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The Impacts of the *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos* in Santiago, Chile

Adam Lunn

2013

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of MA in Latin American Studies University College London



Fig.1: The Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos (Author's photo)

Abstract

Memorialisation projects commemorating and remembering human rights abuses in Latin America are ubiquitous. A recent regional trend has seen the creation of large-scale state-led museums. Extensive literature describing these sites and analysing the processes of their creation exists. However, very few scholars have looked at the impacts of these memorialisation initiatives. Through the case study of the *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos* in Chile, this paper attempts to suggest different social impacts of these projects. Empirically measuring impact is extremely difficult and thus various research approaches combining both qualitative and quantitative sources were used to find evidence of impacts. The research draws upon various sources including: vox pops with visitors, museum staff interviews, extracts from the museums comments book, TripAdvisor comments, along with quantitative museum visitor data as well as secondary sources. The research suggests that the museum has potential and actual social impacts on users. The evidence shows the museum is having educational and emotional impacts, opening up a context for intergenerational and intragenerational dialogue. It facilitates symbolic reparations, provoking reflection on memory, history and human rights abuses as well as contributing to theme fatigue. Different groups of visitors are experiencing impacts in various ways. However, these impacts are filtered through many variables and are unpredictable and limited in nature. The number and variety of visitors does suggest that broader public engagement is coming. Research results suggest that museum memorialisation projects can have an impact on society but these may be small, unintended and wide ranging.

Proyectos de memorialización para conmemorar y recordar los abusos de derechos humanos en América Latina son ubicuos. Una reciente tendencia regional ha visto la creación de museos de gran escala dirigido por el Estado. Existe una extensa literatura que describe estos sitios analiza los procesos de su creación. Sin embargo, muy pocos estudiosos han investigado los impactos de estas iniciativas de memorialización. A través de un estudio de caso del Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos en Chile, este trabajo intenta sugerir diferentes impactos sociales de estos proyectos. Empíricamente medir el impacto es muy difícil y por lo tanto diferentes enfoques de investigación fueron utilizados combinando fuentes cualitativas y cuantitativas para encontrar evidencia de los impactos. La investigación se base en diversas fuentes, entre ellas: entrevistas con los visitantes y el personal del museo, extractos del libro de comentarios del museo, los comentarios de TripAdvisor, junto con datos cuantitativos sobre visitantes del museo, así como fuentes secundarias. La investigación sugiere que el museo tiene impactos sociales potenciales y reales sobre sus usuarios. La evidencia muestra que el museo tiene impactos didácticos y emocionales, se abre un contexto para diálogo intergeneracional e intrageneracional. Facilita las reparaciones simbólicas, provoca reflexión sobre la memoria, historia y abusos de derechos humanos, pero al mismo tiempo contribuye a la fatiga del tema. Los diferentes grupos de visitantes están experimentando los impactos de varias maneras. Sin embargo, estos impactos se filtran a través muchas variables y son impredecibles y limitadas. El número y la variedad de los visitantes sugieren que el compromiso público con el tema en general está por venir. Resultados de la investigación sugieren que proyectos de memorialización y museos pueden tener un impacto en la sociedad, pero estos pueden ser pequeños, no deseados y variadas.

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1. Memory, Memorialisation and the *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos*

1973 saw a military coup in Chile, headed by General Pinochet. It ousted the socialist government of Salvador Allende. Between 1973 and 1990 human rights violations formed a systematic part of the dictatorship's policy to eradicate Marxism and 'subversion'. During the 17 year dictatorship 3200 people were killed or disappeared and 38,000 people were imprisoned and tortured (Rettig; 1991, Valech; 2011). In an attempt to address legacies of violence, societies that have suffered grave human rights violations see memory struggles emerge post-violence. These memory struggles have arisen everywhere from Bosnia to Northern Ireland, post-holocaust Germany, Argentina and South Africa. In Chile the memory struggles are characterised by a polarised view of the past with two broad memory camps. While the majority of Chileans see Pinochet in a negative light, research suggests that around a quarter of Chileans have favourable opinions on Pinochet and the dictatorship (Huneus and Ibarra; 2013). State attempts to control and silence the past have proved fruitless and public outbursts of past discord bursting through into the present are a regular occurrence in Chilean society (Wilde; 1999).

An inevitable part of memory struggles is the creation of memorials to commemorate and remember the past (Jelin; 2007). Memorialisation can be defined as:

'A process that satisfies the desire to honour those who suffered or died during conflict and as a means to examine the past and address contemporary issues.'

(Barsalou and Baxter; 2007:1)

Memorials in post-conflict societies can come in many forms ranging from micro sites such as plaques to reclaimed clandestine detention centres and large-scale memory museums (Druliolle; 2011). Memorials can be both private and public, top down and bottom up, official and non-official, permanent and temporary. There are numerous functions of memorials and museums: they serve as truth-telling mechanisms, symbolic reparations from the state, and expressions of mourning and remembrance from victim and family groups (Collins and Hite; 2013). Two of the central debates in the historiography around memorialisation revolve around benefits of memorials and the role of the state. The traditional consensus that building

memorials and museums was beneficial has been questioned by academics (Nora; 1989, Edkins; 2003). Furthermore, the role of the state in memorialisation is strongly debated in the existing literature; whether it is the state's legal and moral duty or if the state's involvement represents an effort to 'whitewash history' (Moulian; 1997, Collins and Hite; 2013).

The fragmented memory landscape in Chile has led to a wide range of memory sites with 200 memorials and museums across the country (Collins and Hite; 2013). These sites range from; walls with victims' names (Cementario Nacional), statues (Allende), ex-torture centres converted into museums and peace parks (Vila Grimaldi, Londres 38, Casa Jose Domingo Cañas) to cemeteries (Pisagua). Inaugurated in 2010, the *Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos* (MMDDHH) is the largest state-led memorialisation Project in Chile. Nonetheless, the Museum defies easy categorisation and is a contradictory and complex institution. State-led but not the 'official' truth, the MMDDHH emerged through a state response to pressure from victims groups. It is a private foundation yet it is 95% state funded. The mission statement of the museum reads:

*'The Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos is a space destined towards giving visibility to the human rights violations committed by the Chilean state between 1973 and 1990; to dignify the victims and their families; and to stimulate reflection and debate on the importance of respect and tolerance so that these events are never repeated.'*¹

The museum was created by Michelle Bachelet and was specifically designed to be the public display of the truth and justice commissions Rettig and Valech. The law that created the museum limits its scope to working with information contained in these reports between the dates of 11 September 1973 and 11 March 1990², from the military coup until the swearing in

¹ All translations are my own. <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/el-museo/> Accessed 13/08/13

² The law can be seen here http://www.museo.ida.cl/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/ESTATUTOS_DE_LA_FUNDACION_MUSEO_DE_LA_MEMORIA.pdf Accessed 30/08/13

of democratically elected president Patricio Aylwin. Since its inauguration the MMDDHH has reached hundreds of thousands of users. The museum's permanent exhibition is housed in a huge imposing copper structure (see Fig.1), it displays documents, artefacts and multimedia to narrate the human rights abuses suffered during the Pinochet dictatorship. Upon entering the museum the visitor is confronted with a giant world map, showing truth commissions that have taken place around the world. Above the entrance hall are two floors divided into various thematic rooms including; 'the 11th September room', 'end of the rule of law', 'international condemnation', 'repression and torture', 'the pain of the children', through to 'demands for truth and justice', 'the fight for freedom' and 'the return to democracy' (see Fig.2). The third floor houses temporary art exhibitions. Outside of the museum is a public square that can hold approximately 5,000 people. The MMDDHH also consists of lecture theatre, documentation centre, archives, and a travelling exhibition.



Fig. 2: Top left: The entrance hall with photos of memorials from across Chile and a cross taken from the mass grave of disappeared buried at Santiago's general cemetery. Bottom left: Visitors watching videos in the 'end of the rule of law' room. Right: The repression and torture room with torture testimonies and metal torture bed. Source: Museum leaflet.

An 'Objective' Museum in a Contested Memory Landscape

In the politically divided landscape of Chilean memory struggles, the museum intentionally employs a discourse of 'objectivity' in an attempt to remove itself from partisan association. In its attempt to become the museum for 'all Chileans' it employs an editorial line of attempting not to offend anyone (Lazarra; 2011:59, Collins; 2011:251). Collins and Hite (2013) claim this reflects the reconciliation politics pursued by the *Concertación*³, the coalition which Bachelet

³ The *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* is a coalition of centre and left parties that formed in the referendum against general Pinochet in 1988 and subsequently won the presidential elections in

headed. The main mechanism that aims to achieve this neutrality is the careful curation of the permanent exhibition. Primary sources such as video footage, letters from prisoners and newspaper articles are displayed for the visitors, but without analysis, simply a description. The perceived functioning of this is that people come to the museum, look at the 'objective' primary sources and then can make up their own minds about the period⁴. In pursuing neutrality, guides are careful to balance discourses and manage contentious debates that may arise during visits. The strict adherence to the truth reports is one way in which they attempt to distance themselves from authorship of the museum, stating that it is simply an 'objective' representation of what is in the 'objective' reports. Another way in which they attempt to show neutrality is through incorporating actors on the board of directors from across the political spectrum. However, the museum has not fully attained this desired neutrality. It is closely linked to its patron and creator, Michelle Bachelet and her party, the PPD. However, from analysing the messages left in the comments book it seems that the number of comments mentioning Michelle Bachelet has reduced since the start, suggesting a distancing from her.⁵ The aim of objectivity remains a somewhat unachievable mythical target as Barsalou and Baxter (2007:17) attest: *'Memorialization is a politically charged process.'*

Literature on the MMDDHH

Scholars who have written on the MMDDHH have focused their analyses on the processes that were involved in the creation and inauguration of the museum, (Hite and Kornbluh; 2010, Collins; 2011, Collins and Hite; 2013) or how it fits into the Chilean memory landscape (Klep; 2012). Others have focused on a literary aesthetic analysis of the permanent exhibition

Chile. The phrase 'for all Chileans' echoes comments by Salvador Allende in 1972 when he proclaimed he was not the president of all Chileans (Collins and Hite; 2013).

⁴ Conversations with Maria Luisa Sepulveda

⁵ An analysis of comments from 2013 compared to the analysis of Romy Schmidt (2010), the museum's first director who stated that in the first six weeks over half of the comments written down were about Bachelet.

critiquing how various representations of memory are employed by the museum (Lazarra; 2011, Richard; 2010). If we are to look towards the future, the most important aspect of memorialisation initiatives is not how they are created but what impacts they are having. An attempt to conduct a visitor study by the then museum director Schmidt (2010), was thwarted by an earthquake that damaged the museum and forced it to close just six weeks after opening. Her analysis uses the comments book and Facebook comments from the first six weeks, noting that people, alongside mentioning Bachelet, also valued the museum visit positively. Furthermore, she concluded that the majority of visitors were just 'average people' (Schmidt; 2010). This study, being so close to the opening and limited due to the earthquake, is unable to provide substantial data and draw meaningful conclusions.

Some scholars have alluded to impacts including Lazarra (2011) in his literary analysis of the MMDDHH who states:

'Many visitors are moved by the exhibition and use the space to "become aware" of the horrors. Others with more direct and personal connections with history find objects and accounts that help them to "work with" their pain and to heal a little more. The new generations are impacted, upon seeing a historical mise-en-scene of dramatic stories that they've only heard privately and never in school or in such a visible public forum.'
(Lazarra; 2011:75)

The conclusions that the museum has educative, emotional and healing impacts as well as creating a public forum are backed up by this study. However, Lazarra's (2011) conclusions are oversimplified and overlook many complex interconnected impacts working on an extremely heterogeneous group of users. Authors need to bear caution when making such broad anecdotal assumptions not based on empirical research. A more sturdy and thorough methodological framework is needed to gather empirical evidence for potential and actual social impacts.

