orientation (Connerton 2009). The dispersed trees seem to now be in dialogue with Chile, as both a gravitational point and one that is kept at distance as a final destination.

The dialogue between the trees around the world and the forest in Chile strongly conveys the transition from the exile to the diaspora. This dialogue also might refer to the 'spatiality of home', which, as Blunt and Dowling have emphasized, has a 'multi-scalar' character. That is, our 'senses of belonging and alienation are constructed across diverse scales': from corporality, places of residence, cities, countries to the worlds itself (2006, 27). I argue that for their members, Ecomemoria has become another way of talking about the collective dimension of the dispersion experienced by the Chilean diaspora, which involves diverse forms and levels of border crossing, connections and inhabitations. The dispersed trees and the Chilean forest, rather than a homeland orientation, might well represent the Chilean diaspora's own tension between a place of desire (impossible to fully reach in the present) and the local dimension of the experience (Brah 1996, 192). Through the roots, routes, trees and forests, this tension between different territories, this double consciousness and multi-scalar dimension of home acquire (again) material form.

Upon finishing this thesis, the forest of native trees has not yet been cultivated. Recently, I met Alex and Nancy at the funeral of a friend and fellow exile, and Alex told me the land they had acquired in *Curacautín* would be expropriated by the

government to conduct an electrification project. They will propose to the government exchanging another piece of land with similar characteristics instead of being paid. 'We have to sort that out soon', Nancy told me with a worried tone, to which Alex adds 'because the [exile] people are starting to die'. The sense of urgency about the departure of some exiles denotes that the project is as much for the Chilean diaspora of London as it is for the victims commemorated through it. Also, the government's modernisation project brings to the fore the different forces competing over the way spaces are planned and occupied. Some spatial projects cannot be subverted as others are. The forest remains an unfinished project, much like the return of some members of the diaspora. Keeping the forest on the agenda is a way of keeping things moving and keeping the project, and even themselves, alive.

Conclusion

'Oppressed people', Conquergood says, 'everywhere must watch their backs, cover their tracks, suck up their feelings, and veil their meanings' – an invitation to 'pay attention to messages that are coded and encrypted' and to look for 'subversive meanings and utopian yearnings' which, sometimes unexpectedly, emerge through different forms of exchange and social interaction (2007, 314; see also Roach 1996). My reading of the planted trees and different emplacements conducted by Ecomemoria works not only 'with' the public agendas and displays made by this collective, but also 'despite' them. Ecomemoria's acknowledged purpose is deemed to commemorate only the military regime's absent victims. However, by looking at Ecomemoria's engagement with processes of archiving, repertoires and the environment, I have shown that, there are other meanings and messages beyond that official program, which, in dialogue with textual and archival modes of knowledge, are kinesthetically and spatially expressed. The site-specific acts of memory are not only to host the disappeared victims, but also provide a homely space for exiles themselves. The creation of this hospitable space is conducted through the creation of an archive (*memoria viva*) that increasingly

incorporates the history of exiles and their experience of London. It also does so through performances in which the promise of intergenerational continuity is acted and different spaces and temporalities are re-combined.

Ecomemoria develops trans-local commemorative spaces for the disappeared from a diasporic vantage point. Far away from Chile, this form of commemoration involves claiming and occupying different terrains. It involves reaching wider publics and distant localities with stories and bodies that are assumed to belong elsewhere. Ecomemoria convokes a public that is united by trajectories of life, rather than bloodlines. As seen during the ceremony in Wales, activism and experiences of displacement, not solely ethnic and national ancestry, make a transient community to emerge. The political act of remembering, then, generates spaces for other versions of history to be acted and shared, reaching destinations and actors that are still untouched by them. Compellingly, these spaces of commemoration for the disappeared are developed from a diasporic angle, putting the Chilean diaspora and the disappeared side by side in the same terrain. The commemorated victims also come to produce diaspora space.

The ceremony affirms the presence of the disappeared as much as it makes visible a story of migration and the different routes the Chilean diaspora has followed; it affirms that they are neither gone nor assimilated. They inhabit a space which, regardless of its liminal configuration, has an empirical conformation and becomes locally manifest. Performances, objects and landscapes put in dialogue different territories. These spatial connections do not fit well into lines drawn by official geographical demarcations. Through their interventions, writing, speech and performances, wayfaring and mapping, marking territories and drawing itineraries, are mutually producing and overlapping and exist in interdependent ways within this project.

Chapter 7 – Back to 11 September: from the Picket to the Pitch



‘[The picket line in front of the embassy on 11 September] is part of my commitment to my past, my history, my upbringing, my future, my belief...’ (Alicia).



‘We are there [in *la cancha*] because of the name [of the Manuel Rodríguez team], the Chilean identity. It doesn’t matter if we win or lose. We are there for ancient reasons...’ (Luis).

A commemorative picket line in front of the Chilean embassy in London and a Latin American football team formed in the dusty fields of a British park might, at first, seem to be completely different matters. The first one takes place once a year, on 11 September, and is formed by an assemblage of actors who come to commemorate the overthrow of Allende's government (1973) and claim justice for the victims of the Chilean dictatorship. The other takes place every Sunday, and is enacted by football players and their families and friends, who come to engage with each other by gregariously occupying a corner of an urban park in South London. While the embassy's commemorative piquet could well be seen as one of many 'spaces of political struggle', *la cancha's* Latin American football scene appears to project 'the politics of everyday spaces', to use Pile and Keith's distinction (1997, xi). Through calendrical commemoration and through routine habituation (Connerton 1989; Fortier 2000), those locales' meanings and their occupants' own subjectivities are made and re-arranged there.

Broadly speaking, both forms of emplacements resonate with what Massey calls the 'politics of place' – one that recognises that places are actually made and shaped, as are their components' identities. This process does not operate through simple consensus and coherence, but 'through a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation' (Massey 2005, 154).

I look at both the picketers of the embassy and the players of the *Manuel Rodríguez* football team as diasporic configurations that allow their participants to make themselves at home in London. Looking at these 'geographies of resistance' (Pile and Keith 1997) as terrains where belonging (dis)connections are forged requires embracing a '*politicized* understanding of home' – an approach that acknowledges 'the processes of oppression and resistance embedded in ideas and process of home' (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 198). Particularly, this chapter reflects on how the emplacements in question endure to keep alive their protagonists' history, beliefs and hopes, which – while resonating with memories of distant times and terrains – become actualized and grounded in place. These emplacements provide a sense of continuity with the past which, regardless the site-specificity of the process, transcends those specific locales

and contest the confines of the nation. What is in play is a form of home-making which, as Pile and Keith claim, rather than being 'glamorous or heroic', 'subsist[s] in enduring, in refusing to be wiped off the map of history' (Pile and Keith 1997, p. xi). From a diasporic frame, I argue, these geographies are refashioned by experiences of place and displacement, location and dislocation. While inhabiting them, their occupants make themselves at home and not at home in relation to particular circumstances (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 198).

Maintaining a dialogue with a wider research context, this chapter uses, as a narrative frame, the itinerary I followed on 11 September 2011 when the key social scenes of my fieldwork (into football and picket lines) coincided. I visited the commemorative picket during the morning and went from there to *la cancha* with one of my key collaborators in the afternoon. This specific itinerary comprises the plot of the following account, yet other research encounters in different moments, places and contexts are also recalled (cf. Pink 2008). The first section of this chapter focuses on the commemorative picket of 11 September. The second part moves to *la cancha* and attends the life of the *Manuel Rodríguez* team there. Both sections zoom-in on (visual) objects, textures, built environments, bodies and, in summary, 'the stuff' with which those places are lived and made and with which some members of the Chilean diaspora of London make those scenes hospitable terrains. The exhibition displays those matters visually, materially and aurally, while putting both scenes in dialogue in the interactive domain of the gallery space.

Let's now move to the starting point. It is near Parliament in London, 37 Old Queen Road, the Chilean Embassy's frontispiece.

7.1. Contention as commemoration: the picket line of 11 September

'Hi Carolina, I invite you to join us tomorrow' read the email message Nancy, with her usual determination, sent me the day before the commemorations of the 38th anniversary of the 'overthrow of Allende's Popular Government', on 11 September 2011. The message further indicated the meeting point and dynamics of the event: 'volunteers will be reading the names of all the "disappeared" and politically executed victims of the Chilean military dictatorship'.

Whole families and up to four generations have come together. Apart from the official agenda that convokes them, this space of commemoration is one of congregation and mutual engagement. Families, frequent and occasional members, longstanding and new participants partake through structured tasks and more unprompted modes of interaction.

Readers locate themselves in the front of the picket line, after the long canvas that is hold up in turns by the participants. Resembling a commemorative wall, this canvas contains diverse black and white portrait photographs with the faces of some of the regime's disappeared and murdered victims: striking young faces staring their viewers from another time. More mundane forms of social interaction also take place. Three girls – one 'Chilean-Colombian', one 'Chilean-Jamaican' and another 'Chilean-Chilean', as Miguel describes them – play together behind the canvas while the commemoration evolves. Many participants know each other from previous occasions. Some of them are often in contact, such as those who participate in Ecomemoria. Others make their appearance there after a period of not showing up – 'that *gringo* was missing and he appeared in Wales', says Jaime about a British fellow leftwing activist; 'Mum, she is Maria, the daughter of Eliza', introduces Nancy, suggesting an eventual encounter. With a continuous flow of people within and around the commemorative picket, the participants manage to catch up, comment on past activities, talk about Chilean politics and plan forthcoming events.



Playing in the embassy's frontispiece. London, September 2011. By the author.

The commemorative picket has an intended audience. It includes those who walk by and of course its counterpart, the embassy. In 2011, the event was on a Sunday, so the embassy building was actually empty. 'It didn't matter if only the pigeons could hear us', Nidia remembers looking at some pictures of the day. 'There we were, shouting with our little wall'. Earlier, between the 1970s and 1990s, instead of that wall, the demonstrators used to hold up banners with black and white portraits and the question 'Where are they?' With the English translation of the original question (*'donde están'*) the local audience, the international public and the Chilean authorities' attention was deemed to be reached.



'A punch in the face'. London, September 1980s. By Fidel Cordero.

Similar 'spaces of resistance' have been formed in Latin America and have been analysed by diverse scholars. This analysis has mostly focused on the Argentinean case of *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* (The mothers of May Square). Every Thursday at 3 pm for the last 35 years, The Mothers perform, walking in circles around the *Pirámide de Mayo* monument, in Plaza de Mayo square. They appear '[d]ressed in plain middle-class blouses, their grey hair covered by white scarves, endlessly walking arm in arm, at a slow and persistent pace, and showing the pictures of their missing children', as Sosa describes (2010, 64). This act has been critically interpreted as re-invigorating ideas of women-as-nation (Taussig 1990, 20) and tropes of motherhood (Radcliffe 1993), which, in turn, re-locate constraining gender ideologies and national discourses in the public domain. With this, Taylor critically also says, they 'left a restrictive patriarchal system basically unchallenged' (1997, 191). For Taylor, the Mothers are trapped in a 'bad script' (ibid., 203). Yet Sosa contests this assertion by proposing that these women create 'an affective work that vibrates "in between" the performance and its viewers' (2010, 67). The claims in play move from the personal to the public and activating the memory of a whole nation.

‘The Mothers are not just suffering women who sacrifice themselves as if acting out the lousy trajectory of a “bad script” ... [But] In the name of a maternal title, the women have passed the work of mourning beyond bloodline; they have shown how the seemingly private losses were part of a collective grief’ (2010, 67)

In the case of the Chilean diaspora, however, the performers’ relation to the victims is founded neither on motherhood nor kinship, nor are diasporas’ commemorative spaces circumscribed by the borders of the nation. The bond the exiles and following generations have with the disappeared victims is one of camaraderie and the sense of sharing a common history of state sponsored repression, displacement and disavowal (Ramírez 2013). As I have elaborated in the last two chapters, they all inhabit liminal terrains. This means such claim for justice raised on 11 September is not in the name of the disappeared only; it does not solely comprise a performance of public grief. Like the veracity of the disappeared victims, the collective experience of exile has also been marginalized and even denied in the past in Chile. By forming that picket line, the exiles’ survival, principles and persistence are also reasserted.

The Chilean Embassy: a place and object of political contention

The front of the embassy is appropriated differently by various actors and in relation to a variety of circumstances. Yet, the configuration of the gatherings is virtually the same in every occasion. The demonstrators convene on the opposite sidewalk, where the street finishes in a curve. They occupy the short and narrow pavement, along with part of the street, stepladders and an available edifice’s stairs. They populate that particular set while acting in close proximity. The corner location promotes contact and familiarity among the demonstrators, yet also mitigates public visibility in comparison with other demonstrations that, for example, have been conducted in front of Parliament or Trafalgar Square. On the other hand, the position, physically and politically ‘opposite’ from a diplomatic building, also makes the picket a target of

surveillance and control. Those who demonstrate there do so with and against these opportunities and spatial constraints (Auyero 2008, 572).

The embassy's frontispiece has historically been a place of contention. Apart from commemorating 11 September, Chileans used to demonstrate when Pinochet (or another regime-related personality) visited London. They also gathered there to manifest their discontent or to celebrate crucial events related to the military government or to Chile's relation to the UK. Just after the dictatorship, Chilean exiles would come to check if they were allowed to return.



'Thatcher, no more arms for Pinochet?' London, 1987. By Fidel Cordero.