2. The Research

Why is the Impact of the MMDDHH Important?

Not only is this research important in shedding light on an under researched area in Latin America (Barsalou and Baxter; 2007) but the study has important regional implications. With ongoing processes of transitional justice in many Latin American countries, more and more-large scale memorialisation and museum initiatives are cropping up across Latin America. At the time of writing Brazil was approaching the end of its two year truth commission which will undoubtedly deal with memorialisation. Guatemala is experiencing ongoing trials of human rights abusers, and the creation of a memory museum was announced.⁶ Colombia has also made historical progress in its peace process and is near finishing its own *Museo Casa de Memoria*⁷. This study into the impacts of the MMDDHH, the first large scale Latin American memory museum project, will help give a better understanding of the potential impacts of future memory museums across the continent. Analysing impact is fundamental as Barsalou and Baxter (2007:15) state:

‘As difficult as it is to assess the impact of memorialization initiatives, evaluation is essential to understanding whether they contribute to social reconstruction or to further conflict.’

However, memorialisation has impacts beyond the binary of ‘social reconstruction – further conflict’ and therefore this study will look at a wide range of social impacts. The research aims to answer the questions; what are the impacts of the MMDDHH on its users? Why and how are these impacts happening? What factors influence the variety of impacts on different

⁶ News Article on the creation of the Guatemalan memory museum by Nobel prize winner Rigoberta Menchu <http://www.elperiodico.com.gt/es/20121017/pais/219344> Accessed 14/08/13

⁷ The Colombian museum in its final stages of completion at the time of writing <http://www.museocasadelamemoria.org/site/> Accessed 14/08/13

groups? To begin to outline the framework of this study we must start with a working definition of the museum.

How is the Museum Conceptualised in the Study?

First the MMDDHH is understood as occupying a much broader space than simply the permanent exhibition and is conceptualised, for the purposes of this study, as a multifaceted and dynamic institution. The collective presences of the institution include the permanent exhibition and the museum's extensions: travelling exhibitions, the documentation and research centre (CEDOC), the museum archives, concerts in the plaza, and seminars and conferences in the auditorium. These aspects are in constant processes of fluidity and development. For example, the travelling exhibitions are customised to the specific region and the museum is developing a state of the art multimedia room to be opened in October 2013.

How is Impact Conceptualised in the Study?

Cultural projects can have social, political and economic impacts (Sandell; 1998). By placing this study within the literature on Memorialisation and museum studies, economic impacts are outside the scope. The focus of this study will be social impacts. For the purposes of this study 'impact' will be defined as:

'How engagement with the museum creates change or effects the individual, group or community'

For the purpose of this paper social impacts are understood as the way in which the museum can be a catalyst for: educative and learning impacts, creation of spaces for dialogue and discussion, emotional impacts, and reflections on identity.

How is Impact Measured in the Study?

In the literature there is a consensus in the difficulty of measuring impact (Evans; 2001, Selwood; 2001, Matarasso; 1997). This combined with a lack of definitional consensus means that there is no fixed analytical model (Kelly; 2006). Another difficulty is that many impacts are indirect, subjective, trivial or simply long term and not yet felt; therefore total impact is impossible to measure in any tangible way (Baxter, Wavell et al; 2002). As some museum scholars suggest it is difficult to imply a causal relationship between museum and the impact (Sandell; 1998, Kelly; 2006). Despite these difficulties, different studies have used a variety of indicators of social impact (Matarosso; 1997, Williams; 1997). Some scholars suggest that impact can be estimated simply from the data on numbers of visitors (Persson; 2000). According to museum reports, it consistently attracts over 100,000 visitors every year; these large numbers of visitors indicates that broad public engagement with memorialisation in Chile may be coming (Collins; 2011). As LaCapra (1998:139) suggests: 'For memory to be effective on a collective level, it must reach large numbers of people.' However, as Baxter, Wavell, et al; (2002:97) state; 'access itself is not a measure of impact'. Other visitors studies have looked at time spent in the museum as the principal measure of impact (Bitgood, Serrell et al; 1994) and the museum guides often cite level of interaction during the tour as a measure of impact. However, some people simply ask more questions and spend longer than others and these indicators tell us little about the museum experience. Due to the problematic and complex nature of measuring impact an innovative research plan was devised. Instead of looking at a single variable, the potential and actual social impacts of the museum were analysed through a combination of various quantitative and qualitative sources. This 'triangulation' of multiple data collection techniques is essential in allowing the complexity of impacts to be 'outweighed by increased reliability' (Matarosso; 1997:15). Outlined below are the various sources used in this study.

Vox-pop interviews

In order to gauge an idea of impacts of the permanent exhibition, short 3-5 minute vox-pop interviews were carried out over a two-week period in June 2013. Interviews were conducted as visitors left the museum, this was an attempt to minimise the influence of the researcher on the participants and allow for more natural reactions. Conducting both pre and post-visit was avoided as this can influence the impact of the museum experience. To eliminate selection-bias every third group of visitors were asked to participate as they left. To gather a representative sample interviews were conducted throughout the day, both during the week and at weekends. A total of 88 individuals in 46 groups were involved in the interviews. 22 of the groups were Chilean, 23 foreigners and 1 group was mixed. Interviewees ranged from 18-65 years old, approximately half and half male and female (43-45). The mean age was 31 and the median 25 years old. Quotes from these interviews are labelled 'int'. Demographic information of the visitors is included in the bibliography. Whilst being sensitive to the emotional context, questions asked covered motivation for coming and the impacts that the visitors themselves perceived. Limitations include being at the museum for a two-week period; the dynamic of visitors changes over the year and accessing only immediate impacts not long term ones. Despite these limitations, tracking visitor responses can give a clear indication of how the museum contributes to social impacts (Hooper-Greenhill and Moussouri; 2001).

In-depth Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with professionals from the MMDDHH. The responses were used to gauge perceived and intended social impacts. Interviews were also conducted with professionals from Chilean human rights organisations: Vicaría de Solidaridad, The National Institute for Human Rights (INDH), Londres 38, and Collective 119. As both stakeholders and museum 'users' their comments gave valuable insights into the impacts of the museum on the human rights field in Chile.

Quantitative visitor data

A number of quantitative sources were gathered from the museum's education team. These sources included: databases containing information on visitor numbers and origin and questionnaire data from police visitors. Visitor data was also gathered from museum reports.

Comments book and TripAdvisor

419 TripAdvisor comments were analysed, as well as 400 pages of the Comments book. The comments book contained comments from the travelling exhibitions in Puerto Montt and Coquimbo in 2012 as well as comments from the permanent exhibition in Santiago in 2013. Comments from trip advisor are labelled 'TA' and comments book extracts 'CB'. Where possible usernames of people commenting were included.

Findings

The ten key social impacts of the MMDDHH on its users that are outlined in this study are:

- Educational impacts: learning facts, exposing users to previously uncovered topics, reinforcing prior knowledge, improving attitude towards learning, as well as contributing to a culture of human rights.
- Creating space for a variety of dialogues. These extend from intergenerational, intragenerational dialogue and discussions through to conflict and aggressive debates.
- Provoking personal reflection on memory, identity international human rights and Chilean history.
- Emotional impacts provoking grief and shock.
- Contribution to memory fatigue.
- Providing memory infrastructures. Physical spaces and equipment that human rights organisations make use of.
- Proselytising. Shaping visitors perspectives and changing opinions.

- Becoming a legitimate visitor site for foreigners.
- Providing a positive cultural tourist experience.
- Providing symbolic reparations for victims.

This by no means claims to be a definitive list. The impacts of the MMDDHH are wide ranging and this selection simply outlines some of the potential and actual social impacts that have emerged from the research data. Each of these impacts can also be 'short, or long term; direct or indirect; intentional or unintentional; critical or trivial, and simple or complex.' (Baxter, Wavell, et al; 2002:7). To add another layer of complexity these impacts are filtered through and affected by multiple, interconnected and dynamic factors linked to both the museum and the users. These factors include: personal background, personal identity, the group you visit with, personal level of connection to the theme, motivation for the visit as well as the physical museum factors such as temperature or language of the exhibitions.

The following section analyses the impacts of the permanent exhibition on visitor groups. Section four then analyses the impacts of the museum extensions (the archives, CEDOC, seminars and events and the travelling exhibition) on their users.

3. Impacts of the Permanent Exhibition

Despite claims of the uniqueness of the individual's museum visit (Bitgood, Serrell et al; 1994), different visitor groups share many common impacts. This section looks at the potential and actual social impacts of the permanent exhibition on school children, casual Chilean visitors, Chilean university students, foreigners and finally on the police. These groups are not always clear categories where all the members experience impacts in the same way. However, a group analysis allows meaningful comparisons to be drawn with previous studies and broad conclusions to be made about social impacts on a range of actors (Clark and Payne; 2011, Milton and Ulf; 2011, Pimentel and Perez; 2012). The museum itself divides visitors into groups for its data collection and analysis so this approach facilitates comparison.

3.1 School Children

The museum has many varied impacts on school children with multiple factors influencing these impacts. This section will outline three main impacts on school children: educational impacts, the opening up space for dialogue and negative impacts that can lead to theme fatigue. The group 'school children' is defined as primary and secondary school students that come to the permanent exhibition with a class group or for the purposes of a school project. One of the first observations you make is the quantity of school groups at the museum; guided tours are fully booked up weeks in advance. Young people are the main demographic that the museum cares about:

"It's principally for young people who were not part of this history and so that they can know what happened in this country but also to establish a link with what we are today" – Maria Luisa Ortiz (2013), Head of Collections and Research at the MMDDHH.

In the first half of 2013 school children made up 43% of the guided tour visitors (see Fig.3.)

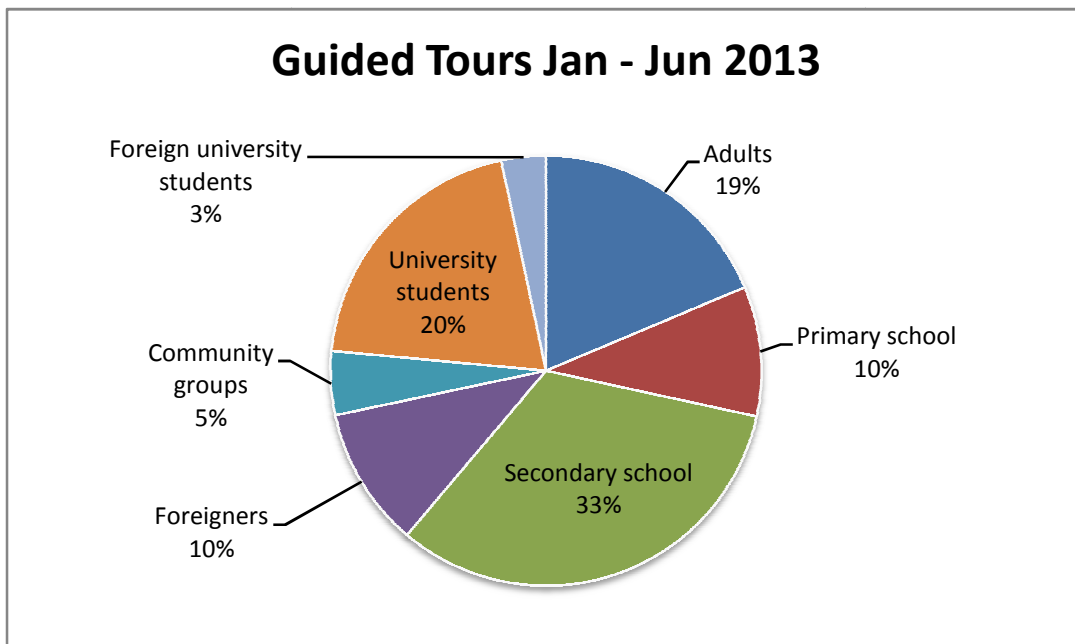


Fig.3: Guided Tours Jan-Jun 2013⁸

Educational Impacts

The intentionality of the educational impacts is made clear from the outset (see Fig.4). Educational impacts can be divided into several areas including: learning facts, exposing school children to previously uncovered topics, reinforcing previous knowledge, improving attitude towards learning, as well as contributing to a culture of human rights amongst school children. Some evidence of educational impacts of museum visits already exist, researchers having found links between improved school grades in school children and museum participation (Hooper Greenhill; 2000). Also, as Matarosso (1997) suggests, participation in non-conventional education settings can increase motivation of students. Interviews with teachers confirmed educational impacts, noting increased motivation and high levels of student interest in the museum. Although this is an instant impact it could have long-term effects on improving learning attitudes towards the topics of memory, history and human rights. A study by Pimentel and Perez (2012), looking at the effect that participating in the museum's guided tour

⁸ http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Informe-de-Gesti%C3%B3n-Enero-Junio-2013_DIBAM.pdf Accessed 17/08/13

had on constructing memory in students aged 16-18, concluded that the museum allowed for complementing other educational means in a deepening of knowledge of the theme which was difficult to talk about in any detail in other spaces. Aguilera (2010) notes how young Chileans born after the dictatorship have trouble understanding what happened between 1973 and 1990. As one guide said:

'They don't know a lot and they don't speak a lot about it with their teachers and parents'

At the start of the tour, school children are shown a 20-minute video of clips from the dictatorship. The guide then asks the children if they have ever seen images like this before, almost all the students say no, with a few having seen videos like that on TV or on YouTube. As one student wrote in the comments book;

CB; Colegio la Union: 'I found it very interesting because I didn't know anything about human rights and about the coup.'

Guides assert that this lack of exposure to the topic is common amongst school children and the museum helps them to get a better understanding. The role of the museum in this impact is important considering the lack of publically available sources of information about the dictatorship in Chile.



Fig. 4: 'The Museum is a School: The artist learns to communicate; the public learns to make connections' Words near the entrance to the museum (Author's Photograph)

The guides and education team are fundamental in determining the level of educational impact. A 2011 report by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) concluded that having good guides was an essential factor in facilitating education impacts of memorial sites. The highly professional and knowledgeable guides are constantly developing strategies to increase the impact of the guided tours. They have also developed an educational toolbox; worksheets are available online for teachers to use in preparation for the visits and for post-visit development of the theme.

Guides and teachers agreed on the necessity of preparing the topic and discussing the visit afterwards for the museum to have the biggest educational impact. A lack of preparation can lead to a loss of motivation, confusion and disruptive behaviour from some students that affect the impacts not just for themselves but also for others. An absence of preparation and post visit work limits the long-term educational impact (FRA; 2011, Donald; 1991).

There are a variety of factors that affect the educational impact of the permanent exhibition on school students. As Hooper-Greenhill and Moussouri (2001) suggest, the motivations for coming to the museum will affect the museum experience. School trips to the museum are not a part of the national curriculum, it is down to the initiative of the individual teachers to organise and coordinate the trip. Therefore, how the museum is fitting into a formal school curriculum varies. The majority of school groups come as part of a history class, studying topics such as 'Latin American dictatorships' or 'the military period'. Many groups from other subjects also come, such as art or architecture. The course that the school group attends with

will colour the educational impacts of the museum according to what the teachers want to achieve and the student's expectations.

Despite wide ranging educational impacts, some barriers to more effective learning exist. Obstacles to the educational impact of memory sites include: lack of seminar rooms and a lack of time (FRA; 2011). With the typical tour lasting an hour and a half, it seems difficult that students will come away with a thorough appreciation. Indeed 43% of students said they did not have enough time in the museum (Pimentel and Perez; 2012). This and a lack of time at the end of the tour for students to freely explore the museum potentially reduce the educational impact (FRA; 2011). Compared to the abrupt ending of a guided tour at the MMDDHH, at memory site 'Londres 38' the tour concludes with an open discussion and reflection period. This reflective space is essential for maximising educational impact.

Space for Dialogues

The museum provides a context for opens a space to discuss the dictatorship and human rights abuses. Scholars have suggested that there are few opportunities for intergenerational dialogue in Chile; many school children do not have the chance to explore these themes at school and with their families (Tocornal; 2011). Teachers interviewed were optimistic that the museum visit would help them to develop the topic of the military dictatorship in class. Making it easier for teachers to approach this difficult subject was a central aim during the construction of the museum:

'Teachers said that they couldn't take on these themes in class. If some parents complained then they could lose their jobs. Some teachers thought it could be an opportunity to get approach this topic' – Maria Luisa Sepulveda, President of the Board of Directors of the MMDDHH.

The extent to which the museum can have the impact of opening up space is dependent on a number of variables. Family background is one of these variables. As one guide pointed out:

'It depends on the family tradition, [their political views are] inherited from the family, they inculcate them'

Interview responses showed that it was an almost universally accepted notion that the impact of the museum on school kids was filtered through family background. This view was underlined by an anecdote from one of the guides:

'There was one school group recently with one child from a military family. The kid said that in Chile there was less crime under Pinochet and the other kids laughed at him. I told the others to be quiet and let him tell his story. I explained to the group that various memories exist and that in coming from a family like that, he would certainly have a different set of memories. It was a success because the kid spoke to the rest of the group. The solution to the debates is to collectively denounce human rights abuses. I explained that even the military were victims with the example of Prats etc.'

This example shows how the museum can act as a space where school children can speak about a topic that is not easily broached in other contexts. Participant discourse often connected Chilean political tendencies to kinship ties; you come from a 'right-wing family' or a 'military family' and thus you too will be of that political tendency. The anecdote also underlines the importance of the role of the guide in the impact of opening up space for dialogues. The guides are fundamental, acting as a medium between the descriptive objects in the museum and the visitors who participate in a tour, but also, as mediator between the visitors in facilitating discussions and debates. If the guides have a group in which people begin to question the historical narrative of the museum the guides turn from historical narration

and instead use a lexicon of human rights as a to 'build bridges'. Guides attempt to establish a minimal level of consensus that human rights abuses were bad full stop.

Negative Impacts on School Children

There is a near total consensus that it is positive that school children come to the museum. Nevertheless, some evidence suggests that the museum can potentially cause 'memory fatigue' and put children off the topic of memory and human rights (Jelin; 2003). Information overload from theme saturation including a museum visit can contribute to students growing bored and disinterested (FRA; 2011). Furthermore, as Maxwell and Evans (2007:7) state:

'Cognitive fatigue may set in sooner for children than for adults because they have fewer coping strategies and smaller cognitive capacity'

From observations some children did appear bored, especially from repeat visits. However, it is unclear as to the effect of repeat exposure to a topic. One student (Int.33) had come to the museum nine times; she wanted to become a history teacher and planned to visit the museum again. In her case, repeat participation was maintaining and fuelling her interest. It is possible to suggest that fatigue levels vary highly between different students, depending on their interest in the topic and attention span. Another factor that could lead to negative impacts is the lack of free will in their decision to come. Obliging students to participate removes their agency and potentially leads to a lack of interest and disconnection from the theme (FRA; 2011). Donald (1991) also suggests restraints on visitor freedom have a negative effect on learning impacts. The fact that these visitors were conducted under the mark of their school institutions was another factor that that could have a negative effect on the impact of the museum visit. Gloria Elgüeta, activist in the *Londres 38* project commented:

'School kids are a captive audience. Schools are a normalised space, at Londres 38 we prefer young people to come with their political and community organisations.'

Worries over this institutionalised learning context are also echoed by Roberto D'Orival, a member of the memory initiative 119:

'I don't really share this idea that you should be taught to reflect upon human rights through an academic imposition or a school obligation. The space for human rights is about speaking about and accepting a culture of human rights in any space, I mean you can teach it in a maths, or sports class, so this process leads more towards learning about the theme of human rights as a school subject, like if we go to the museum we'll get an A, but I think the theme of human rights has more to do with practical things, how to resolve conflicts, how to relate to others, the relationship between teachers and students and the community.'

The discourses of normalisation and institutionalisation are common in human rights organisations criticisms of the MMDDHH. However, a UN report (2006) on human rights learning supports this idea that human rights education should be defined not as learning about human rights as a subject but rather an integration of the principles of human rights throughout the educational system. Despite being the most important visitor group the educational impacts can be obstructed by these barriers. Many of the impacts seen on school children were also apparent on casual Chilean visitors.

3.2 Casual Chilean Visitors

The group 'casual Chilean visitors' is understood as visitors from Chile who visited the permanent exhibition but did not participate in guided tours. The grouping 'casual Chilean visitors' has limitations; during observations it was noted that visitors would intermittently join tour groups and some had come previously with tours. This heterogeneous group varied in their demographic characteristics and past trajectories; they were affected by a variety of impacts. From interview data it is possible to outline the main social impacts of the museum on

casual Chilean visitors as being: emotional impacts, impacts on identity, educational impacts, opening space for intergenerational and intragenerational dialogue, debates and personal reflection. These impacts were mediated through certain variables with generational identification and connection to the theme being most important.

Emotional Impact

Emotional impact could be seen through a few different examples, where visitors communicated emotional impacts as well as being visibly moved:

AL: 'What was the part of the museum which had the biggest emotional impact on you?'

Int.34A: 'The part about the children.'

Int.34B: 'Yea me too, it's that we both have children so... you couldn't even look at the children's letters could you?'

Int.34A: No because I read a letter from a son to his father and I couldn't look anymore.

We have young children and so...

This emotional impact was rationalised through their personal connection to the theme. In another interview, two sisters who were visibly upset rationalised their emotional reaction through their personal experience of loss:

AL: 'Why did you come to the museum?'

Int.18A: 'To relive a part of our history'

Int.18B: 'We lost an uncle; we have an uncle who's up there on the wall'

Int.18A: 'It's a mixture of traumatising and healing. It's so good we came together isn't it?'

The grief felt by the interviewee caused her to switch into English as she felt 'too overwhelmed' to express her emotions in her first language. Loss of words as an indicator of the emotional impact of the museum was also seen in other Chilean visitors who, visibly shaken, stated:

Int.6: 'It is such a cruel topic that it's impossible to describe'

Not all visitors who experience an emotional impact of grief or shock were affected by the same part of the museum. The large variety of answers concerning which part of the museum affected the casual Chilean visitor most indicates that the museum impacts emotionally on individuals in a different ways (see Fig.5).