Five years ago, the embassy moved to the building on Old Queen Road. Regardless of its re-location and the timespan since the end of the dictatorship (1990), the building is regularly considered one of the vestiges of the Pinochet regime. Apart from the perception that some of the people working there remain from 'the times of Pinochet' (particular administrative personnel), the diplomatic mediation of the Chilean embassy

to send Pinochet back to Chile during his detention in London has contributed to this 'Pinochetist' aura. Talking about 'the Chileans of the embassy', Nidia says:

'There are families of people who belong to the *Concertación* and these guys come to the funerals and I wouldn't invite these guys to my funeral to start with (laughing). We are here for a strong reason that we cannot forget. Overall because there has not been a response to the question of where the disappeared are and where the money that Pinochet got his hands on went. And we cannot be friends with people who are not behaving in a clean way...'

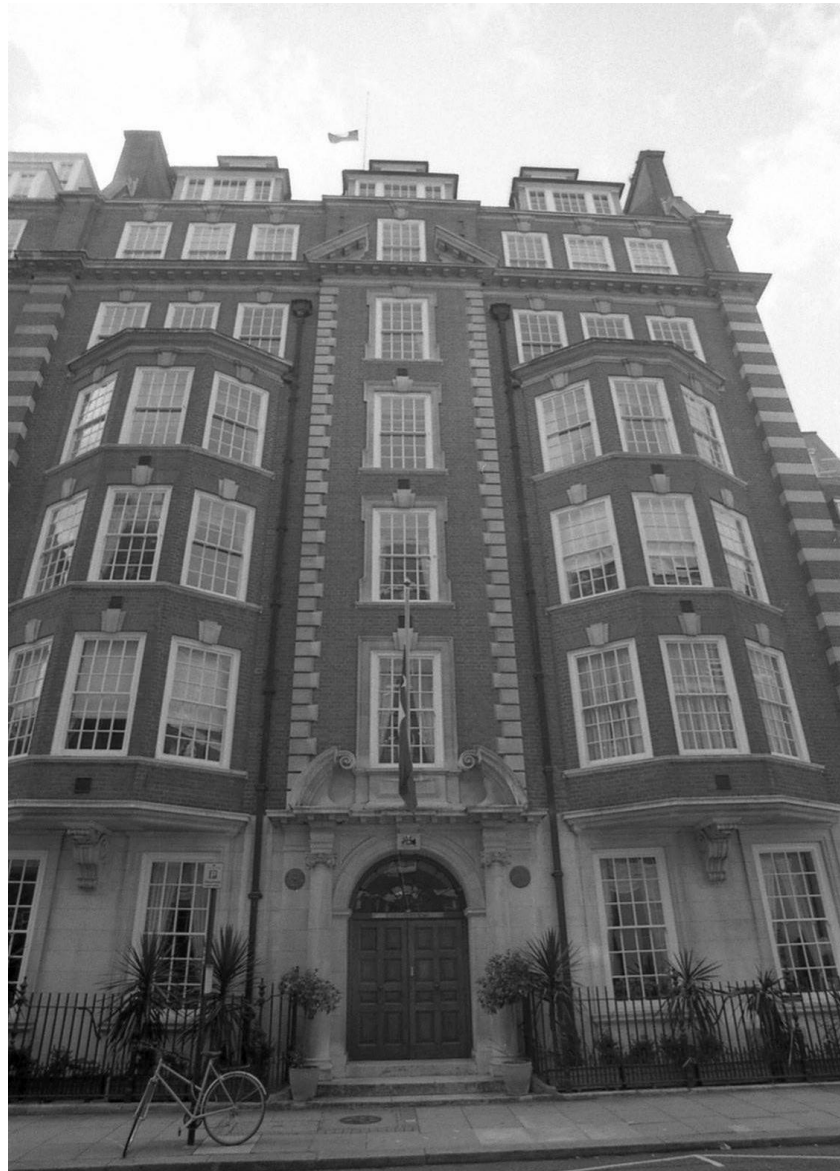
The rumours about the embassy appear as a way of challenging a national narrative about new beginnings and the silences about the atrocities of the past – rumours that, in a post dictatorial context, emerge as a form of resistance (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997, 21; cf. Ehrkamp 2013).

Some exiles often refer to the Embassy as a building they visit 'only to make paperwork', as Carmen says; a place with which they do not have any 'emotional link', Nidia also states. Yet, its ongoing occupation suggests something else. Following Auyero, the embassy is a 'meaningful space'; a '*place* [made] as a web of meanings' which 'becomes both context *and* stake in contentious politics'; a 'symbolically charged space' which not only works as 'the locus of contention but as its object' (Auyero 2008, 574, 575). On that Sunday morning of 11 September 2011, no personnel were in the embassy. The building was empty of people, but not of significance.

Holding the wall

'They are united in an assembly before the flag on which the eagle devours the serpent, an assembly that includes the dead, the living and the yet-to-be-born, living in the common hope "to change the ground and the sky that today oppress it"' (Caygill 2013, 126)

The Chilean embassy is accessibly located and close to various touristic attractions, emblematic buildings and highly traversed avenues. Yet, it is not particularly easy to notice. Situated on the corner of a narrow one-way street, surrounded by other diplomatic and business offices, the flag flying on the top of the seven-floor building is its principal signpost.



The embassy's flag. London, 11 September 2011. By the author.

On 11 September 2011, the embassy's flag is flying at half-mast. However, the embassy's flag does not intend to commemorate the overthrow and death of Salvador Allende, or to remember the victims of Pinochet's infamous authoritarian regime. More

than a week before, a renowned and well-liked Chilean TV presenter, Felipe Camiroaga, unexpectedly died when the military airplane in which he was flying crashed into the sea. He was travelling to the Robinson Crusoe Island, along with other 20 passengers, for a post-tsunami reconstruction national campaign.³⁵ Following the confirmation of the death of the whole crew, the right-wing president at the time, Sebastian Piñera, decreed two days of national mourning on 5 and 6 September 2011. Five days later, in London, the embassy's flag was still flying at half-mast. Looking at an image of the building and the flag, Felipe says:

'That [the flag flying at half-mast] says a lot to me. It had never happened before. That demonstrates, to use a Chilean expression, that *'no están ni ahí'* with us [They are not even there' with us – i.e. they do not care about us]. That the dominant class *no está ni ahí* with the victims of the dictatorship. So it [the embassy] represents an oppressor, which oppresses the people (*al pueblo*) and oppresses the truth.'

The embassy is deemed to embody Chile's national stance, which, in the view of Felipe and other demonstrators, does not acknowledge the dictatorial past and its aftermath – it 'oppresses' the people by keeping them oblivious of that history and its outcomes. The flag flying at half-mast on that occasion becomes a symptom of a sentimental public culture of spectacle whose success crucially depends on the displacement of a public sphere constructed around political concerns (Berlant 2008). Textiles and concrete become the tactile and visual actualization of the Chilean state's amnesic power, which works by making public one traumatic story and suppressing another (Cvetkovich 2003, 15–16). With this suppression, some lives and deaths appear to deserve more public recognition and provide a much stronger motive for public grief than those that the Chilean diaspora come to memorialize (Butler 2006).

³⁵ Triggered by the 8.8 earthquake that affected the central-south zone of Chile in 27 February 2010, a tsunami hit the Juan Fernandez Archipelago (where the Robinson Crusoe Island is). On September 2, in the context of the following reconstruction campaign, that air force plane crashed into the sea.

The Chilean diaspora's occupation of that terrain becomes a way of drawing attention to that part of the history that refuses to be told and lacks public acknowledgment. The intention is to act as 'a punch in the face', Luisa says, looking at images of the pickets. 'It's like, "don't tell me that this didn't happen!" because you have to remember that for a long time, the right-wing [people] said that this [disappearance and execution] was an invention'. The critical stance of the picketers acquires a physical form as they come to occupy British territory, standing 'opposite' from Chilean administrative terrain, with their corporality and artefacts.

The demonstrators' emplacement takes a particular hue in consideration of some participants' personal circumstances. Nidia is a woman in her late fifties. She wears thick glasses and walks with her body slightly inclined forward. She speaks calmly and with a low voice. She moves slowly across the space – 'I have to move as if I was doing tai-chi', she will tell me jokily on another occasion. Regardless of her visible difficulties in standing and moving, she holds the canvas, supporting her body on a pillar. Nidia will also stand at the front to read out the names of the victims in her hardly audible voice. Days later, looking at some images of the event, she says:

'I will be there [in the picket] while my health is with me... this is the only fight that exiles can have today. It was important to show to the following generation that whatever happens, this has to be done... even if it rains, with earthquakes, with whatever happens, this thing [the picket] needs to be done.'

Talking to Nidia in her house in Brixton, I become aware of the illness that afflicts her: the beginning of Parkinson's disease. A former militant of the MIR and an active exile, Nidia is a well-known figure among the diasporic Chileans of London. Hence, her illness has not passed unnoticed. 'I feel very sad seeing Nidia in that state, after all that she went through in Chile', Luisa says. Sarah, a British-born Chilean, comments on Nidia's current 'fragility'. Others, while directly observing her, comment regretfully on the lamentable way she will pass her last days.

The frail image of Nidia, however, becomes unsettled for me when I become aware of her life as a militant of the MIR, of her survival of some of the most horrific concentration camps and, overall, of her youth as an adventurous traveller. I still get goosebumps on my skin remembering that afternoon in her living room when, after being visibly tired, Nidia became revitalised again by these memories of travelling. She told me about this part of her life when our long interview had (formally) finished; as if it was something separated from her life as an exile. This travelling dimension contrasted compellingly with her current difficulty in moving. My conversation with Nidia made me see her struggle with her bodily deterioration as the continuation of a longer fight that had started decades ago. Along with a more unspeakable past of surviving imprisonment, torture and persecution, this part of her biography is crucial to understanding her determination and animation. The same drive that made her a young explorer in Latin America at the end of the 1960s also infused her spirit as a leftwing militant in the 1970s in Chile and, since her exile, has made her a fervent demonstrator on the streets of London.

The act of holding up the wall might appear pointless in relation to Nidia's and other diasporian Chileans' current personal, social and geopolitical context. However, being politically active there keeps them mobilized and able to reinvigorate a space that can be occupied by others as well in the future.

In weaving connections arising from their handmade barrier and its opposition to that institutional building, I would like to refer to how that textile is interlaced with the fibre of another fence. The wall I want to briefly refer to is the one that was knocked down in 1989 in Berlin. Regardless of how dissociated they might appear today, I propose that their connection matters in shedding light on the demonstrators' persistence and their act of, literally, holding up a wall. Let's not forget that what was knocked down at the end of the 1980s was not simply a piece of concrete. It was also the practicability of a socialist national popular project, a project that was deemed to be contained within that wall in East Europe. The military coup that pushed thousands of Chileans to move to diverse destinations and the receiving countries' willingness to host them in the 1970s and 1980s cannot be dissociated from this wider context. The

Western and Eastern blocs had differently intervened in Latin American political and military conflicts. Particularly the USA (one of the leaders of the Western bloc) had supported Pinochet's *coup d'état* and his neoliberal regime from its early days. It is not a coincidence that when the Cold War was formally coming to an end, the Chilean dictatorship was also in its last days (as was Thatcher's leadership position in the UK). With the end of the Cold War, the international legitimacy and the need to contain certain national (mostly socialists) projects were not critical anymore. While the new international order declared particular political programmes obsolete, the end the dictatorship also questioned the exiles' need for mobilization abroad. They were, formally speaking, allowed to return to Chile.



Holding the wall. London, 2011. By the author.

Considering both geopolitical and personal contexts allows us to appreciate the poetics and politics involved in that act of holding up the wall. Many of those who do so also partook in Allende's revolutionary democratically elected popular project. Later in the UK, some of these actors were also participating in social movements that challenged Thatcher's mandate. The commemorative picket and textile wall might well be seen as

a vestige of another era, as forming a social/corporeal infrastructure. Comprising a material/visual lived allegory (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012), holding the wall becomes a tactic to keep themselves contained within a space while facing the transformations taking place on a local and global scale. The flying flag and the textile wall are the fabrics through which power and resistance become visible and palpable; fabric and concrete are their perceptible surfaces.

The picket's stubbornness is not a heroic act. The short-lived character of that environment of memory brings to the fore its precariousness, instability and uncertainty.

Finding your 'voice'

Nidia has come with her son, Felipe, a second generation British-born Chilean. He is young, well-built and full of enthusiasm. This 'passionate' young man, as Alex describes him, speaks the names of the disappeared as loud as he can, louder than everyone else. Once he finishes reading the names, he enacts, for the first time during the ceremony, a call-response chant:

<u>Call:</u>	<u>Response:</u>
¡Compañero desaparecido! (Disappeared comrade! !)	¡PRESENTE! (Present!)
¡Compañero ejecutado! (Executed comrade!)	¡PRESENTE!
¡Compañero Salvador Allende! (Comrade Salvador Allende!)	¡PRESENTE!
¡Ahora!	

(Today!)

¡Y SIEMPRE!

(And always!)

¡Ahora!

¡Y SIEMPRE!

¡Ahora!

¡Y SIEMPRE!

While this call-response chant is part of the Chilean vernacular (as introduced in the preceding chapter), the one that follows is a conventional British chant, often enacted in public demonstrations. As a British-born Chilean, Felipe bridges aurally both traditions of protests. In line with the relationality of spaces in diaspora, and hybrid forms that emerge in them, Felipe ‘actualiz[es] polyphony in ways that signify multiple sites of language acquisition and practices’, as Gilbert and Lo explain (2010 153). He calls the audience:

What do we want?

Justice!

When do we want it?

Now!

What do we want?

Justice!

When do we want it?