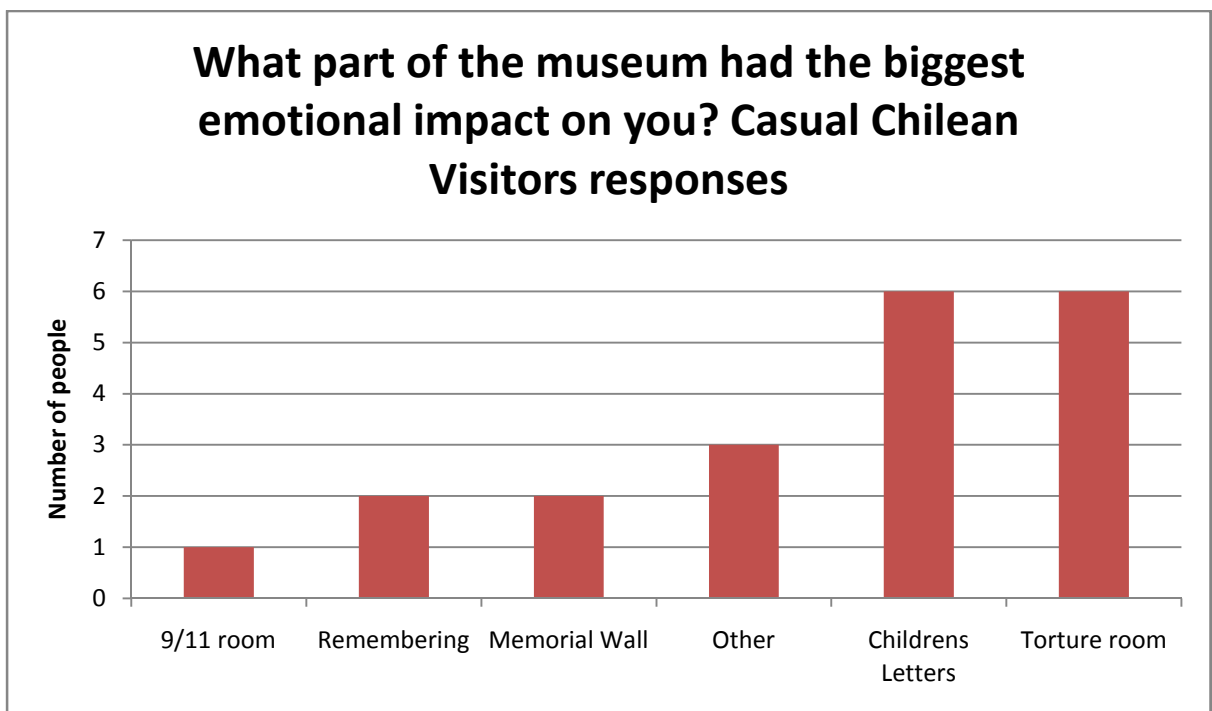


Fig.5: What part of the museum had the biggest impact on you? Casual Chilean Visitor responses.

Many visitors cited information on violations of the rights of children during the dictatorship as having the biggest emotive impact. The other part that provoked a strong emotional impact

was the torture room, which includes a metal bed with electrodes and a looped video of testimonies of torture victims (see Fig.2). Emotional impacts are not, however, explicit or intentional aims of the museum:

'We don't want people to come to find out about their history and cry about the tragedy. We want it to be a museum that mobilises people to respect human rights as a universal value.' – Maria Luisa Ortiz (2013)

Whilst not being an aim of the museum, emotions play an important role in creating and sustaining collective identities (Dunn; 2003). One indicator of emotive discourse with link to identity was the use of moral slogans by Chilean visitors.

Slogans

As Komisar and McClellan (1968:195) state: *'[slogans are] devices for emotive purposes, inciting enthusiasm, engendering loyalty, or achieving a unity.'* Moral and human rights slogans were used by 8 out of 22 Groups of casual Chilean visitors interviewed. Slogans repeatedly used were:

Int.7: 'Never forget what happened. Nunca más'

Int.41, Int.16: 'You have to learn so that it doesn't happen again'

Int.21, Int.46: 'Chileans against Chileans'

'Neither forgive nor forget' CB

The common use of slogans among Chilean visitors suggests that they employ these pre-packaged discursive strategies to make it easier to talk about human rights. Slogans are

expressions of belonging to a common community; their high use indicates that the museum has had the impact of provoking visitors to reflect on identity and group belonging. The use of slogans may reflect at least a superficial buying into the idea of a culture of denouncing the human rights abuses. However, Hare (1986:83) warns that slogans can mask a lack of educational impact, whereby complex issues are simplified in 'black and white terms' that can obstruct critical and independent thought.

'I Lived the Dictatorship'

Impacts on identity are also seen through the use of expressions of generational unity. The discourse of Chilean visitors can be differentiated between whether the visitor 'lived' the dictatorship or not:

Int.1: 'I lived the 11th of September here in Santiago so I knew the reality.'

Int.38: 'I'm Chilean so I don't need a museum to remember what happened. I lived that part of history.'

Int.6: 'We haven't come before, but we've always wanted to come because we weren't born at the time.'

These comments imply that for different generations the museum has a different impact. When discussing intergenerational memory in Chile, Reyes (2010) comments on the use of this language among her interviewees. She notes that using the verb 'live' highlights the identity of the individual as a protagonist and witness to what happened. This discourse can be seen as an expression of generational unity whereby the museum represents different things for those who lived it and those who didn't (Reyes; 2010). The comment *'I'm Chilean so I don't need a*

museum to remember what happened. I lived that part of history' also underlines this visitor's view that the museum is primarily for people that did not experience it firsthand. Chilean visitors are establishing generational connections in the case of 'live' and national and cultural connections in the case of slogans. This suggests that the museum is indeed promoting unity and may be having the desired effect of the creators in bridging the polarisation among Chileans. However, if this polarisation is plastered over with superficial slogans then the impacts may not be as robust at the level of creating a culture of human rights in Chile. Despite it being doubtful as to whether slogans reflect an educational impact, learning impacts were seen in casual Chilean visitors.

Educational Impacts

Educational impacts cannot be measured through emotional reactions or moral slogans but should rather be conceptualised as a process which is led by visitors own questioning of the exhibition (FRA; 2011). Many casual Chilean visitors made comments that suggest educational impacts:

Int.40: 'We didn't realise that the torture was so strong and so bloody.'

Int.1: 'it's a very didactic museum, before I only knew what school had taught.'

Int.16: 'You have to learn so that it doesn't happen again.'

CB Marco: 'Very good museum, you learn a lot and it's appreciated.'

CB Marianela: 'I never knew that there were children who were tortured.'

The potential educational impacts on these visitors echo the educational impacts on school children: deepening prior knowledge and contributing to a culture of human rights (int.16).

Dierking (2005) argues that museums are as important as school for effecting lifelong learning in adults the museum acts as an important 'informal' learning space once people have left the education system. However, there were limitations to the educational impacts which were highlighted in the responses Chilean visitors gave to the question; 'Do you have any questions left unanswered by the museum?'

Int.38: 'How does it ever come to this? How are people ever able to do these things?'

Int.41: 'There's nothing about the schools and the lack of food.'

Int.1: 'Why the coup happened.'

Due to its fixed mandate, the museum leaves out a contextualisation of the events. These comments suggest that pure portrayal of sources with a lack of context and explanation can inhibit learning impacts. However, provoking visitor questions is a reflection of engagement and learning therefore these comments can be seen to reflect educational impact (Dufresne-Tasse and Lefebvre; 1994, FRA; 2011).

Dialogue, Debates, Reflection and Conflict

Opening up space for dialogue and debate is fundamental in the establishment of democratic societies (Payne; 2008). However, where this dialogue intensifies into arguments a tension arises with the aims of reconciliation. The data suggests that the museum has the impact of opening up spaces for different levels of personal reflection, dialogues, debates and even a context for conflict.

Interviews with casual Chilean visitors illustrate the museum has the impact of opening up space for Intergenerational dialogue. Intergenerational dialogue is a transmission of memory

from one generation to another (Jelin; 1994). One participant exemplified this: a Chilean grandmother who had brought her grandsons to the museum for the second time. Some of her grandchildren live in Venezuela after her daughter was exiled and she brings them to the museum whenever they visit. For her, the museum gives a context through which she could explore the topic. Aside from this illustrative example, the high numbers of family groups that come, especially at weekends, indicate that the museum functions as a space for intergenerational dialogue. Comments book extracts also indicated intergenerational dialogue:

CB Antonia: 'Today I brought my daughter so that from a young age she can understand and respect the rights of everyone.'

CB Julieta: 'I came with my sons and my partner to see the exhibition. It was interesting and moving to let my children know in detail about our history.'

Intergenerational dialogue is essential in achieving the museum's '*Nunca más*' goal of never letting human rights abuses be repeated. Not only is it a space for intergenerational dialogue but also for intragenerational dialogue. One anecdotal example highlights this case. When conducting research I visited the museum with Chilean friends, a couple that I had lived with and known for many years. Whilst walking around the museum my friend called me over and said '*Look at this torture position. This is how they tortured my father.*' Despite having talked about the topic of human rights violations in Chile many times this was the first time she had mentioned that her father had been a victim. The MMDDHH has the impact of facilitating a range of dialogues between different users ranging from speaking about the past to providing a space for more heated debates and outburst. These more conflictive dialogues can be seen in two examples. A guide explained that as he was taking US students round the museum, a professor from ARCIS – a university founded by the communist party – grabbed him and said

aggressively 'I hope you tell them what their country did to Chile.' Here as with the anecdote about the schoolboy from military parents, the guide acted as mediator between an angry national visitor and perplexed foreigners. Another example of the museum having the impact of being a space for conflicts can be seen in the comments book (see Fig.6). The extract shows an anonymous comment:

'BE CAREFUL: THEY ONLY SHOW STUDENTS ONE PART OF WHAT HAPPENED, WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN 1970 AND 1973? VERY SUBJECTIVE EXHIBITION.'

Then added too by others who retort to this comment:

'Cowards never put their name.'

'SON OF A BITCH'

'DIE FACIST BASTARD'

The comments book allows for anonymity and thus non-accountability and so like Youtube comments they can be exaggerated and lead to conflictive debates playing out in a more extreme fashion (Drinot; 2011).

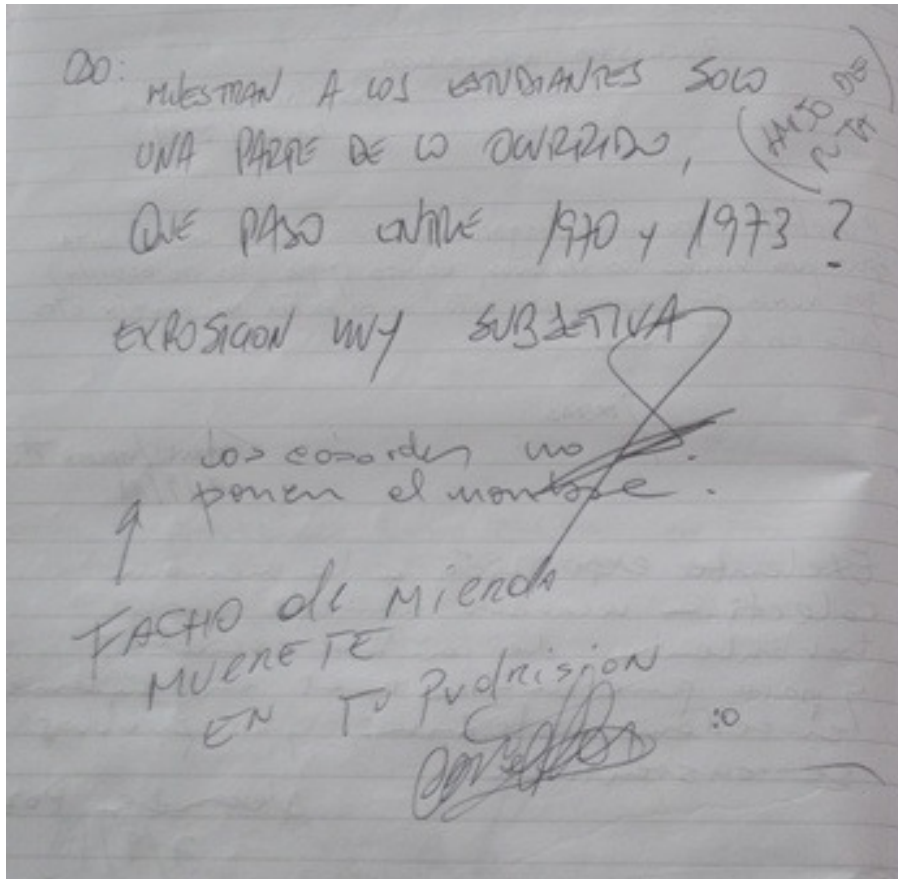


Fig. 6: Comments book extract showing a heated exchange of opinions

These examples underline how the museum can provide a context for various levels of dialogue, discussion and conflict about the human rights abuses, whether intergenerational or intragenerational. These examples fit into Payne's (2008) model of 'contentious co-existence' whereby conflictive discussions about the past are a fundamental element in a healthy democracy.

The MMDDHH also has the impact of providing a space for personal reflection. The comments of one particular Chilean visitor illustrate this:

Int.46: 'the dictatorship was an underground operation. I had friends who were in the Socialist Party and Communist Party and had friends who were military. Lots of people

were so convinced that this wasn't happening. It distresses me to think that people didn't do enough to prevent the deaths, torture and disappeared.'

The narrative about his polarised friends, whether true or allegorical, show that the museum has an impact of being a space to come to terms with and rationalise his memories of what happened to him and to the country. Further visitor comments show attempts to come to terms with what happened:

Int.41: 'I like to visit the museum every now and again, usually once a year... it's important to come and see our history. I was 11 when [the coup] happened; my house was raided by the military. There were things that I didn't enjoy about my childhood.'

The examples of people who were repeating visits to the museum show that the museum has the impact of acting as space for long-term personal reflection. These impacts are interconnected and as Andermann (2012:78) states, a memory museum becomes: *'a dialogical space of encounter, mourning and community'* whereby the opening up of spaces facilitates the other emotional, learning and identity impacts. A variety of impacts are also felt by Chilean University students who visit the permanent exhibition.

3.3 Chilean University Students

Chilean university students are a core target visitor group of the museum and constituted the second largest group after secondary school children taking guided tours in the museum (see Fig.3). The group is heterogeneous with students coming from many different institutions, disciplines, and with different visit objectives. Some students are obliged to come as part of their course, for others the visit is optional. These factors contributed to the variation in impacts on university students. The data indicated that the permanent exhibition had various

social impacts on university students including; educational impacts, impacts provoking reflection on present day Chile and a potential proselytising impact. These impacts were dependent on factors including the institution from which they came, the subject they study, the reason for coming and level of free will in the decision to visit the MMDDHH.

Educational Impact

The educational objectives of the visit influenced the educational impact. These objectives included rigid learning objectives, such as two young journalism students were sent to the museum as an obligatory part of their course with a specific list of ten questions. Others had more open tasks; one drama student was researching representations of torture for a dance production. Others came in a more casual capacity.

Int.10: '[we came] because the university is on strike and we wanted to make the most of a nice day.'

Here the museum is a leisure, not educational activity and the university strike allows them time to visit. For another group of visitors the university strikes not only gave them time, but also added to the context of the museum:

Int.26: 'We came because the same things are happening today with the student protests'

Police using excessive force against student protestors⁹ is linked back to past human rights violations. The museum has the impact of providing linkages between present day mobilisations and prior human rights abuses.

⁹ <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/nacional/2013/06/680-528141-9-rector-de-la-u-de-chile-rechaza-ingreso-de-ffee-a-casa-central-del-plantel-tras.shtml> Accessed 30/08/13

Right-Wing Universities

The reason for coming to the museum is not the only variable that affects impacts on university students. There is a perception amongst museum staff that the students' university has an influence on the impact. This is due to the perception that certain political tendencies prevail on the different campuses. Universities are seen to have a right or left wing institutional environment, which either attracts people of a certain political tendency or influences them politically. The universities that are seen as right wing are known as 'Universidades Cota Mil'¹⁰. This term refers to the elite, private universities located in the east of Santiago; it includes the *Universidad de Desarrollo* and *Universidad de los Andes*. Their right-wing reputation is not unfounded; the dean of the *Universidad de Desarrollo* is Paulo Rodriguez, founder of *Patria y Libertad*, the Neo-Nazi group that organised against the government of Allende (Nef; 1979). The guides are sceptical of the educational impact on these groups; not only do they see them as having entrenched political bias, but they also gauge impact from the level of interaction, and these groups from the 'Cota Mil' are not considered interactive. It is not just the university that is seen to have a political bias, but also the discipline studied. As one guide stated:

'It would be strange for certain groups to come, for example, law from Universidad de Desarrollo'

The guides attested to experiencing difficult tours with groups of students from 'Cota Mil' universities with guides reporting students not paying attention, whispering to each other trying to 'negate the narrative' of the guide. On one occasion half the students left the tour midway in disgust. This suggests that obliging university students who do not agree with the MMDDHH can lead to a negative impact. One example of students who did not agree with the

¹⁰ For more information on the term 'Cota Mil' see <http://www.brunner.cl/?p=1172>

museum but came voluntarily shows a more positive impact on shaping consciousness. Two medical students, who walk past the museum everyday, visited one afternoon to have a look around the museum. They disagreed with the museum on political grounds:

Int.37: 'It's biased. They don't show the things that the coup achieved over 17 years. Chile was in a precarious situation beforehand with economic and social instability. Under Pinochet social order and the economy, social benefits, health and education were all guaranteed. It lacks the other side of the coin, the achievements of the dictatorship, I would like to see about the landowners who lost their land because of occupations by social movements before the coup.'

In spite of criticising the museum's partiality, it appears to have had a positive impact on them; stating afterwards that it 'changed their perception' and that they would return to see the museum again with more time. These examples suggest that level of obligation can have an effect on how the visitors react to the museum. Although not immediately causing the medical students to change their political position, their admission that it changed their perception and their plans to return suggest that the museum can have a proselytising effect. This impact may be small, planting the seed for a possible opening up towards memory and human rights. Despite changing opinions not being an explicit aim of the museum, it is implied through wanting to reach a right-wing audience:

'Our main objective is that everyone comes...maybe there are some people that won't ever come, the fervent Pinochet followers...but we want people from all socio-economic sectors to come to the museum' – Maria Luisa Ortiz, Head of Collections MMDDHH

Sandell (1998) states that claiming museums can have an impact of social change is 'immodest and naive, museums impact is small' and 'a single museum visit is unlikely to overturn the most entrenched attitudes'. However, museums can impact people's views and attitudes through a dialectic of openness and prejudice whereby views can be slowly modified (Sandell; 1998). The example of the young medical students seems to follow this model where the museum visit led them to a small revision of their values.

3.4 Foreigners

From Dutch artists, to Brazilian tourists and the President of Ireland the museum attracts a wide variety of foreign visitors from all over the world. The category 'foreigner' is defined as non-Chilean visitors to the permanent exhibition. Despite some academics suggesting that 'foreigners' are mainly voyeuristic backpackers and can potentially 'cheapen' memory sites (Clarke and Payne; 2011, Clarke; 2009), 'foreigners' is actually a heterogeneous group. This category includes; tourists, journalists, politicians, language exchange students and NGO representatives. Even though Barsalou and Baxter (2007:17) claim that '*Memorials ... dominated by outsiders are doomed to failure*', the data suggests that an insider/ outsider binary is oversimplified. Foreigners can play an important role as builders of international human rights culture as well as legitimising the site in the eyes of the national audience (Milton and Ulfe; 2011). This grouping can have crossover with other categories with children of exiles and mixed foreigner/ Chilean groups.

Foreigners are a heterogeneous group but experience some common impacts. First, it has had the impact of establishing itself as a legitimate visitor site for foreigners. Secondly, it has a largely positive impact on foreign visitors. Finally, the MMDDHH has an educational and emotional impact and provokes reflections on international human rights. These impacts are

affected by interconnected and dynamic variables including: country of origin, level of connection to the theme, informal word of mouth networks, as well as physical aspects of the museum.

Quantity and Variation of Foreign Visitors

The museum has become well established in the itinerary of many foreigner visitors to Santiago. This has the impact of integrating the museum into the global memorialisation debate. The museum is not explicitly for foreigners – there is no marketing or active courting of this group. Foreign interviewees came from 10 different countries (see Fig.7)

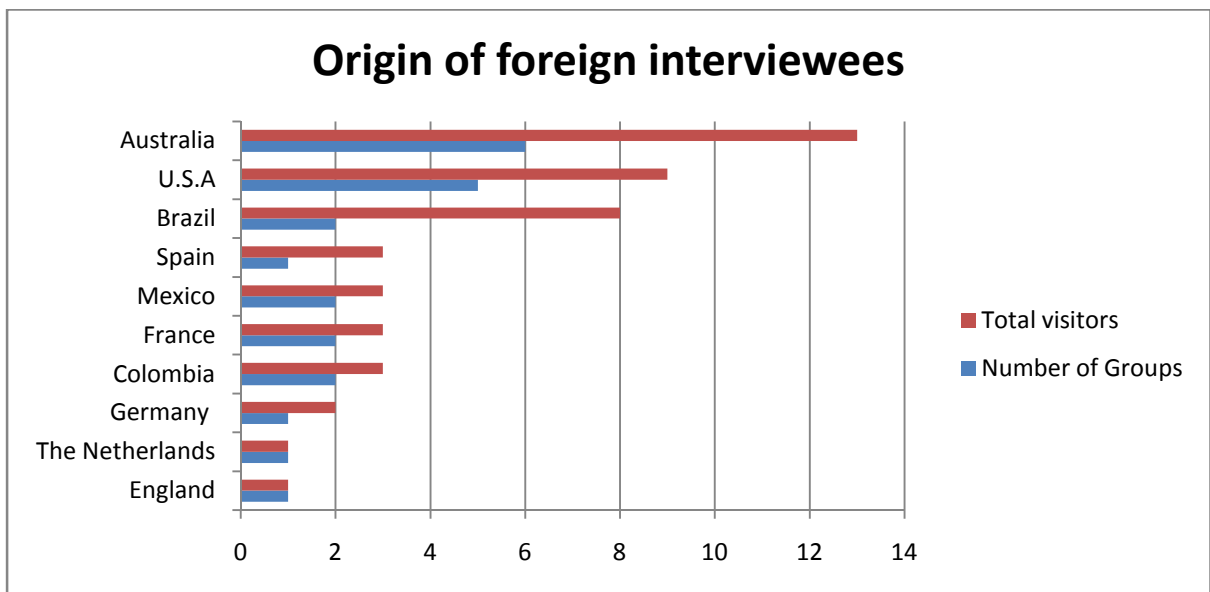


Fig.7: Country of origin of foreign interviewees.

843 foreign visitors participated in guided tours in the first half of 2013 representing 10% of the total tours. Foreigners make up a large proportion of casual visitors. 50% of the visitor vox pop subjects were foreigners. Staff and Chilean visitors alike note the high number of foreign visitors.

AL: 'Which part of the museum had the biggest impact on you?'

Int.41: 'The quantity of foreigners, there are more foreigners than Chileans.'

A large percent of foreign visitors that take guided tours are diplomats and politicians. Cultural tourism is the main objective for official visits to the museum with politicians from Ireland, Israel, Germany, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Venezuela all having attended in 2013.¹¹ 2013 also saw a visit from 15 International Socialist Mayors, coming from Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, Guatemala, Greece and Mexico. A common pattern is that ambassadors bring visiting senators or parliamentarians, suggesting that the museum has become established as a suitable attraction for European and American diplomatic visits. Politicians and diplomats also participate in museum events and seminars in an official capacity. For example, In March 2013 the Princess of Denmark came to the museum to open a seminar on human rights and education. Diplomatic visits are often turned into articles for the museum's website, and high profile visits can make the national news. These high profile visits have the perceived impact of legitimising the museum for of the national visitors.