Now!

Justice, justice, we want justice!

Justice, justice, we want justice!

While telling me about his role in the picket in front of the embassy, Felipe explains that ‘for some people it’s enough to be there standing, but there are others who need to be more vocal, like me’. His ‘good voice’ is his ‘small contribution to the picket’, he says. Indeed, ‘voice’ is for Felipe the very point of being collectively there:

‘We are the voices of the thousands of victims of the dictatorship... That’s what it means for me to be there. Being there and representing the *compañeros* who don’t have a voice and their families who do not have any way to bring their voice here...’

Quite literally, voice becomes a tactic of visibility, a form of mediation for those who are absent to speak for themselves. However, Felipe’s affirmation that ‘we are the voices’ should not be taken only in its literal sense. As he suggests, and as is visible there, not all the people who come to the picket participate ‘vocally’ by reading the names aloud. Others contribute by standing there and taking turns in holding up the wall and responding to the chants collectively. In relation to her daughter, who plays behind the canvas, Alicia says that ‘she knows that she has a voice and she can use it if she wants to... just by taking her’. Younger generations learn how to participate in this terrain and to find their place (and their *voice*) there through their ongoing involvement. They make sense of their role and the matter that brings them together through this process of spatial occupation and actual participation.

The younger generations’ voice, with its youth, vitality and potential, not only mediates the presence of the commemorated victims and their relatives; it also compensates former demonstrators’ absence and the flagging performance of others. Felipe’s mother, Nidia, whose bodily performance is gradually declining due to aging and illness, is a stark example of this. Unlike Nidia’s almost imperceptible voice and her limited occupation of the site, Felipe’s voice and movements fill the place. In this way, the picket comprises a form of political representation (in name of the absent victims), as well as a process of ‘surrogation’ (‘reinstating’ the place of gone and leaving performers) (Roach 1996, 2).³⁶ On the other hand, voicing more than five thousand names and showing some of these name’s faces highlight (rather than fill) the absence of the disappeared (Taylor 2003, 174-5).

³⁶ Surrogation, in Roach’s terms, is a process which ‘does not begin or end but continues as actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitutes the social fabric. Into the cavities created by loss through death or other forms of departure... survivors attempt to fit satisfactory alternates’ (1998, 2).

Places and actors are co-constituted by producing a space that works as a shelter as much as a terrain of resistance. Grand and small, concrete and textile, fixed and fleeting, silent and sounding components, allow the pervasiveness of systemic violence to become distinguishable and, thus, denounceable again. The modest, precarious and yet ongoing emplacement of the picketers is telling in the context of a politic of forgetting that threatens to settle in official and mainstream discourses in Chile, and also in light of their daily invisibility as a diaspora in the social fabric of London.

Visualizing distant geographies of resistance

'I will soon start calling you *compañera*', jokes Alex when he finds me two weeks after the demonstration in a film screening that was arranged on the day of the picket. We have come to see the Chilean film '*Nostalgia for the light*' (Guzmán 2010). This 'friends only' gathering takes place in Luisa's office, close to Victoria station in central London. The atmosphere is colloquial. The soundscape is mostly filled with feminine voices all fused in a collective multi-tonal whisper. Coffee, tea and artisanal bread are available for everyone. A couple of them also share a bottle of wine. After Nancy introduces the film, while the murmurs give way to silence, the film starts.

Set in the Atacama Desert in Chile, the film reflects on the paradox of this landscape. On one hand, during the dictatorship, this environment not only hosted one infamous concentration camp (the Chacabuco Mine prisons) but also served to bury several victims' remains. On the other hand, the dry climate and altitude make this landscape an astronomic Mecca and its soil's particular sterility has the power of exceptionally preserving the human remains that linger there. As such, the vestiges of the bodies that the Pinochet regime deemed to make disappear have become bounded to a place in which the earth's and universe's endless existence happen to be powerfully manifested. Some human vestiges still are eventually found somewhere in this landscape. In the hope of finding their loved ones' remains, a contingent of old

women go daily to search for them in the infinitude of the desert. Using small shovels and their hands, relentlessly, they excavate and search. The paradox that lies beneath this encounter between the infinitude of the desert and cosmos, and these women's duty, helps to make connections between this place and Chile's politics of memory and forgetting.

Films whose stories and representations resonate and sympathise with their own lives and mindsets are common places among the Chilean diaspora of London. Indeed, films of this kind were often recalled during my fieldwork to support their arguments about Chile's politics of memory.³⁷ In relation to the film *Nostalgia for the light*, both right after the screening and days later, when I talked to some people who attended, their identification with the film surfaced. Walking to the train station in Victoria on that evening, Miguel says that the generation of his mother, Luisa – who was very moved and smiling with her eyes still swollen at the end of the film –, find a sense of reassurance in Guzman's and other related movies. 'For them, it's a way of affirming that it was true that what happened actually happened', he says. This echoes Luisa's earlier reference to the picket as 'a punch in the face'; a way of reaffirming that state sponsored repression actually occurred. By circulating in a wider public sphere these (film) narratives become widely visible and acquire public recognition.

Days later, during a conversation with Luisa, she refers back to the film as well. Remembering those women who were in the desert looking for the vestiges of their loved ones, she reflects about the recent loss of her son:

³⁷ For instance during the Festival 'El Sueño Existe' in Wales' (chapter 7), Anna mentioned the film 'The Obstinate Memory' also directed by Guzmán (1997). During a public speech she said:

'What he [Guzman] was saying was "Memory is obstinate" and what he meant by this is that memory refuses to be left in the past, you know? Memory is not just about things that happened in the past. Memory lives on... it continues, is generational, it moves on. In itself memory is active. Hence why the tree is such a beautiful symbol to us because is something that will live on pass all our life time.'

‘Well, you know that my son passed away unexpectedly. And of course, one’s pain and all that you feel, right? And when we saw that film and I left [the room], I felt a bit embarrassed (smile). And I told myself ‘Do I have the right to suffer and mourn for my son when I actually had him?!’ I took him out from Chile with me! I had him here forty-something years and that old lady what? [silence] She has nothing! Nothing! Only hope...’

Comparing her own pain with the pain of others makes Luisa aware of the different losses resulting from the dictatorship. While these women were able to keep living in the familiar landscape that today witnesses their search for their missing children and partners, Luisa lost a familiar terrain. Regardless of her dislocation, however, she was able to keep herself and her family safe. The losses inflicted by the dictatorship are different, as are the trajectories that different actors followed as a result. An awareness of their common and distinctive experiences helps her to come to terms with her own experience anew.

That screening is an extension of the commemoration of 11 September. It compels that first generation women also lead these more informal and intimate spatialities, in which both personal and public losses are re-processed. Both comprise places of connection and homely terrains. They are part of an alternative geography which is inhabited (yet differently) by different actors, a space which cannot be fixed neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’. Regardless of the different circumstances and dissimilar topographies, the Chilean diaspora of London, the people in the film and the filmmakers themselves are ‘in line’, as Ahmed (2006) would say, in ‘finding their way’ to enact a fight against forgetting in their own terms and in relation to their different locations.

‘Other kind of demonstrations’

Some weeks before the demo-commemoration of 11 September, on 25 August 2011, I was in the embassy’s frontispiece in a demonstration to support Chile’s student

movement from afar. There, I found some members of the Chilean diaspora showing their discontent together with a small group made mostly of postgraduate Chilean students.³⁸ Looking a photograph of this picket, Nidia says:

‘The most important has been the [demonstrations of] 11 September. That has become daily bread (*un pan de cada día*)... Now it was obvious that we had to support what the students were doing. They [the diasporic protesters] are the same people, using the same space for different things (laughs). These matters have never got mixed though... it’s not convenient to mix them because people do not understand what’s going on. It is like “ok, what are they doing now?”, “oh, the Chileans again!” ...’

These ‘other’ more contingent demonstrations, in which the Chilean diaspora often participates, have, according to Nidia, a different meaning from the yearly ‘most important’ demonstration of 11 September. One is continuous and considered vital (‘a daily bread’); the other is a response to current happenings in Chile. Supporting the Chilean students’ plea for free education fits well into a wider left-wing agenda. Many exiles and British Chileans refer to the student’s demand as proving the validity of the political project they defended in the 1970s in Chile – ‘they are asking exactly the same that the UP defended’, Felipe claims. Yet, despite being aligned, they try to keep these arenas of protest separated from their particular agenda as a political (diasporic) group.

That protest on 25 August 2011 had been organized by international students and broadcasted as a ‘*cacerolazo*’, which consists in making noise by banging pots (*cacerolas*). This form of protest was popularized during Allende’s regime when a contingent of middle class women took the street in what was known as the ‘March of the Empty Pots’, a manifestation that showed the lack of middle class support to Allende’s government (Baldez 2002). This form of protest had now returned to Chile as means of pacific demonstration. Camila Vallejo, the leader of the student movement at

³⁸ The Chilean government has increased the number of scholarships during the last years with the creation of the program Becas Chile. Between the years 2008 and 2011, 3841 scholarships for Masters and PhD were allocated, being the UK one important destination for those who go to study abroad (source: www.conicyt.cl/becas-conicyt/estadisticas).

the time, had summoned Chileans to play pots on the night of 4 August 2011 from their houses in response to the violence exercised by the civil police during a student demonstration held in Santiago. After some days of delay, twelve people got together to enact a *cacerolazo* in front the Chilean embassy, as close as we could get to Chilean territory in London.

In this space, not only different migratory waves come together, but also settled and transient migrants from the same destinations (cf. Berg 2011;). The forms of place-making they conduct in conjunction is connected to protest. This is a particular transnational space that operates through specific claims and demands. Through these the Chilean diaspora of London reassert its politics in connection with those whose trajectories are not routed by exile.

The historical grievance of diaspora is not diffused by becoming part of that transnational field and by acting together with new arrivals but their left-wing agenda is actualised from afar in relation to Chile's current affairs.

Among the demonstrators is Catalina, a twenty-five-year-old second generation British-born Chilean. Like many other Londoners, Catalina has been following the student movement in the media and social networks. She has strong connections to Chile, where she lived for six years when her family attempted to settle back after the dictatorship. She has travelled there on multiple occasions and keeps in contact with her family and some of the friends she made. In London, she is often seen in diverse demonstrations at the embassy's frontispiece and sometimes she also visits *la cancha*. She usually attends these scenes with her five-year-old 'Chilean-Jamaican' daughter. In that picket, the little girl garners the attention of the Chilean students for whom mixed-race-ness adds a visible difference to the otherwise ordinary Chilean gathering.

Catalina's father is already there. Over lunch in a Latin American café in Lambeth, Catalina tells me about her father's 'obsession' reading and collecting information related to the violation of human rights in Chile and to Chilean politics more broadly. She declares that her motivation to attend the demonstrations is 'to be

close to him’. As a kid, her parents used to take her to political activities – ‘they took us to all the political meetings’, ‘we ended up sleeping in the floor under the tables’, ‘we used to stay until very late’. She remembers those years with some uneasiness. Yet today she participates willingly. She is the only one of four siblings who actually does it. Apart from constituting an extension of her long distance connection to Chile, being there is, for Catalina, both a political and a family matter; it is part of a collective history and her upbringing.



Banging pots. London, 2011. By the author.

Even though the event was organised by international students, most of the time it is Nancy who actually led our voices. As a long-standing demonstrator in London, she is fully at ease there. Along with two pots, she has brought some original (deliberately hilarious) chants. They make reference to the brother of the Chilean president; a public figure who is well-known for owning night clubs, popularizing bad songs during the 1980s and his affection for hard-partying and for blond-haired models. Nancy’s chant goes:

“Y como, y como, y como es la hue’a,

hay plata pa'l paurri y no para estudiar?"

(And how, and how, and how is the nonsense,
there is money for the *papurri*³⁹ but not to study).

Other well-known Chilean chants were also sung. These are often voiced in different protests in Chile; they are adapted and their components replaced. From place to place, protest to protest, however, they keep a structure that makes them easily recognisable and their adaptations easy to follow. These chants are aurally, symbolically and structurally regionalised (cf. Back et al. 2001, 55-66). They say:

'Piñera, entiende, Chile no se vende'

(Piñera, understand, Chile is not for sale)

Also,

'Y va a caer, y va caer, la educación de Pinochet'

(And down will fall, and down will fall, the education of Pinochet)

And finally the foreseeable "C-H-I" which this time is for 'the students of Chile':

(call)	C-H-I	(response)	Chi!
	L-E		Le!
	(chorus)	Chi-Chi-Chi,	
		Le-le-le	
		<i>¡Estudiantes de Chile!</i>	

With no more than ten pots, we don't manage to generate a huge degree of aural disturbance, yet our location makes us noticeable nevertheless. In the middle of our meagre protest, a police car arrives and parks on the curve beside our small picket. While the police approach, the young lady who had organized the demonstration

³⁹ *Papurri*, is a colloquial slang expression popularised by the president's brother who also has come to be addressed in that way. It means 'daddy'. Often used among men, it has a 'macho' tone.

anxiously asks us to keep silence – ‘hey, shh, the police. Hey, hey, hey...’ – yet the older diasporian demonstrators kept on shouting Nancy’s brand new chant. The students rapidly assembled in the front of the picket to plan what they will tell to the policeman who keeps approaching. No permission to protest there had been requested in advance. When the policeman is getting closer, Nancy calls a last ‘C-H-I’ for the ‘*Estudiantes de Chile!*’ and, following this, everyone fell silent.

- ‘Free... education...’ the policeman tries to read the banners. ‘You have to pay in Chile?!’ he asks with a colloquial tone of surprise, directing his gaze to the young students who are at the front of the picket line.
- ‘It’s like three thousand a year’, someone almost automatically responds.
- ‘And the minimum salary is three hundred pounds per month’, someone else adds.
- Without missing a beat, in a calm voice, Nancy concludes ‘You have to pay for your whole life’.

The atmosphere becomes more relaxed due to the policeman’s unexpectedly amicable approach. The students keep instructing this man about the matter while the Chilean exiles and British-born Chileans remain together at the back. The interaction goes on in a very colloquial way. When the man starts making some gestures to leave, Nancy goes up to the front and explains to him that ‘this is a coordinated action. This [demonstration] is happening in every single [Chilean] embassy all over the world’. The policeman shows some interest in what is said and then leaves. The students start commenting about how ‘cool’ and ‘kind’ the policeman is and, over all, ‘how different from the Chilean ones!’ Alex, who has been behind the scene all this time, finally speaks:

- ‘They are not that nice sometimes... with the thing over the miners they hit us badly (*nos sacaron la cresta*)’
- ‘True, in the 1980s, the English miners’, an exile woman starts supporting this affirmation.

- 'They have different methods but it's always the same. They need to neutralize you to have a dialogue', Nancy says.
- 'Ok, let's keep shouting', a woman interrupts and leads the chant, '*Y va a caer, y va a caer, la educacion de Pinochet!*'

During this dialogue, two different stances and ways of proceeding in space come into view. Somehow what Alex and Nancy are claiming is that, given their longer experience in London, they have a clearer picture that helps them to elucidate the police performance. The 'sympathy code', according to Nancy, has a hidden 'neutralising' agenda. By referring to the miner strikes during the Thatcher demonstrations in the 1980s – a time during which many of the students were living in Chile or were not born yet – they manage to bring some authority to their version of what was going on in that scene. Moreover, their earlier refusal to stop chanting when the policeman was approaching, ignoring the younger demonstrator's nervous request to keep quiet, also denotes some degree of power imbalance. These claims of entitlement in British history and geography suggest that this is not simply a form of homeland-oriented politics for Chilean exiles. By highlighting some underlying historical and geopolitical layers, they show their particular entitlement in that British terrain. By protesting in London, they claim that space as their own as well and differentiate themselves from those who do not belong to it in the same terms. In that location, these long-settled migrants act like hosts.

Furthermore, Nancy's statement that 'this is a coordinated action, this is happening in every single embassy all over the world' highlights the multi-local and trans-local character of the protest. The students' worldwide dispersion given the growing scholarship program of Chile, together with the diasporisation of the Chilean exiles, might well open the path for different forms of connections and transnational fields of action. This exchange between settled and incoming migrants from Chile opens an interesting field of exploration for further research.

The picket line in front of the embassy not only links receiving and sending countries, but also migrants with different histories, trajectories and connections. In

this place, 'different social groups, and different individuals, are placed in distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections' – to use the words with which Massey explains how power-geometry operates (Massey 1991, 25). Their different backgrounds and experiences imply different motivations, stances and relations to that specific location. This brings attention to the heterogeneity of transnational spaces, and how diasporas bring their politics and historical grievance to them while interacting with those whose migrant trajectories differ.

Conclusion: diasporic geographies of contention

'Contention', Auyero says, 'takes place in extant geographies and creates new ones' (2006, 576), an assertion which is particularly true in the case of transnational and diasporic spatial formations. The processes that take place in the embassy frontispiece disrupt any attempt to delineate temporal and spatial margins. There, the members of Chilean diaspora can situate themselves and deal with the changes that have been taken place on a wider scale, establishing connection with what has been continuously happening elsewhere. They re-locate and actualise their politics and historical specificity in this 'transnational space'. By coming together through protests, 'new' and 'old', 'voluntary' and 'forced' migrants, can create spaces that are not simply corridors or fields connecting sending and receiving countries (cf. Guarnizo 2003; cf. Glick-Schiller et al. 1992). They connect themselves from afar to an evolving history that manifests itself in different ways (the student movement, the ongoing search for the disappeared for example). Their initial circumstances of migration keep pervading the way they make themselves at home in the city as a diasporic group as well as in relation to others. By becoming part of a wider public, the Chilean diaspora can potentially move away from a discourse based on loss to one focused on the present and open to the future. By attuning themselves to current issues, integrating next generations and interacting with 'new' migrants from Chile, they extend the potentiality of the sites they have occupied in the diaspora.

7.2. 'Your are still here': negotiating and claiming place



Staring the pitch. London, 2011. By the author.

'I used to play here 20 years ago. I used to have long dreadlocks', a tall, thin man in approximately his mid-forties says to Miguel, gesturing to his hips to show him where his hair (now very tidy and short) used to fall. This man of Afro-Caribbean ancestry appeared in *la cancha* on 11 September looking for a former player who, like him, was there 'at the beginning' of *la cancha*, in the early 1980s. Approaching the area behind the goals under the big trees, he found some of the Manuel Rodríguez's players. Trying to help Miguel remember him, the man mentioned several names of people, some of which were familiar to Miguel, but do not seem to belong to the scene anymore. Only when the man mentioned and depicted with his hands his (now invisible) distinctive dreadlocks did Miguel enthusiastically responds, 'oh yeah man... I remember you!' Turning his intrigued gaze to a full grin, he adds, 'I was younger than you. Yeah, I remember! Oh, man!' Around them, the players keep chatting and dressing up. Nobody

gives too much attention to this exchange apart from me. 'I can't believe that you are still here man!' The no-longer-strange man says, excitedly shaking his head, clapping and giggling. 'Yeah, but it's not how it was before', 'It doesn't matter man, you're still here'. Looking at his surroundings and lighting a cigar, the man keeps speaking as if he is thinking aloud: 'it's incredible that's these people are still here... still here and still together for the love of football, like a community [silence]. That's beautiful...'

After the 'demo-commemoration' in the embassy's frontispiece, I did not intend to go to *la cancha*. Yet, once the event finished, Miguel moved on to Clapham Common, where he had agreed to play in the last set of matches. I excitedly joined him to see, for the first time after about a year of fieldwork, the two key social scenes of my research collide on that meaningful date. Luisa joined us for half of the trip. While in transit, she referred to the demonstrators as 'stubborn dogs' to portray their persistence and wilfulness to keep occupying the embassy's frontispiece. That popular metaphor – '*perros porfiados*' – resonates with the hybrid street dogs that persistently occupy and make their home on the roads of Santiago city (Olivares 2013). Moreover, it also resonated with the situation of the players of the Manuel Rodríguez who have come to *la cancha* weekly for the last four decades. My ethnographic encounter (a gift indeed) with the astounded man from the past, coming to verify that 'these people' were 'still here' was also a reflection on *la cancha's* actors' own doggedness, of their refusal to leave a field occupied, inhabited and made by an intergenerational group of the Chilean diaspora of London and a wider milieu.

The public formed there do not come back every Sunday 'for the love of football' only, as that man from another era nostalgically said. *La cancha's* persistence, both materially and in the memories of many people, suggests that it also matters as a point of orientation in a context of ongoing changes – 'the search for secure moorings in a shifting world', to use Harvey's words (in Massey et al. 1995, 77). *La cancha* and the Manuel Rodríguez team, I argue, contribute to their members' sense of historical, social and physical continuity and connection. That process is lived not only in *la cancha*, but also in a multi-sited way by the Manuel Rodríguez players and other members of the social football scene. With this, I want to suggest that keeping the

place and expanding the bonds formed there are part of a form of place-making that brings to the fore the politics of place.

La cancha is one of those places where multiple biographical and geopolitical trajectories come into play (see Ramírez 2014). In a context which has been defined as one of 'decline of public places' – i.e. the neoliberal city's control, re-definition and commoditization over public space (Massey 2005, 152) – *la cancha* appears as an ongoing achievement in which a set of actors negotiate and build a place for themselves in their own terms. However, such achievement is not without constraints, controversies and tensions.

In the first part of this chapter, I refer to the meaning the texture of *la cancha* has for the players of the Manuel Rodríguez. Through its material composition, aesthetic and the group formed there, the pitch offers a grounded terrain of belonging, one that refuses any notion of purity and any attempt to fix (Latin American) places of culture. The following section looks at the practices of memory the players enact. I focus particularly on how the recollections of Adrian – a former player of El Manuel Rodríguez – are actualised and mobilised after his death. I show the continuities and breaks between these practices of memory and more traditional forms of commemoration. Then, in the third section, I attend a particular episode: the dispute around the ownership of the team's name 'Manuel Rodríguez'. Naming a group and claiming a name, I argue, are strategies to 'actualize communities' and re-make its boundaries, a process in which resistance is not necessarily progressive.

Those different aspects (the dusty field, the Manuel Rodríguez players' recollections and practices of naming) are different instances through which a group of the Chilean diaspora signify, delimit and claim a place for themselves while dealing with a shifting background and inhabiting the increasingly multi-ethnic context of London.

'The blood of Adrian is there'

After the commemoration in the embassy, while walking toward *la cancha* in Clapham Common, Miguel tells me about the funeral of his brother, Adrian, which took place about a year ago. It comprised an intergenerational social gathering among the Chilean diaspora. Many of them mentioned this moment as a 'beautiful' encounter, an occasion for them to come together as a group after a long time apart. Through his family and communities, Adrian was connected to different social scenes. He arrived as a teenager and knew people from different generations. As a long-standing player of the Manuel Rodríguez team, he became close to both Chileans and Colombians.

Diverse people talked about Adrian affectingly during our conversations. Among all the evocations, there was one phrase that stayed strongly resonating with me. It was voiced by Jonathan Tordecillas, a Manuel Rodríguez player and grandson of Don Artemio. Commenting on the pitch's dusty surface, its similarity to other Latin American football fields and *la cancha's* connections to his family's experience of exile in London, he adds 'and dust is not like the grass, you know? There's blood there, Miguel's brother's blood, Adrian's blood is there'.

La cancha becomes a container of multiple geographies, histories and biographies. It echoes distant recognizable landscapes while providing the grounds for the Chilean diaspora to make a place for themselves in London. Moreover, taking Jonathan's words, *la cancha's* very composition materialises the spatial and temporal continuity with their occupants as the dust merges itself with the corporeal substances of those who leave their blood and sweat there. The pitch of dust becomes a multi-layered and multi-signifying terrain. In Jonathan's mind-eye, the dust's composition is never finished. It is constantly being re-composed in relation to the bodies that engage there. Merged with the vestiges of the players and their multiple trajectories, the very materiality of the pitch appears to refuse any notion of purity and fixity. Its stability as a place makes it a long-standing repository of continual comings and goings.



The dusty field. London, 2011. By the author.

The sense of historical continuity provided by the football ground has been pointed to as a common place among football fans (Back et al. 2001). Indeed, some of them, Back et al. notice, eventually request to have their ashes scattered in the pitch after their death (ibid. 41). The ashes of Adrian (a player of a disregarded Sunday league of South London) have been thrown in the Chilean ocean (p. 216). Yet his presence can still be materially projected as living in the dusty fields as the result of past inhabitations.

La cancha has played a crucial role in memory-making processes. Apart from the narratives that emerge in connection with this terrain, the bodies, objects and surfaces living there are crucial to comprehend the material complexity of the different stages and dimensions of remembering. As the departure of Adrian shows, these materialities' meanings might become particularly intense while facing processes of loss and dying (Hallam and Hockey 2001, 3). Back et al. (2001, 41) observe that '[f]ootball stadiums can operate as sacred grounds for their devotees'. The ground where football is played has an important role for the attachment and belonging of its publics. The club's history becomes situated and placed there. While coaches, players

and publics come and go, change and disappear over time, the ground offers stability (ibid., following Bale 1994, 133). For the players who come every Sunday to *la cancha* – a ritual that is often described by them as ‘like going to church’ and a ‘sacred’ routine –, the pitch provides ‘an altar of memory and commemoration’, as Back et al. say. Its composition and structure make it ‘a home that “incarnates the past”’ – ‘a place to both play and be at home’ (2001, 41, quoting Tuan 1974, 247; also 1976).

Massey et al. observe that non-western notions of home-place – such as pre-Columbian cultures in America – are tied to the daily landscape’s features, such as paths, rocks and mountains. Inhabitants attach to ‘the natural features of the area; the people belong to and are defined by them’ (1995, 51). ‘Here, then, there *is* a sense of the absoluteness of place, of “time immemorial” and of a mutual belongingness between a place and a people, but it is tied to the natural-physical environment’ (ibid.). As a physical and symbolic space, the people are defined by and belong to *la cancha* as much as this place is defined and appropriated by them. This ‘mutual belongingness’ operates by inscribing its occupants trajectories there, a projection that draws on nonlinear temporalities through the idea of an unfinished landscape.

Chilean exiles, incoming migrants from Latin America and British (born) members of the scene have appropriated this terrain in different – yet not necessarily contradictory – terms. Like his grandfather, Jonathan also describes the dusty fields as Latin American scenery (p. 141). As a second generation ‘Chilean-Colombian’ Londoner, he re-appropriates the field by imprinting his own migrant background on to it. ‘You don’t find pitches like this in England... These are the kind of pitches you find in Chile and Colombia’. Julio, a second-generation ‘Chilean-Chilean’, refers to this place’s aesthetic connection with a Chilean *barrio*. Yet for him, the dust denotes *la cancha*’s non-professional, precarious and fringe character; ‘it is just like playing a *pichanga de barrio*’ he dismissively stated one day. The dust resonates with the world of amateur football and recreational life in the Chilean suburbs, associations that go hand in hand with class distinctions and ideas of centre-periphery that unsettle Julio’s desire to belong to this place. He will soon move to play in an English semi-professional league where the green pitches fit better with his aspirations as a footballer.