Foreign journalists have used the museum in different ways, from researching a German magazine article to using it as a backdrop for an Austrian radio show and a Dutch TV documentary on children of the disappeared. Foreign NGOs are another group of foreign attendees. Various international organisations have visited, such as Sri Lankan human rights defenders, a delegation of Japanese lawyers, and visitors from the OECD.¹² Foreign organisations use the museum as both didactic tool and for cultural tourism.

Alongside politicians, journalists and NGOs, 'tourists' make up a large number of foreign visitors. The establishment of the MMDDHH as a tourist site has taken the museum staff by surprise. Despite getting some coverage in travel magazines, the museum neither features in standard guidebooks nor tourist office maps of Santiago. The establishment of the MMDDHH as a tourist site has occurred largely through word of mouth networks. One of the most

¹¹ Museum data from the education team.

¹² Museum data from the education team.

important of these word of mouth networks is the online forum TripAdvisor. The 'world's largest travel site'¹³, it counts over 260 million monthly users. Travellers can rate and leave comments about hotels, services and sites. During interviews with visitors, two foreigners mentioned TripAdvisor having an influence on their motivation for visiting;

Int.15: 'I looked for something to do in a couple of hours. Looked on TripAdvisor and this was the number one thing.'

Int.5: 'On Trip advisor it's the number one thing to do.'

On the website the museum is rated as the number one place to visit in Santiago, the status comes from calculations based on members' reviews. The museum as of July 2013 has 419 ratings, 77% of the ratings being 'excellent' (see Fig.8).

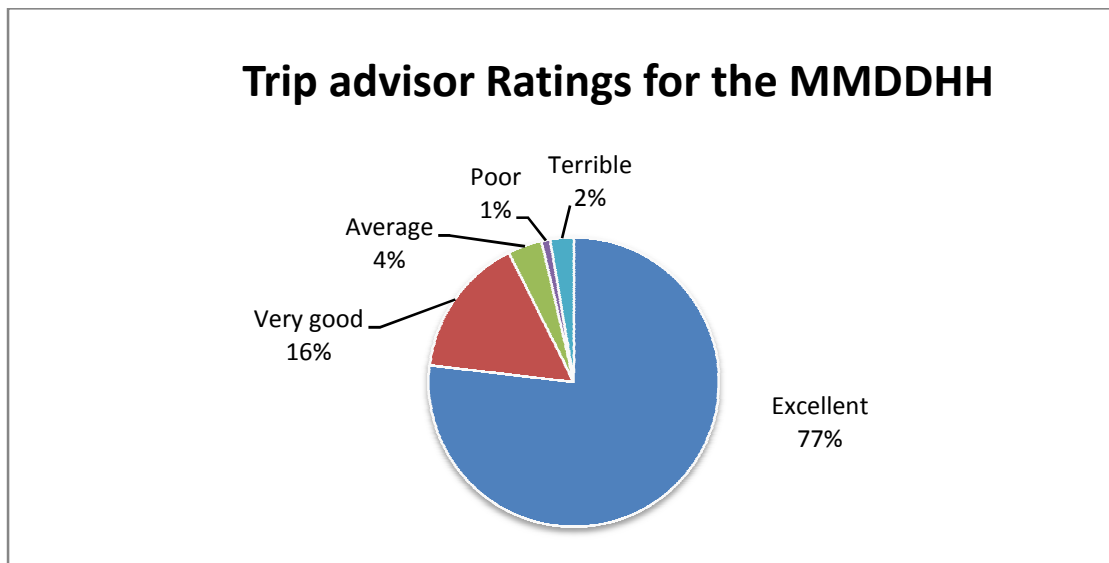


Fig.8: TripAdvisor Ratings for the MMDDHH.¹⁴

Figures from the website show how the museum has succeeded in establishing itself amongst tourists compared to its regional museum counterparts. The MMDDHH has 419 ratings

¹³ http://www.TripAdvisor.co.uk/PressCenter-c6-About_Us.html Accessed 20/08/13

¹⁴ Source http://www.TripAdvisor.co.uk/ShowUserReviews-g294305-d1886318-r79648401-Museum_of_Memory_and_Human_Rights-Santiago_Santiago_Metropolitan_Region.html Accessed 15/07/13

compared to 35 for Villa Grimaldi, 4 for ESMA and 2 for the memory museum in Ayacucho (see Fig.9).



Fig.9: Number of TripAdvisor Comments for international and Latin American memory sites.

One possible reason explaining this is ease of accessibility. ESMA is notoriously difficult to arrange a visit to; Vila Grimaldi is on the outskirts of Santiago accessible by bus; Ayacucho is in the geographic periphery even more so. The MMDDHH is in the centre of Santiago and has an entrance directly from the metro. The MMDDHH's short existence means that compared to international equivalents it does not have as many comments. It was not just TripAdvisor, but also traditional word of mouth networks that brought tourists. Some comments of visitors exemplified this:

Int.27: 'I am couch surfing and the two hosts said that I should come.'

Int.36: 'An American tourist told us to come, because it's not in our guide book'

Facilitated through traditional and non-traditional word of mouth networks, the high number of foreign visitors as well as their range and diversity demonstrates that the museum has had the impact of establishing itself as a legitimate site for foreign visitors. This has led to the MMDDHH begin integrated into a global memorialisation network.

Positive Impact

The second striking impact of the MMDDHH on foreigners is that the museum has a nearly universally positive impact on them. 93% of the TripAdvisor comments rated the museum as 'excellent' or 'very good' (see Fig.8). Interviews with foreign visitors confirmed this positive appraisal of the museum:

Int.25: 'It's an amazing building; the set out is great, the videos are excellent'

Int.31: 'Everybody said it's the best museum in Santiago.'

Int.30: 'The museum is marvellous, it's just incredible'

Enjoyment of a tourists experience is dependent on a combination of factors. Research by Yiannakis and Gibson (1992:287) suggests that different groups of tourists derived a positive experience from 'an optimal balance of familiarity-strangeness, stimulation-tranquillity, and structure-independence.' However, some foreigners expressed a negative museum experience. During the time of carrying out interviews the museum was extremely cold (10C) this had a noticeable impact on more than one group of tourists;

Int.36: 'It's cold, cold, cold'

Int.45: 'I think we'll come back another day without the kids and when it's not freezing'

It is important not to underestimate the importance of the physical environment in influencing museum impacts. Physical factors such as temperature, lighting and layout can lead to negative effects on educational and emotional impacts (Maxwell and Evans; 2007).

Emotional Impacts

The museum has immediate emotional impacts of grief and shock on foreigners.

Int.30: 'it gave me goosebumps.'

CB Renkat Karum, San Francisco: 'I was moved to tears second time over and felt intensely what it means to be human.'

CB Jean Luis, France (Son of an Exiled): 'Words are not enough to describe the horrors of the dictatorship.'

These comments highlight the universality of the emotional potential of the museum. If we broadly define foreigners as being less connected to the theme as Chileans, this would suggest that while emotional impact is sometimes mediated through level of connection to the theme (e.g. two sisters crying about their disappeared uncle) the museum has the potential to have an emotional impact on people who have little or no personal connection to the museum content. The parts of the museum that appeared to have the biggest emotional impact on foreigners were the torture room and the 9/11 room (see Fig.10). Foreigners were less likely than Chileans to cite the children's letters as the part that had the biggest emotional impact. This is potentially attributable to the fact that the letters are only in Spanish. This indicates that emotional impacts of the museum are affected by language ability.

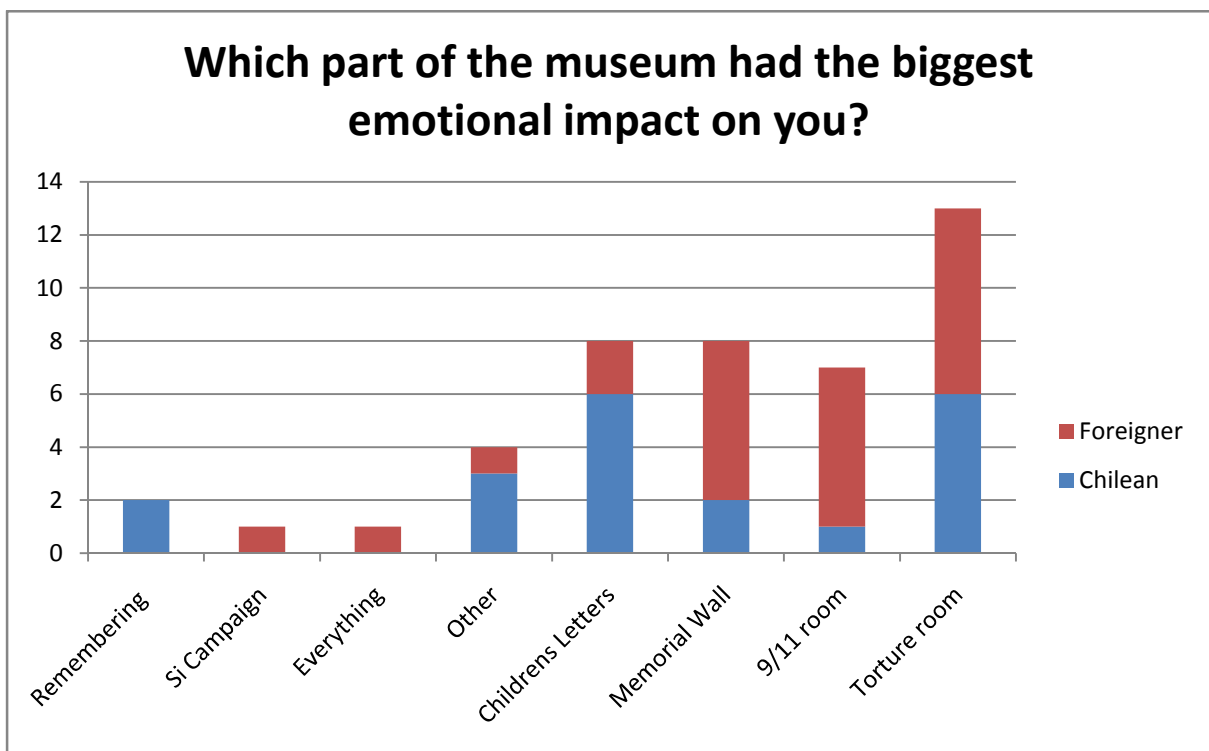


Fig.10: Chilean and Foreigners' answers to the question 'Which part of the museum had the biggest impact on you?'

As Maxwell and Evans (2002:6) state, impacts are interconnected and: *'A positive emotional affect can enhance the potential for learning'* not only this but *'Negative emotional affect is also associated with high levels of cognitive fatigue.'*

Educational Impacts

Comments on TripAdvisor suggest potential learning impacts:

TA Tomwaits8: 'Very thought provoking and informative. I learned a lot.'

TA Mgpdm: 'This museum is a gem. Book a tour (in Spanish or English) and take your time. There is a lot of information and it gives you a much better understanding of Chile's military regime and return to democracy. Well worth it.'

TA Cuevas_figuroa: 'The museum is a treat to anyone interested in history. I've been there 3 times and each time I go I learn something new. The experience teaches us all to be vigilant of our rights and how the media can be manipulated by politicians.'

TA AndrewW2: 'This proved to be very enjoyable and a great way to learn about this interesting country.'