Migrant populations produce different landscapes, landscapes that are symbolic, affective, social and materially made (Law 2005; Knowles 2009). Saying that the landscape is 'made' diminishes the idea of places as given. Landscapes are made in relation to their occupants' specific locations and in relation to different temporal, gendered and generational specificities (Back 2007, 66). Interestingly, despite being there before the Chileans' arrival, the dusty pitches have become the palpable evidence of the presence of Latin Americans in this park in South London. Here, ethnicity and nation are encoded in physical space (Alexander and Knowles 2005; Alexander 2011) making 'symbolic attachments' emerge as they are 'grafted onto physical form' (Back 2007, 60, quoting Leach).

La cancha triggers memories and imageries of a rather generic place expected to be found elsewhere, but made and remade on a weekly basis in a corner of an English park. This place's materiality 'roots them' in distinct ways 'within English territory', to use Fortier's terms (2000, 142). And yet, as Jonathan's words about Adrian's blood living in the dust imply, such rootedness does not simply involve the relocation of a Latin American landscape but also the situatedness of the complex and ongoing trajectories of the Chilean diaspora there. These processes remain hidden beneath the dusty fields and are only noticeable for some of its publics – behind the dusty fields there is a history, a heritage that belong to them.

The commemorative game

The first commemoration I attended in London was in the context of the social football scene. It was actually in memory of Adrian and happened three months before 11 September 2011 in the context of a 'Chilean football tournament' that was organized by the Sport Club '*Siempre Secos*' in Brixton.⁴⁰ It might better be called a 'tribute'.

⁴⁰ The Social Club '*Siempre Secos*' was founded by first generation Chileans in the mid-1990s. It is led by first generation exiles and incorporates a diverse contingent of incoming migrants notoriously young people from Chile and from other Latin American countries (mainly Bolivians and Peruvians) who have come to London to look for new opportunities or to study. The Chileans who participate there are mostly middle class people in positions such as academics, students and people who work in

Under the initiative of Miguel, the 'Adrian All Stars' team had been specially formed for the occasion. Players from El Manuel Rodríguez and some of Adrian's longstanding football friends were the team members. They specially designed a football t-shirt that contained a colour selfie portrait of Adrian. He appeared meditatively looking at the camera with the blue sea and a luminous sunset in the background. Adrian had taken this photograph during his trip to Cuba – a memorable experience for him, Miguel explains to me. The image was accompanied by a text written in Spanish: '*Recordando [a] Nuestro Hermano Adrian*' (remembering our brother Adrian).

During the tournament in Brixton, the textiles were carried by the players, people who had strong bonds with Adrian and for whom he was still an active presence. The photograph of Adrian during holidays in Cuba, a private picture, circulated in the place. Through this image a feeling of grief is evoked to the public formed within the scope of the social scene. Despite incorporating new faces and some degrees of estrangement, the image circulates across a transnational public made through co-presence and some degrees of familiarity (cf. Rose 2010, 85-88). Bonds with Adrian were affirmed through the human assembly and material/visual display, as well as by explicitly by calling him 'our brother'. People with and without Chilean ancestry were included in this team, people who were connected to Adrian through their common experience of growing up together, not only as children of exiles in London, but also as part of the social football scene every weekend in *Clapham Common*.

Anticipating a major audience in the context of this event, some Siempre Secos Club members were selling *empanadas* and *pan amasado* with *queso de cabeza* in a stand located under a textile awning. They were three men in their fifties and sixties, two Chileans and one Colombian. Along with trading food, they occasionally played the guitar and sang well-known popular Latin American songs. Within this environment, Adrian's figure is conveyed and provided with a memorable identity. Through contingent formations, persistent reminiscences and the vernacular, he is brought to

service sector. A couple of children of Chilean exiles in their mid-twenties participate there with their parents.

the present through an interplay of transiency and transcendence (Hallam and Hockey 2001, 4, 5).

The day after the tournament, I went to *la cancha* as I did every Sunday throughout the football season. I sat under the big tree, this time with Pablo, Catalina and her two brothers, while their children played. Carried away from the commemorative game of the day before, Miguel had brought a card that contained diverse photographs of Adrian and a text dedicated to him. Miguel had made the card for his brother's funeral and it was distributed to the attendees in the reception that followed. The card's cover photograph was the same portrait printed on the t-shirts that the players had used the day before – a selfie, which, by its nature, showed Adrian as he wanted to be seen. Inside the card, other images of Adrian with the football league, in family gatherings and with friends also appeared. The accompanying text had been written by Mario, Miguel's and Adrian's father. It recalled the memories of their trip from Chile to the UK and reflected on the losses involved, the difficulties of the arrival and this father's current loss given Adrian's unexpected departure. 'It's very personal but we decided to make it public', Miguel says about his father's written words. 'People were very moved'.

Using photographs and text interface has been ubiquitous among Chileans (diasporic or not) as a way of remembering those who were disappeared and executed during the Chilean dictatorship (Richard 2000). The objects of memory produced by Miguel for his brother's funeral and commemoration (the card and t-shirt) to some extent resonate with those traditional practices of remembrance. Commemorations have been, after all, important spaces of socialization for the subsequent generations. Yet, unlike those well-known openly political commemorations (to demand justice and fight against forgetting), Miguel's engagement does not attempt to memorialize the victims that resulted from a historical event. It actualizes an openly personal loss whose meaning, nevertheless, connects to the daily lives of others members of the Chilean diaspora of London. The departure of Adrian is not only a personal matter. They re-appropriate the practices of memory, activating bonds and stories that permeate their current lives. Miguel's words about the card ('it's very personal but we decided to make it

public') and the card's connection to a 'moving' atmosphere show how the figure of Adrian is mobilised in the formation of a semi-public terrain of remembrance.

The 'beautiful' and 'moving' moment brought about by the funeral, and the engaging character of the tournament, might well relate to other possibilities to transiently enliven the Chilean diaspora's connections not only to Adrian but also among each other. This is not a popular football club with a massive amount of fans and a repertoire of anthems, including flags, songs and t-shirts. Still, this Club-based tournament provides for its members 'a key ritual and cultural mannequin onto which the clothes of identity, locality and regionalism are tailored and paraded' (Back et al. 2001, 41). Given the elusiveness of their common history, this event becomes for the public formed there one that articulates their common experiences of living and dying as members of the Chilean diaspora in London.

The visual objects used in the different forms of commemorations – including the commemoration in front in the embassy and the commemorative team – present commonalities and divergences. The selection of one portrait in particular and the portable character of those visual objects are characteristics shared by both materializations of remembering, as are their displays to a specific audience that is made through co-presence in (semi)public arenas. Like the embassy's demonstrators, the players also develop multiple allegiances beyond kinship with both absent and present people.

During the match, however, Adrian is brought to the present through mundane encounters in ordinary settings rather than in a crucial commemorative day. Also, while the embassy's commemoration uses the generic black and white portrait, the other presents a personalized selfie colour photograph and also incorporates the Cuban seascape. Through the figure of Adrian as an instance, this commemoration brings the experiences of those whose biographies have been also routed by dictatorship. The actors involved in this commemorative act are claiming that their diasporic lives and identities – too mundane in London, too distant from Chile – are worthy to be noticed. By continuing and breaking with traditional forms of remembering, these memory

practices and objects of memory are re-appropriated and their possibilities and ends extended.

Naming and claiming

During my fieldwork in *la cancha*, there was a dispute about the ownership of one team's name: the 'Manuel Rodríguez'. Don Artemio, who founded this team in the early 1980s, chose that title in honour of Manuel Rodríguez Erdoíza (1785 - 1818), a Chilean revolutionary leader and one of the founders of Chile as an independent state. The popularity of this figure has included his personification in TV series and films. Victor Jara wrote the song 'The Appeared (Son of rebellion)' for him. This passionate guerrilla leader's evocative figure also baptized the far-left urban guerrilla movement formed in the 1980s during the Chilean dictatorship: 'the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front'.



Manuel Rodríguez. Source: National Library of Chile (www.memoriachilena.cl.)

<i>Hijo de la rebeldía,</i>	Son of rebellion
<i>Lo siguen veinte más veinte,</i>	Followed by twenty, and twenty more,
<i>Porque regala su vida</i>	because he gives his life away
<i>Ellos le quieren dar muerte.</i>	they want to give him death.

'The Appeared (Son of rebellion)' (Víctor Jara, 1971)

Being a team originally formed by exiles, its connection to The Front (rather than to the historic figure itself) is common. Anticipating this common association, Jose clarifies to me that, even when his father 'had sympathy' for the Anti-Pinochet guerrilla, 'the team was formed before the Patriotic Front. The Patriotic Front was formed in 84 or 83 in Chile, but this team was formed in 82'. It is difficult to ignore the fact that the team has been baptised with the name of such a remarkable icon of political resistance. The team has a 'political ideology because of the name', Jose says. However, what is more

crucial today is the team as a 'cultural thing'. This Chilean team keeps some 'Chileanness' (*chilenidad*) in the scene which is 'a bit missing today', Jose reflects.

When I started my fieldwork, Jose was acting as the coach of the team. He took that role in 1993 after his father decided to return to Chile following the end of the dictatorship. Sitting in a cafe in Central London, close the bookshop where he works, Jose tells me about the Manuel Rodríguez team:

'My father formed it a long time ago. The Manuel Rodríguez is the team from Latin America that has been here the longest. There isn't another team. There is the Ecuador team, but it split up for a season. We have always been there. It has never finished. So it's good that still continues because the tradition is there.'

In the Latin American football league, the teams' names often evoke the nations they represent. Yet the team members' national and ethnic heritages are connected to different countries. This was also the situation of the Manuel Rodríguez (a 'Chilean team') when I started my fieldwork. Among the remaining Chileans, Miguel still played there, as did his brother Adrian before dying. Regarding the members of the Tordecillas family, two of Jose's nephews (a 'Chilean-Colombian' and a 'Chilean-Philippine') were playing there as well. However, Jose's older brothers and some of his nephews, along with other longstanding team players, had left the Manuel a little while ago. His brothers, who are in their mid-forties, alleged that they were hardly ever allowed to play, so they decided to form their own team (*the Bacilo*). According to Jose, the team had too many players so it was difficult to incorporate them all. As a result, younger Colombians had become a majority on this 'Chilean' team. It is common to hear among the first generation Chilean players that 'there are not any Chilean players' on the team anymore, making the point that those few 'Chilean' team members who still play there are 'Chileans but born here'.

Following Massey (2005), the 'politics of place' does not simply refer to developing and claiming a sense of 'we'. That idea of politics, she discusses, overlooks that some places' troubling trajectories do not allow having cohesiveness as a primary foundation, aim or tactic of place-making. What might be at stake is 'the *practicing* of place, the negotiation of intersecting trajectories, place as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us' (2005, 154). The common claim that the league 'is not what it used to be' refers partly to a context in which, unlike in the past, the teams are not formed by 'tight communities' and their character is not as 'family-based' as it was in the 1980s and 1990s, as Rod (the English goal keeper) observes. The changing profile of the Manuel Rodríguez team somehow reflects the broader changes of the Latin American scene of London as a whole, where a Chilean majority has been radically exceeded by the increasing arrival of Colombians from the mid-1970s (Roman-Velázquez 1999; McIlwaine 2011).

This dispute for the name might appear trivial at first sight. Yet, it reflects a group of the Chilean diaspora's effort to mark boundaries and claim their distinctive belonging to The UK – a way of delineating these different migrant groups' position within the UK. Re-naming appears as a conservative move; a distinction 'realized by positing an "us" versus "them"' (Amit 2002). Re-naming is overall a symbolic demarcation of community. It ignores the wider collectivity that is actually made weekly in *la cancha* and elsewhere by those who keep their connections beyond this space.

The Manuel Rodríguez is considered a meaningful part of the history of the 'Chilean community' of London and one of the main vestiges of the 'good times' of *la cancha* there – 'the tradition is there' as Jose claims. Particularly, for the Tordecillas folks, it is also deemed to be a family belonging. The lack of Chileans and, in particular, the shortage of Tordecillas relatives in the team appear, therefore, as an issue for them.

When Don Artemio arrived to London this football season, he was disappointed to see the low performance and the lack of Chilean players on the team. His complaints, along with the current players' lower engagement with the team as a community

project, were some aspects that made Jose feel 'tired' – 'now it was all about winning, winning, winning', he argues. With the majority of his Chilean family on the El Bacilo team and a dominating Colombian presence, his own leadership as a coach appeared weakened.

Toward the end of the season, Jose stopped 'working' as coach' and left the *Manuel Rodríguez* team. I ask him why he left:

'...it wasn't the same ideology... We are there [in *la cancha*] because of the name [of the *Manuel Rodríguez* team], the Chilean identity. It doesn't matter if we win or lose. We are there because we are a family, because we are united. We are there for ancient reasons... And these (Colombians) gals now thought different. They wanted... win, win, win, instead of putting the team together and make it more united as it was before. I remember that [in the past] in one season we didn't win even one game. We lost by landslide (*goleada*). But that united us more as a team. We lost 5-1, 5-3 but nobody left because there was that unity; like a family. For me that was lost a little bit and that's the reason why I didn't have the same enthusiasm I had before...'

And then he continues,

'It was my fault because I didn't speak up. I should have told to the Colombian gals... what the *Manuel Rodríguez* is. It is not to win only. It is to be there and enjoy *la cancha*, the social thing. And it seems that the Colombian mentality is a different thing. I made a mistake by not telling them...'

When Jose left his role as the coach, Eric, a Colombian player, took his position. Without Chileans in the forefront, reclaiming the team's name became imminent for the Tordecillas. There is an important emotional component in this dispute. Both Miguel and Jonathan, who still play in the team, explain their intricate feelings about this 'complicated' situation by saying that their brothers and parents played in this team in the past. This team 'is history', Jonathan says, a history that works to a

personal and collective level. Potential conflicts with their Colombian friends are also anticipated and deeply felt among those younger players with Chilean ancestry. 'This is not a issue between the good and bad guys, we are all friends', Miguel says.

After some conversations between both team coaches – conversations partly facilitated by Miguel, who had become the oldest Chilean in the Manuel – the Tordecillas siblings succeeded in reclaiming the team's name. Before renaming El Bacilo, the former Manuel Rodríguez changed its name to *Independiente*. Jonathan Tordecillas, allegedly one of the best players of the league, would join the re-formed ('historic') Manuel Rodríguez in the next football season to play with his family and old friends – 'I feel very strong about this', he says, 'you can leave a team but you cannot leave your family'.

Jose was not participating as a coach anymore, but eventually from the green as part of the public. Commenting on the team's reformation he says:

'I'm happy that my brother took it [the name] back... Let's see if I can play a last season because we are all old now. Because Miguel is 36, I'm 40, my brother is 45, the other is 47. Playing once again with the nephews and the sons would be beautiful.'

The claim over the team's name is also a claim over the history of the space and a way of marking their persistent continuity there. This continuity moves along with longstanding distinctions and new ones. It also involves a projection toward the future through the incorporation of the following generations. The Manuel Rodríguez does not simply bring memories of a place left behind by evoking through its name an epic past of revolutionary leaders. It also evokes a history of arrival to London and a refusal to leave that history to vanish and assimilate by the more visible history of newer Latin American arrivals. Memories of migration (some of them intergenerationally transmitted) keep pervading how the actors distinctively made and connect to the scene. Memories of 'political' and 'economic' routes and their related community

experiences in the UK are often mentioned by different generations of the Chilean diaspora to explain their connection to *la cancha*. As Alexander (2010) says, diasporic groups' shared traumas and identities are inseparable from the solidarities that emerge in the places of settlement. The Manuel Rodríguez team, with its attached meanings and history, offers a living memory of the political trajectory of the Chilean diaspora there.

Rod is the English goalkeeper of the dissolved Manuel Rodríguez. With forty five years old (a senior player), he thinks that given the reconfiguration of the teams, 'it might be finally time to retire' for him. Regarding the reformed Manuel Rodríguez he says:

'They're like family, aren't they? They are like the heart of the league. What's left of the league. You know what I mean? ... A lot of the teams were like that [in the 1980s and 1990s]. They were all like from a particular country, and was all very tight communities. You know? ... Obviously the Tordecillas' team everyone is family, everyone is related. That makes it kind of special.'

Recovering the name means affirming part of that community-based character of the league that appears to be increasingly in decline. Re-naming the team appears as part of the making of 'community as a narrative achievement' that, as Back observes, can enable either the opening up or closing down of the social landscape. It can contain a melancholic and even nationalistic mood (Back 2009, 204). Claiming a name, re-naming the group and making its boundaries as a Chilean team appear as a strategy to 'control disorder', as Back would put it, 'a vehicle for purifying and perfecting community' (2009, 205). To put it in another way, this episode could well be seen as a manifestation of people's 'desire of a sense of ethnic commonality' (Baumann 2010, 46). The effort of 'refusing to be wiped off the map of history', to use Pile's and Keith's words (1997, xi) can also involve a form of resistance to reinstate conservative ideas of community. The authority of tradition itself might involve a less progressive form of resistance, one that closes down to and denies change. Resistance to processes of hybridity – if following

the opposition tradition/hybrid proposed by Clifford (2000, 103, in Hutnyk 2010, 60) – can involve lack of openness to the creativity and newness that emerge from cultural mixing.

What is important here, however, is distinguishing this moral claim and, to some extent, symbolic achievement, from *la cancha*'s actual community realization every Sunday in Clapham Common. What remains unsaid is the unavoidable complex community that is made in *la cancha* and beyond this place as a lived social arena (Back 2009; Ramírez 2014). Bearing this in mind, the strategies of renaming of El Manuel Rodríguez might well be seen as tactics of resistance in other ways. The following generations of the Chilean diaspora activate an everyday form of resistance in *la cancha*, through the ongoing re-assertion, and re-invention of solidarity and community (Caygill 2013). This is an unfinished process that contests assimilationist discourses that try to fix migrant subjectivities either to an 'original place', to the host society's 'local' identities, or to those identities of other Latin American mainstream migrant groups (Portes and Zhou 1993). Such fixing gazes might come from outside or within the migrant ('ethnic' or 'national') communities themselves (Werbner 2002). By actualizing certain forms of solidarity, such as those based in the common geopolitical trajectories of the Chilean diaspora, the players of the (historic) Manuel Rodríguez resist their assimilation, which makes the point that boundary maintenance (even if its is 'made' in narrative form and as a moral claim only) is a political hue. In this case, they resist assimilation by keeping their historical specificity visible in a context in which they increasingly become mixed and merged within a wider Latin American context.

Conclusion: claiming space and (un)making communities

Reflecting on the (dis)connection between place and identities in relation to 'resistance', Gupta and Ferguson say:

‘If one of the modes of operation of power is to attach identities to subjects, to tie subjects to their own identities through self knowledge, then resistance serves to reshape subjects by untying or untidying that relationship’ (1997, 20)

The politics of place in *la cancha* involve forms of engagements that do not comprise ‘limit experiences’ of resistance (ibid.). Yet meaningful ordinary dialogues and encounters also shape the community and subjectivities that are situated and made there. By engaging with each other within and beyond *la cancha* – a place made of multiple and always-provisional negotiations, as Massey (2005) would put it – their own shifting selves find a hospitable place.

The physicality of the place itself – an arena identified as a ‘*barrio*’, a Latin American terrain – challenges essentialist approaches between place and culture. The texture of site resonates with the Chilean diaspora’s memories of other homes while also grounding their own trajectories there. Moreover, by moving the bonds formed in *la cancha* to other sites, the players give transcendence to the ties formed there. People, community and place are not fixed anywhere. As the commemoration for Adrian shows, these bonds can be actualised in relation to other (loosely connected) publics and places. Beyond the dusty fields, other forms of community formation can take place. Also, the means for displaying those bonds, such as the use of visual recollections, bring to the bear the way the making of communities and publics is re-invented in dialogue to traditional forms of commemorations. Material/visual practices of memory are appropriated by the following generation in relation to the bonds, places and concerns that matter to them.

Opening the two sections of this chapter, I proposed that a form of resistance is in play in this scene. In *la cancha*, these forms of resistance are hidden in the mundane of everydayness. Overall, what is in play is a refusal of a collective history to be brushed away from the personal and collective memories of the diaspora and their context. Through claiming territories, illuminating ordinary lives (and deaths) and keeping distinctiveness as a group (e.g. through renaming), such politics are enacted. The

openly political profile of the scene in the past takes new faces (and new motifs) in a post-dictatorial and increasingly multi-ethnic context.

Both the picket lines and the football team show that the circumstances of migrants' departure – in this case, routes inflicted by exile – pervade the ways they make communal terrains and achieve a sense of belonging. Through both ceremonies and more ordinary practices, the Chilean diaspora of London inhabit the city while emplacing, reinventing and actualising their politics and historical specificity.

Conclusion

Four decades have passed since the Pinochet *coup d'état* in Chile, a period in which the political and multicultural landscape of The UK has also undergone important transformations. Intergenerational growth, active social webs and dynamic meeting places have been continuously shaped. As a starting point, this thesis has proposed that attending to the present status of an intergenerational group of Chilean exiles living in London and their evolving context requires turning away from the perspective of 'exile'. While doing this, however, exile is still relevant in specifying the foundations of the spaces that this group generates and the means through which they mark their distinctiveness in London. The focus is on this intergenerational group's actual engagements with their social, cultural and material context, and on the wider temporal and spatial connection that emerge within those contexts. More specifically, the attention is on the Chilean diaspora of London's making of a 'home' in the city, unsettling the private and public interface, disrupting temporal and spatial delimitations, troubling national/ethnic-based solidarities. This new diaspora's particular background, and connections to both Chile and the UK, expands the conceptualisation of diasporic spaces, of home and home-making. Their memories of 'home' – which do not seem to fit clearly demarcated historical and territorial demarcations – are enlivened in the local terrains. Through this process, the Chilean diaspora grounds its experience of belonging and claims a legitimate place. Crucially also, this study contests the widespread idea (particularly in Chile) of Chilean exiles' assumed assimilation into their countries of residence, either to the receiving society or to other mainstream migrant groups. Different chapters have provided particular insights into (and tools to explore) diaspora space, forms of home and home-making.

Chapter one contextualizes the case of the Chilean diaspora of London and introduces a critical approach to 'home'. It demonstrates that not only does travelling to an unknown destination involve a sense of dislocation and discovery, but unsettlement and alienation can also emerge while inhabiting familiar dwelling places

or returning to the 'home nation'. Similarly, detours and dwellings in transient destinations, rather than straightforwardly leading to deterritorialized ways of living, entail particular connections to lived places. Moorings can also be anchored while en route, even if this is only ephemerally, loosely and with a sense of uneasiness. Describing the context of the Chilean diaspora in London, from their departure from Chile to their re-migration to the UK, has helped me to recognize that the historical specificity of diasporas not only relates to the processes that they lived in their country of origin and the circumstances of their departure. The processes that have unfolded in the destination countries since their moment of arrival have been kept in mind to understand how this group were able to make a 'home' in London. Chilean exiles' apparent disconnection from The UK's imperial past makes such awareness particularly crucial. Bearing in mind the specificity of the case and the wider geo-political context allows the idea of 'home' to appear as a critical and variable term in relation to specific social, historical and material circumstances.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical discussions that frame this research. I move from notions of 'exile' and of 'diaspora' as inevitably oriented towards a lost national territory and their solidarities as given by national/ethnic communities, to a notion of diaspora that opens up to the bonds and translocal connections that emerge in the receiving context. Processes of homing and home-making practices turn our view to the way that memories of past homes are recombined otherwise in the inhabited terrains. Diasporic social scenes in particular offer, I have proposed, the lenses required to understand home as an embodied and material achievement, which connects public and private, as well as personal, public and global domains. *Chapter 3* presented the methodological demands for the study of the experience of home in light of the theoretical stances that I embraced and the theoretical gaps that I identified. Multi-sited and multi-methodological strategies, as well as the consideration of both contemporary and historical dimensions, are important to highlight the 'the multi-dimensionality and dynamism of ideas of home and home-making practices' (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 43). The use of visual archives opens a window which enables us to 'see' how the past is activated in the present. It also promotes a new understanding of the

outcomes of this research. They appear to be part of a wider living archive of the diaspora (Hall 1984). Attending to visual objects produced by the research participants allows the researcher to act as curator through collaboration. Selecting, classifying and exhibiting make the ethnography 'public', allowing research participants and wider audiences to make their own itineraries and connections through the scenes' components in the gallery space.

Chapter 4 examined how private and public domains become intertwined through home-making practices. While women's cultivating of home through visual and material culture questions the idea of the 'privatised women' and of home as secluded and bounded (cf. Kay 1987), the feminised character of home-making within the public domain challenges the notion of public places as inherently emancipatory. Gender ideologies are not necessarily challenged. Yet, through them, women contribute culturally, economically and politically in gender specific ways (Shayne 2008). They become legitimate users and creators of homely arenas, completing the meaning and value of certain places, yet their position is restricted (Ehrkamp 2013). Material and visual culture, and sensory connection, reinstate memories of past or 'original' homes (Ehrkamp 2004; Law 2001; Tolia-Kelly 2004) as well as memories of past eras of *both* Chile and the UK.

Chapter 5 shows how home is reformulated in relation to particular conjunctures, focusing on the detention of Pinochet in London. The relation between Chile and the UK, including the Thatcher-Pinochet alliance, became perceptible through the Chilean diaspora's visible occupation of public city spaces and their presence in the wider transnational public sphere. Repertoires that incorporate Chilean vernacular forms of protest and others learned in the UK, created enactments that attuned the picketers to the local context and, at the same time, distanced them from the first generation exiles' traditional scripts. The particular spatial occupation of The UK and their relation to the local population during Pinochet's detention made Chile and the UK signify in a new way – diasporic subjectivities and ideas of home were refashioned.

Chapter 6 focuses on Ecomemoria. As the afterlife of *el piquete*, Ecomemoria expands some of the discussions started earlier. This includes the Chilean diaspora's ability to counteract geopolitical and historical demarcations. This chapter extends the literature of memorialisation. Along with depicting how commemoration is conducted beyond the ground of the nation, empirically activating a diasporic consciousness (Alexander 2013), it also shows how absent and active presences come to produce diaspora space – something that is specifically relevant to Latin American diasporas living the aftermath of repression from afar. Through such commemoration, a history of migration becomes visible, along with the utopias and principles that unite this group to a wider public. They show that Chilean exiles' histories, principles and ghosts have neither been assimilated nor have they gone. Not only counter-memories but also a diasporic counter-mapping is enacted by combining textual, embodied and environmental interventions. Ecomemoria conducts a poetic and political form of home-making that expresses the multi-level character of home, as well as the nature of the Chilean diaspora as both an entity and a category of practice (Brubaker 2005).