The data suggests that learning impact is filtered through several variables including: level of prior-knowledge, language skills, type of group they come with, and physical factors. The foreign visitors had a varying level of prior-knowledge, ranging from 'I knew nothing' (int.36) to university students studying Latin American history and international human rights experts. It is possible to suggest that foreign visitors with low pre knowledge accept the narrative of the museum more easily as total truth.

Int.23: 'It's a very well rounded museum; it explains everything. There's no missing information...it seems.'

Int.20: 'It was from the beginning till now; this put everything together in a meaningful way.'

However, foreign participants with higher prior knowledge were more likely to comment on specific aspects of new information. The educational impact is not only filtered through prior-knowledge, but also influenced by language ability. The majority of the museum is exclusively in Spanish with some English subtitles and translations. Despite these efforts to make it accessible to foreign visitors the data suggests that lack of translated material was a barrier to educational impacts on foreigner visitors.

Int.27: 'The museum is very nice ... but it's very sad as there is no English translation. I don't know about the history of Chile, since everything was in Spanish I still don't understand.'

Int.2: '[The museum] could have gone into a little more detail about the Pinochet coup, who supported it and who they were. Maybe I missed it because I don't speak Spanish.'

Int.39: 'Without English it's too hard.'

TA CaveCreekCathy: 'My only wish there were english translations-some video clips had english sub-titles which was nice but think I would have gotten more from it if in English.' (sic)

TA Travellingllamas: 'This museum looks so interesting and we would love to understand the gut wrenching stories, but there is little English translation. I understand that Spanish is the national language, but having English translations would make this museum all the more impactful.' (sic)

Finally, the museum has different educational impacts on different foreigner groups. This factor is highlighted in the example of groups of North American language exchange students. This group was commonly cited as the least favourite group of the guides, the reason being the lack of connection to the theme and low levels of interaction with students just wanting to practise their Spanish rather than interacting with the topic. The guides often use 'interaction' of visitors as a measure of impact and see a tour with indifferent or non-interactive visitors as an absence of learning.

'The worst is apathy – no preparation, they don't even know why they came' (Interview with museum guide)

The perceived apathy, and lack of perceived learning impacts on this group may, like school students be influenced by the fact that they do not have a choice in coming to the museum. This, combined with a lack of interest, would appear to be a barrier to educational impacts of the museum.

Provoking Reflections on International Human Rights

Another impact that notably affected foreign visitors was that it provoked reflections on international human rights, especially in their country of origin.

Some Latin American visitors referred to human rights and memory museums in their country:

Int.24: 'In my country something very similar happened, dictatorship and human rights. It would be beautiful to see this in Brazil.'

Int.12: 'A memory museum in Colombia would be a never-ending museum.'

CB Jaime Garcia: 'I come from Colombia, where the memory of the dead, disappeared, tortured and murdered by president Uribe hasn't begun to be written.'

CB Keyla: 'We should also have a museum like this for Brazilian memory'

Foreign visitors were more likely than Chileans to put the museum in a regional or global context, reflecting on other memory sites.

Int.45: 'We went to the war museum in Vietnam and it's great, it's accessible to everyone'

Int.35: 'I have been to the same museum in Peru, in Lima. This one was done much better, more up to date.'

The museum has the impact of acting as a space to provoke reflection upon global international human rights abuses both past and present.

Despite not being valued an important visitors group by the museum hierarchy, the quantity and variety of foreigners makes them an important group to analyse when looking at the interconnected impacts the MMDDHH has on its visitors. The final group of visitors to the permanent museum that this study looks at is police.

3.5 Police

One of the most interesting groups to visit the museum has been the police. 2012 and 2013 saw visits from the *PDI* (*Policía de Investigaciones de Chile*: the investigative branch of the police force), *Gendarmería* (the security forces in charge of the prison systems) and *Carabineros* (the national police). The *Carabineros*, and *Gendarmería* conducted visits for training cadets at the end of a three-week intensive human rights course¹⁵. The museum impacts on police visitors by providing a point of engagement with human rights, however, the

¹⁵ <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/25-oficiales-y-suboficiales-de-carabineros-realizaron-visita-al-museo-de-la-memoria/>

impact is limited to reluctant engagement and there is no impact of changing institutional attitudes towards human rights. The intended impact from the MMDDHH's point of view is to contribute towards the non-repetition of gross violations of human rights. Lack of deep institutional police reform and institutional loyalty are the biggest obstacles to the potential impacts of changing institutional attitudes and preventing these human rights abuses from happening again. Museum staff conducted exit questionnaires with *Carabineros* who participated in two visits in 2012 with 152 cadets. 98 police cadets completed this questionnaire. An analysis of this data, along with interviews with guides, museum staff, human rights professionals and secondary sources form the basis of the following section.

Police Questionnaire Results

18% of police responses to the questionnaire indicated a positive engagement with the MMDDHH (see Fig.11). Some examples of these responses to the question, 'What would you improve about the museum visit?' included:

'Nothing, really good for learning'

'Nothing it complied with all of my expectations'

'More time' (9 of the comments)

These comments suggest that there is a part of the police force that is open to the theme of human rights. The high frequency of the comment *'more time'* suggests that a number of the police visitors were engaged in reflections that the museum provoked.

Despite some positive comments, 50% of the questionnaire responses expressed a negative attitude towards the museum (see fig.11). The negative comments suggest that the museum did not have an impact on changing institutional attitudes of police. Many of the comments suggest a strengthening of their negative attitude toward human rights and memory. The 47

negative comments can be categorised into various themes: a refusal to engage with the topic, comments about objectivity, communist associations, promoting forgetting and defending security forces and Pinochet.

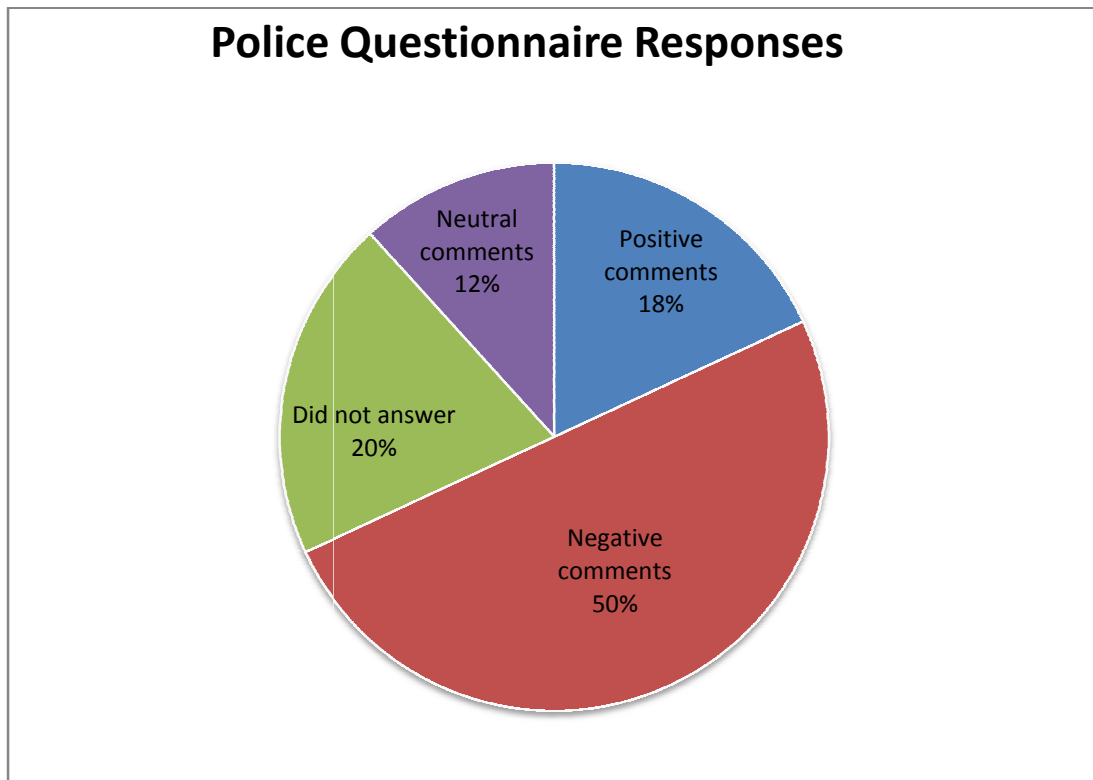


Fig.11: Police questionnaire responses to questions: 3. What would you improve from the visit to the museum? 4. What would you highlight from the visit (positive or negative)?

Some police expressed a desire not to engage with the theme at all:

'Not interested'

'[the visit] shouldn't happen'

'It's not a museum for Carabineros'

This lack of willingness to engage was also suggested in interviews with guides who said that many of the police were not interested and spent the visit not paying attention and playing on their phones. The majority of negative comments were about objectivity and polarisation.

'Be a less subjective visit.'

'Biased'

'That it tries to politicise these events towards one side.'

The history of Chile is often related through the lexis of polarisation. Here the police utilise this vocabulary to denounce the museum. Five of the comments discussed the perception of communist influence on the content of the museum:

'Negatively, the communist environment'

'Communism is a national disgrace'

'Lack of information about those affected by communism'

'The communist mindset of the guides'

'That is wasn't so close to the communist party'

Many of the negative comments suggest that the museum visit had the impact of entrenching previously held beliefs instead of opening up to new points of view. The museum visit led some to take a defensive position in relation to their institution.

'That they recognise what my general Pinochet did. Do not bring our people to this disgrace of a museum'

'There is a wide abyss between Carabineros, human rights and communists.'

'Do not include future officials in these visits.'

'It attacks the military regime.'

'That they don't focus so much on criticising the armed forces.'

Loyalty to the institution appears to be an important factor in limiting the potential proselytising impact of the museum. The museum education team is understandably sensitive towards this visitor group:

'There is no intention to convince but just that they come and see. So they think that this has happened and that it can't repeat but it has to come from themselves. We want them to look at the objects and come to their own personal conclusions. Not saying that you guys are responsible but that you belong to an institution that did it and it depends on you that it doesn't occur again.' (Interview with guide who led the police visits)

Another example that demonstrates the impact of the MMDDHH as a point of contact for the police with human rights issues was the participation of police in events at the museum. In 2012 members of the ethics and human rights department of the PDI took part in a panel at a conference on human rights education.¹⁶ The police's commitment at a symbolic and media level to human rights cannot be doubted but with ongoing human rights violations by the Chilean police, whether this is permeating through to practice remains to be seen (HRW: 2012).

Police Reform and Human Rights Training

The main obstruction for the impact of changing institutional attitudes is the authoritarian legacy in the structures of the police forces in Chile. The institutional problems with the police force in Chile go back to the transitional period where the pacted transition left civilian politicians unable to restructure military institutions. The inability of the democratic

¹⁶ <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/museo-realiza-seminario-enfocado-a-educadores-en-dd-hh/>

government to purge the armed forces, including the police, of its dictatorial elements including human rights violators, authoritarian structures and doctrines means that the police and armed forces remain relatively unchanged since the Pinochet period. As O’Rawe (2005) states when talking about Northern Ireland, developing a Human rights culture in a society is dependent on reforming the police force, especially where the police played a repressive role. It is also doubtful whether human rights training can be converted into real change in policing methods (O’Rawe; 2005). As Neild attests:

‘Training alone will not change the behaviour of an abusive police force or prevent abuse from arising in a new force unless it is accompanied by complementary measures that demonstrate an institutional commitment to rights-based policing.’ (1998, cited in O’Rawe; 2005:967)

Police reform is a long and complicated process that ‘involves transforming power structures in society’ (O’Neil; 2005:2). Without deep institutional changes 3-week human rights courses are unlikely to have a significant impact on the police culture. As Silvana Lauzán, head of research at the INDH stated:

‘[the police visits to the MMDDHH] are good but on their own they don’t work if they don’t go hand in hand with other reforms and rules. Also it is important that the police’s own human rights are respected within the institution itself. So that there aren’t scandalous situations where a normal policeman earns 300,000 pesos a month when a general earns 7 million. It’s very complicated to try to instil a culture of equality and human rights if the institution itself is not built upon principles equality and respect.’