Finally, *Chapter 7* focuses on the spatial politics of home, both in sites of protest and in everyday places. The political character of home reminds us that senses and experiences of home are pervaded by processes of oppression and resistance (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 198). Through the ongoing occupation of different places, the actors keep alive their principles, histories and hopes and give them with continuity for the future. These scenes provide a sense of continuity in a shifting world. These do not entail limit experiences of resistance, but experiences through which solidarities and subjectivities are shaped. In those places, the members of the Chilean diaspora affirm their distinctive connections to the UK and their uniqueness in relation to other groups who inhabit with them the multi-ethnic landscape of London. Ending this written account with September 11 also emphasizes the point that the historical circumstances in which migration is made, the specificity of their journeys, keep permeating how the Chilean diaspora makes a home in the UK today.

Grounding diasporic home-making

Using social scenes as lenses allows an understanding of home as grounded through place-making and practices of social and material engagement. It shows how diasporas make themselves at home in the city in connection with (rather than separated from) their social and material environment. As diasporic spatialities, social scenes put in dialogue remembered and inhabited places, those who arrive and their 'hosts', yet troubling distinctions among them (Brah 1996; Ahmed 1999). Moreover, in social scenes, diverse life-lines, geographical routes and histories coalesce through the networks and intertwined spheres of the local context. Those who partake both in the social scene based on commemoration and protests, and in the social football scene, for example, are connected through their participants' biographies, spatial trajectories, beliefs, kin and/or related histories. A social formation in process that includes the Chilean diaspora, a wider public and multiple allegiances, is activated through these scenes.

Through social scenes diaspora space becomes empirically manifested. Diasporic social scenes show how the Chilean diaspora appropriates different spaces of the city through landscapes, performances, narratives and visual objects. Attending to these manifestations does not involve staying only on the surfaces. Interpretations are also made 'despite' them. They become the expression of something else which it is not easily apprehensible (Gordon 1998; Ahmed 2006). Looking for omissions and paradoxes, and making connection between the minute dimensions of life, specific places and their broader historical, global and public contexts, have been crucial strategies to understand the Chilean diaspora's experiences of 'home' which are always difficult to pin down. As the examples of *el piquete de Londres* and *Ecomemoria* show, even the more elusive dimensions of migrant lives acquire tangibility, allowing elusive relations and social webs to be weaved.

In expanding on some key notions, I would like to come back to that of 'productive nostalgia' (Blunt 2003). This tells us that a yearning and desire for a home(land) does not reside solely in the imagination, memories and affects; it is also materialised through home-making practices. While embracing this notion, I would add that the memories of the host nation and (sometimes idealizations) of past eras remembered and lived 'here', are also negotiated and materially enacted in the local dimension of the present. In other words, not only memories of distant homes are treasured by the Chilean diaspora but also memories of their lives in The UK. Memories of making a home in London are materialised through visual archives, corporeal repertoires and the maintenance of places in which their belonging is inscribed in the very physicality of places. Mrs. Avalos' and Don Artemio's memories of the golden age of *la cancha* and the picketers' reminiscences of the political past of protest in The UK, for example, are recollection that are expressed in the creation of different environments of memory.

Images and visual objects appear as important means of home-making. For instance the visual objects contained in Mrs. Avalos' living room, Fidel's personal visual archive and the demonstrators' textile wall offer a glimpse of visibility/materiality's embeddings in social life. Through their preservation, display and related exchanges, these visual/material recollections contribute to different actualizations of 'home' and forms of home-making. They reinstate memories and bridge territories (Tolia-Kelly 2004). Moreover, the sceneries that diasporian Chileans develop in their own homes (e.g. Mrs. Avalos' home visual culture) and performative interventions in public places (e.g. the wooden crosses in front of Parliament) allow the making of connections and the tracing of historical and geopolitical links between Chile and the UK. This includes a less well-known history of British imperial expansion and settlement in Chile, and the pervasive complicities that exist between Chile and the UK.

Through home-making practices the distances between public and private places are bridged. This intertwining is materially enacted, yet it projects profound

cultural values and norms which are, to different extents, physically and affectively reinstated. While in some scenarios like *la cancha* traditional ideologies and practices seem to prevail, in others they are more openly subverted. In *el piquete*, for example, women and younger generations not only took an active part in political mobilization but also created forms of public engagement that entailed the transformation of old patterns of political work (Yuval-Davis 2006, 8). Moreover, by distancing themselves from partisan politics and embracing more inclusive agendas (such as ecological projects and international human rights convocations), they have extended what politics is today for the Chilean diaspora.

Framing the Chilean diaspora

The case of the Chilean diaspora also reframes some of the core features of diasporas (i.e.: dispersion, homeland orientation and boundary maintenance). Firstly, the Chilean diaspora as it is conceptualised in this research is not simply given by the fact of dispersion. There is more than a scattering process from a country of origin to a country of destination. Multiple detours before reaching a 'final destination', transient dwellings, movements of return and remigrations constitute non-linear paths. Rather than conclusive and decisive places of departure and arrival; multiple points of connection (and homes) are depicted. During processes of international mobility the body does not simply flow (Knowles 2010). Even if it is only ephemerally, the embodied migrants become situated through a process of adaptation, through adjustments, disjunctions or the sense of being out-of-place. These dynamics make places signify and acquire grounded meanings. New dislocations, belonging connections and new senses of home emerge.

In relation to home-land orientation, the forms of collective engagement that the Chilean diaspora have embraced do not simply signal nostalgia for the past and for an original Nation. Chilean exiles did not engage in transnational solidarity with Chile only. They participated in mobilizations to denounce neoliberal interventions in other Latin American and Caribbean countries' revolutionary projects (e.g. Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua). Many of them have also actively participated in local protests, particularly in marches that embraced the New Left spirit of the 1960s and 1970s or those against Thatcher's neoliberal agendas. Part of the British population, mostly leftwing activists, would also join transnational Chilean and Latin American solidarity campaigns. Considering these multiple forms of political engagement in their country of arrival complicates ideas of 'homeland oriented politics'. At least for the case of the Chilean diaspora in London, that frame offers a limited scope. The re-formation of these publics comprised, I have proposed, a 'homing device' (Ahmed 2006, 9) through which Chilean exiles re-oriented themselves in their new places of residence while facing geographical disruption. Public spaces and public engagement have been important in providing a sense of continuity. Through different forms of collective engagement and place-making, this intergenerational group keep grounding their histories and identities 'here'.

Finally, the diaspora keeps a sense of collective displacement which is extended to the following generations. Keeping their sense of a common history and the maintenance of their 'moral project' of community (Back 2009) does not prevent the Chilean diaspora's actual reconfiguration of their bonds and solidarities. Boundaries are not simply 'maintained', but are remade affectively and discursively, as well as practically, through the creation of different communal terrains of belonging. Moreover, diasporic social scenes generate avenues for the incorporation of 'others' that are not linked to the Chilean diaspora through blood or loyalty to a nation. An example of this is Ecomemoria. This collective ephemerally 'actualizes' communities beyond the ethnic group. It creates a hospitable space for those whose projects, histories and paths do not match with or surpass the lines of the maps drawn by the Nation(s). The inclusion of the 'disappeared', highlights the liminal character of the

diasporic 'communities' that these diasporic social scenes actualize. These communities are affectively preserved and also ephemerally created through social encounters and place making.

Reinstating the 'past' of migration

The circumstances in which people travel echo the ways in which they continue to inhabit their destinations of arrival. In this case, the political character of their (forced) departure pervades the ways in which the places of the present are made. While looking at this group as a diaspora it is still important to bear in mind how their status as (former/children of) exiles still influences the distinct ways in which they make a home in relation to their current material and social contexts. In *Chapter seven* we saw how either in spaces of protest or in everyday spaces associated with leisure, the Chilean diaspora reaffirms and gives continuity and visibility to their unique trajectories in different ways. By occupying these spaces the Chilean diaspora keeps a sense of their collective displacement.

Bearing in mind diasporas' historical grievances, however, does not involve considering the Chilean diaspora only in relation to 'the past'. A non-linear understanding of history (Gordon 1998; Benjamin 1999) should make us aware of the entanglement of these mindsets and loyalties with new political agendas. Their interaction with newcomers from Chile in the embassy's frontispiece and their allegiance to the Manuel Rodriguez team's name are doings that reveal competing claims over space. Through these means, members of the Chilean diaspora prevent their histories, memories and subjectivities from simply melting into those of the mainstream groups with whom they, nevertheless, still co-create social, material and affective landscapes.

Addressing the Chilean diaspora's particular history as well as its temporality, involves discussing the primacy of the transnational approach in the study of Latin Americans living abroad, which particularly predominates in the UK. Chilean exiles and their offspring engage in transnational spaces. Yet, they engage in specific ways. Protests, commemorations, practices of naming and fundraising activities illustrate the political distinctiveness of their emplacement in transnational fields. The temporality of their settlements also matters. The research on Latin American migrants in the UK has focused mostly on those who have arrived during the last fifteen years. Temporariness, which is a feature of migrant lives in general, acquires a particular hue for the case in question. 'Living with the suitcase at the ready', 'needing a time machine', 'waiting for justice to come' are some of the ways in which the Chilean diaspora relates to the past, present and future in different moments – time lived as waiting, disjuncture and hope. Connections between the past and the present, and the reinstating of memories of 'home' and of past eras in the local present, also show the troubling relation of diasporas with history. The seventeen years of dictatorship, and the time that has passed since its ending in 1990, cannot be ignored. The Chilean diaspora has inhabited a British terrain for about four decades. During this period they have faced diverse processes that have made them signify differently their relations to both Chile and the UK. They have created communities, extended their kin and, to various different extents, have learned to navigate the host country's economic, political and cultural terrains.

Through this process of homemaking, the Chilean diaspora in London has brought to life invisible and marginal histories and inhabitations. This is a complex process of homing in which what is present, apparent and explicitly said, interacts with what is absent, distant and silenced. Latin American groups' ways of dealing with disappearance in the aftermath of dictatorial regimes has been discussed by diverse scholars. Expressions of national grief and mourning through memorialisation have been observed as circumscribed to national territories (Collins and Hite 2009; Sosa 2010; Taylor 1997; 2003; 2011; Richard 2000; 2003). The Chilean diaspora shows how the disappeared can be brought into the present beyond the borders of the nation.

Disappearance comes to occupy a space along with the losses inflicted by exile. Exiles and the disappeared come to share the stage with others. This also suggests a new delineation of diaspora space.

Exhibiting home-making

At the first level, photographs have been used as methods to elicit memories and feelings from interviewees and to intensify my way of looking at and representing how the Chilean diaspora 'do' migration. On a second level, some of these photographs have been presented in an exhibition along with a wider range of visual objects. The changing fields of belonging of the Chilean diaspora in London are manifested through the changing places, people, enactments and environments of the social scenes. Exhibiting together the different components of these social scenes, as well as their different temporalities, shows their interconnections in a different way. In interaction with the text, the exhibition offers the chance to approach these recollections of public life and their extension from the past to the present time; it offers a different approach to the Chilean diaspora's changing field of belonging.

The exhibition incorporates visual objects produced by the Chilean diaspora (slides, films and a textile wall) which 'complete the scene(s)' by bringing to light aspects that the written monograph does not fully express and which it does not explicitly refer to: images of daily life in Chile during the dictatorship, ongoing documentation of their repertoires and the material preservation of the memory of the disappeared.

The exhibition also brings to light the idea of an active archive of the Chilean diaspora in London. This not only includes the photographs from the 1970s and 1980s taken by Fidel but also the records of spaces and repertoires that have largely been forgotten or gone unnoticed in the daily landscape of The UK. This living archive is open to dialogue, to future incorporations and contestations; it is co-produced by both the Chilean diaspora in London and the researcher (cf. Puwar 2011). By 'curating the field' through the selection of different research objects, the field is constructed again under the form of a visual and material display. The audience (who might or might not be readers as well) can navigate across the different social scenes. The room, to some extent, prescribes the routes of the visitors, yet they can also move around at their choice. They can establish other connections between the places, the actors and the atmospheres depicted. Through seeing and hearing and while walking around the depictions of the social scenes, a corporeal appreciation of the landscape created by the Chilean diaspora is permitted.

Appendix: Table with participants

This table describes those research participants who were part of a purposive sample of interviewees (see Chapter 3). Some of these interviewees, along with other actors, were also involved in casual conversations and naturalistic interviews in the context of ethnographic fieldwork. The table considers name or pseudonym, gender, age, generational profile, class indicators and their connections to the key social scenes this research followed. In summary, the sample is formed by:

- Gender: 18 men; 15 women.
- Arrival generation/cohort: 12 first generation exiles who arrived as adults; 10 people who arrived as children or teenagers; 9 British-born children; 2 non-Chilean people.
- Class (background): 17 people who can be (roughly) described as middle class; 16 working class or low-middle class people.

The table presents the interviewees in the order they were actually interviewed. It is important to notice that the class indicators aim to orient the reader rather than give a definitive picture. Class is difficult to pin down among the Chilean diaspora of London. Upward and downward social/class mobility was often experienced in the context of migration and across generations. The characteristics described in the table that follows relate to their status as it was registered in September 2013. The Chileans who were interviewed arrived between 1974 and 1979, with one exception (Johanna) who arrived on 1982. For those who arrived as children to the UK and for British-born Chileans, the situation of their parents at the moment of arrival is indicated in order to give some light into their class “background”. To bear in mind some changes in their class status, their education and occupation at the moment of the interview are also indicated.

Nº	Name or Pseudonym	Gender	Age range	Generational profile	Class indicators: family background, education and occupation	Connection to key social scenes
1	Daniel	M	29	British-Born	<p>Middle class background. Both parents have University degrees (an architect and a nurse).</p> <p>He has incomplete University studies in Humanities. Today he lives with his parents and is studying at the University again.</p>	<p>He plays football in the Siempre Secos Club.</p> <p>He was also part of <i>el piquete</i> and today he participates, occasionally, in Ecomemoria through his father, who is one of the core members.</p>
2	Carmen	F	66	First generation	<p>Working class background. She used to live in a popular neighborhood in Chile with her three children and extended family before the military coup. She has complete secondary school studies.</p>	<p>She has participated in <i>la cancha</i> since her arrival as part of the public. She still goes there with her daughter. Her son in law and some grandsons play in the Latin American football league.</p> <p>She also partook of <i>el piquete</i>.</p>

					She used to work as a cleaner in London and still receives benefits from the State, including housing.	
3	Ingrid	F	42	Exiled as a child	Her family in Chile has a low middle class background; her father was a university student when he was exiled; he never finished his studies. Her mother was a housewife.	As a child, in the 1970s and 1980s particularly, she participated in <i>la cancha</i> and in the different demonstrations that took place in the embassy's frontispiece.
					She went to college and has incomplete university studies. Today has a management role in a Job Center.	She also partook of <i>el piquet</i> .
4	Adolfo	M	59	First generation	Working class background; he used to live in an emblematic Shantytown in Chile before exile.	He played football in <i>la cancha</i> in the 1980s and early 1990s
					Today he sees himself as a middle class man. In London, as an	Today he is a member of the Club <i>Siempre Secos</i> .

					exiled, he got a good management position in the building industry and today, as an early retired, he made a living with his pension and with occasional decoration jobs which he describes as hobby.	
5	Fernanda	F	42	Exiled as a child	Working class background. Her father was a miner and unionist. Her mother, today a widow, has always been a housewife.	She used to go to <i>la cancha</i> with her family in the 1980s.
					She finished college, got a diploma and today works part-time as an assistant of medical staff. She lives with her mother and some of her siblings.	She used to participate in the different demonstrations that took place in the embassy's frontispiece during the dictatorship and still goes to the embassy frontispiece on 11 September.
6	Catalina	F	27	British-born Chilean	Working class background. Her father is a builder	She participated in <i>el piquete</i> .
						She participates in all the social scenes involved in this

					and her mother is a secretary.	research.
					At the moment of the research she was not working. She has a daughter and lives with her in a housing building. She received benefits from the State.	She is particularly noticeable in <i>la cancha</i> and in the pickets formed in front of the embassy.
7	Julio	M	31	British-born Chilean	Working Class background. His father worked as a builder until his retirement; his mother was housewife.	He participates in the Club <i>Siempre Secos</i> and, eventually, he goes to <i>la cancha</i> as well.
					Today he lives with his parents. He is studying to become a surveyor and is looking for a job.	He partook in <i>el piquete</i> .
8	Don Artemio	M	72	First generation	Working class. He worked as miner and was an unionist before exile.	He is part of the social football scene. He is one of the founders of the Latin American Football League and he formed the Manuel Rodriguez team.
					In London he worked as a	

					<p>builder for a short period. Most of time he lived from benefits and made some extra money selling food in <i>la cancha</i>.</p> <p>Today he is retired and lives in Chile from where he visits his family.</p>	
9	Eduardo	M	35	British-born Chilean	<p>Middle class background. His parents were students in Chile and used to live from benefits during the dictatorship and so he does today. Her father today has an office job and her mother is a teacher.</p> <p>He lives in a housing building and is unemployed.</p>	<p>He does not participate directly in <i>la cancha</i> but he is good friend of some people who does.</p> <p>He participated in <i>el piquete</i>.</p>
10	Fidel Cordero (real name)	M	52 (1961 – 2013)	First generation	<p>Working class background. His father worked as a miner in Chile and his mother</p>	<p>He was connected to all the social scenes.</p>

				<p>was a housewife. In the UK his parents mostly lived from benefits.</p> <p>He always lived in a housing flat provided by the state. He had a good job during the 1980 in the NGO sector. Since the early 1990s he has worked occasionally in the IT field. Towards the end of his life, he lived from disability benefits only as he could not work because of health related problems.</p>	<p>In the 1980s and early 1990s he used to visit <i>la cancha</i>.</p> <p>He went to protests in the embassy's frontispiece mainly during the 1980s.</p> <p>He was good friend of various artists (musicians in particular) and usually joined them in different events.</p>	
11	Alejandra	F	29	British-born Chilean	<p>Her family has a low middle class status; her father was university student when he was exiled. He never finished his studies. His mother was a housewife.</p> <p>She completed a foundation course</p>	<p>As a kid she participated in <i>la cancha</i> and in many demonstrations that took place in the embassy's frontispiece.</p> <p>Today she does not participate in the scenes as she did as a kid.</p>

					on arts in London.	
					She has an office job in a clothes brand.	
12	Alicia	F	39	Exiled as a child	Middle Class background, with both her step father and her mother having university studies and jobs in the service sector.	She used to participate in <i>la cancha</i> mostly during the 1990s. She participates in <i>el piquete</i> and in the diverse demonstrations and she is a founder member of Ecomemoria.
					She has a management role in an Union.	
13	Johanna	F	51	First generation	Working class background.	She goes to <i>la cancha</i> when it's sunny.
					She is a housewife and today she owns the council flat she lives in with her husband. Her husband works both independently and for a company as a plumber.	She participated in diverse demonstrations during the 1980s and was part of <i>el piquete</i> .
14	Alex	M	53	Exiled as a teenager	Middle class. His father was a politician, artist	He played in <i>la cancha</i> , particularly during the 1980s.

					and intellectual. His mother was a housewife. He is a doctor (PhD) and works at an University as an academic.	He has participated in demonstrations of different kind, including those in the embassy's frontispiece. He partook of <i>el piquete</i> as well. He is one of the founder members of Ecomemoria.
15	Sergio	M	65	First generation	Middle class background. He use to work as an accountant in Chile before exile and worked mostly in the NGO sector in London. Today he is retired and an amateur musician who plays in festivals and events.	He participates in different Latin-America-related events, mostly as a musician (e.g.: Festival ' <i>El sueño aún existe</i> '). He also participated in some demonstration when Pinochet was arrested in London. Yet, he was not part of <i>el piquete</i> .
16	Juan	M	68	First generation	Middle class, yet his class status is difficult to define. His family has a low middle class status in Chile and	He used led a team in the <i>la cancha</i> where he participated during the 1980s and

				he worked as a civil police before coming into exile.	1990s.
				He got an university degree in London, as he altered his antecedents to met the requirements.	He participated in many demonstrations in the UK, including some in the embassy's frontispiece.
				He was an entrepreneur and had a restaurant.	He participated in demonstrations during Pinochet detention in London, but he wasn't part of <i>el piquete</i> .
17	Jaime	M	64	First generation Uruguayan exile	Middle class. He used to participate in the CSC and has eventually participated in some demonstrations in the embassy's frontispiece in London.
				He completed a BA in London and has been working as a professional Photographer for decades.	
					He played in <i>la cancha</i> during the 1980s.
18	Karen	F	38	Exiled as a child	Middle class background. Her father was studying in the She used to participate in <i>la cancha</i> as a kid in the 1970s and

					<p>university when he was exiled and, once in London, he worked in the NGO sector; her mother was a housewife.</p> <p>She lives with her daughter and partner who is an architect. She is not working at the moment.</p>	<p>1980s.</p> <p>She participated in diverse protests as a girl and also in <i>el piquete</i>.</p>
19	Mario	M	61	First generation	<p>People see him as a middle class man yet his class status is difficult to define.</p>	<p>He participated in <i>la cancha</i> particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s.</p>
					<p>He finished school only and his single mother was a maid. He had a very precarious childhood. He has experienced some upward mobility as a successful entrepreneur who owns a popular Latin American restaurant in London.</p>	<p>He participated in diverse demonstrations in the embassy's frontispiece and in <i>el piquete</i>.</p> <p>He is a core member of Ecomemoria.</p>
20	Stephanie	F	43	Exiled as a child	<p>Middle class background. Her</p>	<p>As a kid she used to go to <i>la cancha</i> and</p>

				parents were teachers in Chile and so where in London.	to some demonstrations.	
				She married a British man who worked as a surveyor and she never worked outside the house until her husband passed away in 2010. Today she works as a seller in retail.		
21	José	M	42	Exiled as a child	Working class background. His father was a miner and unionist before exile. Her mother was a housewife.	He participates in <i>la cancha</i> where he has been the coach of the team Manuel Rodríguez (founded by his father).
				He didn't continue studying after finishing secondary school. Today he works as a seller in a bookshop.	He participated in diverse demonstrations during the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. He also partook of <i>el piquete</i> .	
22	Cristian	M	33	British-born Chilean	Working class background. His father worked as a builder and his	Occasionally he participates in <i>la cancha</i> as part of

				mother is a secretary.	the public.
				Today, after a couple of years living from housing benefits and his wife's income, he is working as a builder.	As a kid and teenager he participated in diverse demonstrations. He participated in <i>el piquete</i> .
23	Nancy	F	56	Exiled as a teenager	Middle class. Her father was a politician, artists and intellectual. Her mother was a housewife.
					She has always participated in diverse demonstrations in the embassy's frontispiece.
				She got a BA in politics in the UK. Today she works in the charity sector.	She participated in <i>el piquete</i> and is a founder member of Ecomemoria.
24	Nidia	F	65	First generation	Middle class. She used to work as a teacher in the university before exile.
				In London she got a teaching certificate and worked as a mathematics teacher in college.	She used to visit <i>la cancha</i> in the 1980s to buy traditional food, but she does not consider herself part of that scene.
					She participates in diverse demonstrations in the embassy's

				After her early retirement at 55, which she obtained due to health related problems, she started giving private mathematics lessons.	frontispiece and still goes there every September 11. She is a founder member of Ecomemoria
25	Mrs. Avalos	F	68	First generation	Working class. She always worked at home as a housewife. Her husband used to work in a local farmers market before exile. In London she always lived from State benefits with her family.
					She was a member of the social football scene. Her husband was one of the founders of the Latin American League and she participated in fundraising activities through home-cooking selling food in <i>la cancha</i> . She participated in some demonstrations against the dictatorship during the 1970s and 1980s.
26	Miguel	M	37	Exiled as a child	Middle class background. His mother, who he lives with, was an university teacher in Chile who, after completing a MA,
					He has participated in <i>la cancha</i> from the 1980s. Today he plays in the Manuel Rodriguez team.

					worked in the public, charity and NGO sector. Her father is an entrepreneur.	He was part of <i>el piquete</i> and is connected to Ecomemoria through his parents.
					He did not complete his BA. Today he is looking for a technical job.	Eventually, he also participates in the demonstrations in the embassy's frontispiece.
27	Leonardo	M	35	British-born Chilean	Middle class background. Both his parents are academics with postgraduate degrees who work in British universities.	He is connected to the protest and commemorations scene, mainly through his parents.
						He participated in <i>el piquete</i> .
					He is completing a PhD and works in the film industry.	Eventually he participates in events organized by Ecomemoria
28	Liliana	F	57	First generation	Middle class. She came with her husband who was a sociologist working in social research.	She used to play in <i>la cancha</i> in the women's football leagues for a couple of seasons in the 1980s.
					She works in the	She has

				NGO and charity sector. She also spends time as an amateur musician.	participated in diverse demonstrations, including those that took place during Pinochet detention in London.
					She is part of the scene made by musicians.
29	Felipe	M	32	British-born Chilean	Middle class. Both of his parents have university and postgraduate degrees.
					He participated in <i>la cancha</i> mostly as part of the public in the early 1990s.
					He participated in <i>el piquete</i> and goes to the demonstrations of 11 September.
30	Ricardo	M	48	Exiled as a child	Working class. His father was a driver in Chile and his mother a housewife. As they had difficulties learning the language, they never got a job in the UK and lived from benefits.
					He has participated in <i>la cancha</i> from the mid-1980s and is one of the oldest players of the team Manuel Rodriguez.
					He has participated in diverse demonstrations since his arrival. He partook of <i>el</i>

				Today he works as <i>piquete</i> as well. a plumber.		
31	Sara	F	32	British-born Chilean	<p>Middle class background. Her parents were university students in Chile when they were exiled. In London they managed to get office jobs. Her mother separated from her father and married a Chilean entrepreneur.</p> <p>She has an office job in a TV-related company.</p>	<p>She participated in <i>la cancha</i> as part of the public in the late 1980s and early 1990s.</p> <p>She participated in <i>el piquete</i> during Pinochet detention in London.</p>
32	Luisa	F	57	First generation	<p>Middle class. She used to work as an university teacher in Chile before exile. In London she got a scholarship and completed a MA.</p> <p>Since she finished her studies, she has been working in the public, NGO and charity</p>	<p>She participated eventually in <i>la cancha</i> in the 1980s and 1990s as part of the public.</p> <p>She has participated in diverse demonstrations. She also partook of <i>el piquete</i> and is one o the founder members of</p>

				sector.	Ecomemoria.	
33	Rod	M	46	British Londoner	He is a working class man who has always worked as a builder.	He has participated in <i>la cancha</i> from the late 1980s. He is currently the goalkeeper of the Manuel Rodriguez team.

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