The research suggests that the museum's impact on changing institutional attitudes of the police is small and has the potential to reinforce prior views through provoking loyalty to the police. Despite these limited impacts on the police the fact that police are visiting a human rights museum does represent a significant opening up of attitudes and may in the long term, alongside police reform help contribute to institutional change of the police. A report by the UN working group on forced disappearances included in its recommendations that

'To demonstrate the institutional commitment to memory and human rights it is important that government minister and the heads of the three branches of the armed forces visit the Museum and other memory sites'¹⁷

The museum hopes that these representatives will come, however they remain very doubtful of this happening in the short term.

¹⁷ <http://www.ohchr.org/SP/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=12450&LangID=S>

4. Impacts of the Museum Extensions

As discussed in the introduction the museum is not just the permanent exhibition, but is also comprised of a national human rights archive, a documentation centre, seminars and cultural events and a travelling exhibition. These components reach different audiences to the main exhibition and thus each extension will be looked at individually, analysing the impact, how and why this impact occurs and what factors affect this impact. As Fig.12 shows, the museum extensions collectively account for approximately 28% of the museum's total users.

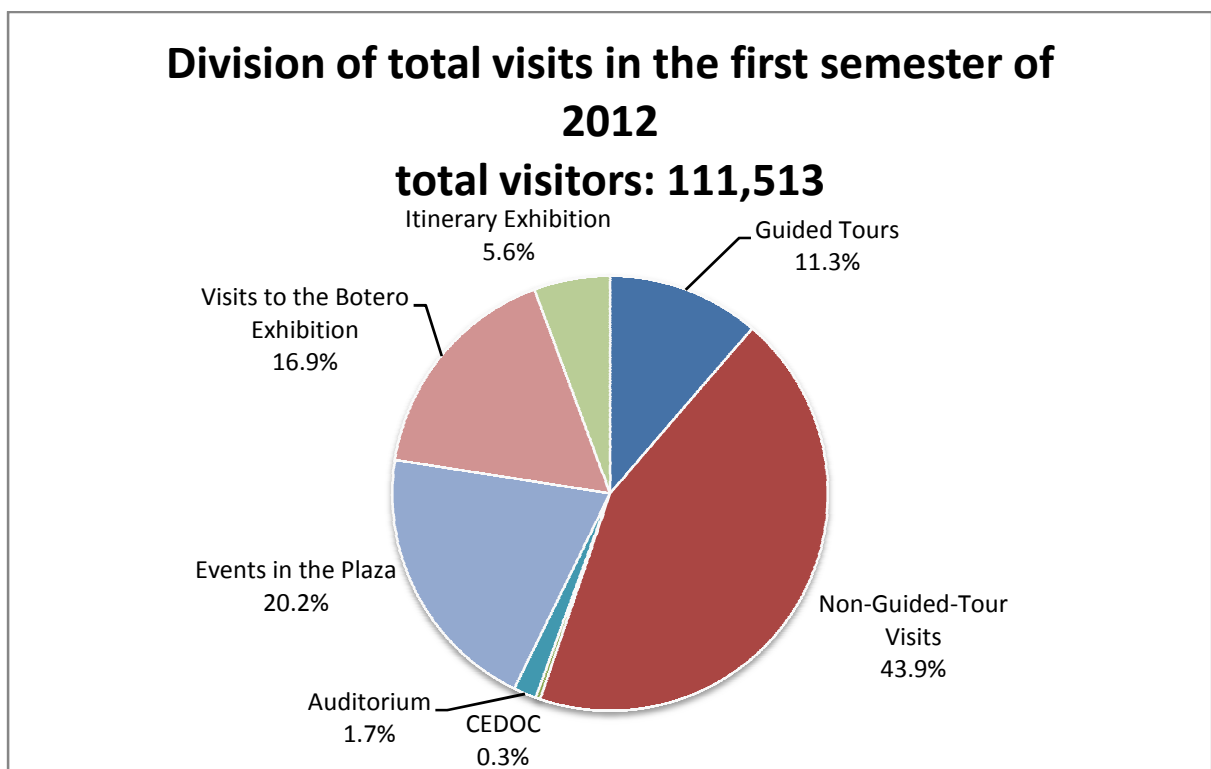


Fig.12: Division of total visits in the first semester of 2012

The museum extensions have various complex impacts. First, they have the contradictory impact of both opening up public access to some information while closing off access to other information. They also have the double impact of reaching a wider audience yet simultaneously catering for a more specialised memory clientele. The extensions provide

'memory infrastructures' for human rights organisations and contribute towards symbolic reparations for victims.

4.1 The Archives

The archives, which are housed in the museum basement, contain over 130,000 objects, documents and audiovisual items. The material was primarily donated by 165 different organisations and from over 700 private collections. The archives form part of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register and are growing rapidly with over 38,000 documents donated in the first half of 2013 alone.¹⁸ A dynamic part of the museum, the archives are not only growing but also changing, with a process of digitalization underway. The archives have various impacts on users. First, it acts as an infrastructure of memory whereby it puts state of the art facilities at the disposal of smaller organisations. It also has a contradictory impact of both preserving and putting a huge range of documents at the public's disposal, but at the same time conceals the Valech truth commission testimonies, which obstructs access to information and potentially has a negative impact on justice in Chile.

Human rights groups use the archives' resources and infrastructure. This can be anything from simply borrowing a dehumidifier, help preserving their archives to handing over forensic evidence gathered from investigations. *Londres 38* did not have the facilities to store and conduct forensic work on the evidence gathered and thus the museum could provide these resources, having a state of the art preservation and conservation laboratory.

If the archives are having a positive impact on memory by guarding and preserving certain material and putting them at public access, it is also having the opposite impact by hiding and concealing the testimonies from the truth and justice reports. The testimonies are locked in a

¹⁸ 2013 MMDDHH report; http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Informe-de-Gesti%C3%B3n-Enero-Junio-2013_DIBAM.pdf Accessed 21/08/13

safe for a period of 50 years under the pretext of protection of the victims. However, Silvana Lauzán (2013) states;

'50 years is scandalous. 50 years is excessive. The normal is from the Johannesburg principle of 1998, which says 20 years for most confidential documents. It also leads to a double victimization where victims have to keep going back and giving testimonies again and again. Johannesburg states that no documents should be classified if it hides violations of human rights. It's about protecting perpetrators.'

The secret documents are problematic in terms of freedom of information, as they go against international and regional norms that state that documents should only be classified if it is in the public interest or the information threatens national security (Mendel; 2008, UN; 2006). Instead of truth telling empowering and providing testimonies for lawyers to prosecute human rights violators the truth is locked away where nobody can access it. As with other examples of symbolic reparations, the MMDDHH has been utilised as a replacement for justice (Jelin; 1994, Collins; 2011). Hence by holding this information the museum is having an indirect impact on memory and justice in Chile.

4.2 The Documentation Centre (CEDOC)

The Museum's *Centro de Documentación* (CEDOC) is the public access point to the archival collection. Located on the floor below the entrance to the museum, it is comprised of a library, computers, and desk space. Students and researchers can access documentation from the museum archives as well as books and online resources. This study suggests that the CEDOC has an educational impact on specialist users; this impact is facilitated and enhanced through good customer service practises but limited by its small number of users. Secondly it can contribute to the impact of symbolic reparation to victims.

The educational impact of the CEDOC is that it puts primary sources at the access of the general public. The majority of users are between 20-25 years in the middle and higher education system; 35% were undergraduate students, 35% secondary school students and 18% researchers for theses or dissertations (CEDOC; 2012). 92.3% of users reported that they had found what they had been looking for, suggesting an educational impact of contributing primary sources and providing facilities for school and university students' studies (CEDOC; 2012). This educational impact was facilitated and augmented by state of the art equipment, comfortable surrounding and good customer service practices. The space is glass fronted, bright and airy with state of the art equipment (see Fig.13). As Maxwell and Evans (2002:3) state:

'The physical attributes of museums may enhance the opportunity for learning'



Fig.13 The Documentation Centre. Taken from CEDOC promotional material

Not only are the physical surroundings welcoming and comfortable, but the staff are well trained and professional; 95% of the survey respondents said that they were very satisfied or satisfied with the service they received. Undertrained staff can have a real or perceived negative impact on the memory site experience (FRA; 2011). Although some scholars suggest that any market influences over memorialisation cheapens the memory project (Bilbija and Payne; 2011), in this case it appears that good practises of customer service facilitates an increased impact of memorialisation. The educational impact was limited however, as the CEDOC is a specialist arm of the museum which reaches a more specialist niche audience, accounting for only 0.3% of museum users (see Fig.12). The impact of the CEDOC is changing over time; the number of users increased fourfold between 2012 and 2013. Not only does it have an important educational impact but, as the Head of Collections suggests, it can also aid in the museum's capacity to deliver symbolic reparations for victims:

'Victims feel happy that their stuff is being used by students, especially young people.'

Maria Luisa Ortiz (2013)

The museum has to contact victims for permission to use their documents and thus victims know that their objects and documents are being worked with.

'The main goal is not for the museum to be at the disposal of the victims but that the victims can put their memories at the disposal of the whole population.' *Maria Luisa*

Sepulveda (2013)

The CEDOC is thus fundamental in the museum's intentional impact of giving the general public access to primary sources. However, In terms of the museums goals of reaching a broader audience the events in the plaza and events in the auditorium were much more significant.

4.3 Seminars and Events

Academic conferences, seminars, theatre productions, documentary festivals and concerts all take place at the museum's lecture theatre and plaza. These events were outlined by the museum's directors as being central to their outreach aim of being the museum of all Chileans and reaching a broader audience. The idea is that people come to see a play or a concert and will then visit the museum. The museum's programs for seminars and events have two key impacts: reaching a broader audience and providing infrastructures of memory.

These events, especially the theatre and music productions in the plaza, attract large audiences. As Fig.12 shows, events in the plaza made up 22% of all 'museum visitors' in the first semester of 2012. Events are very varied, ranging from Mapuche rap concerts¹⁹ to academic conferences on Journalism and memory. In 2012 the citywide cultural festival 'Santiago a mil' saw the production of five theatre productions at the museum, which attracted over 17,000 people.²⁰ The museum's cultural events are perceived to attract a different audience from normal (Maria Luisa Sepulveda interview; 2013, Collins interview; 2013) thus reaching a sector of society who would not normally be museum goers. The MMDDHH seeks to attract a wider audience through cultural events. Evidence of this was seen in the example of three interviewees who attended a journalism conference and arrived early to have a look around the museum. The seminars and plaza events also have the impact of providing infrastructures of memory for users, namely human rights groups. The state of the art facilities and pleasant surroundings make the museum an attractive place to host events. As Collins (2012) has pointed out, the museum, since its inception, has become a gravitational centre for the various human rights groups. These human rights groups make different uses of the 'infrastructures of memory' that the museum provides. The fairly militant and independent human rights group '119', despite criticizing the museum for being an institutionalised,

¹⁹ <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/hip-hop-mapuche-en-explanada-del-museo/>

²⁰ Informe primer semestre 2012

technocratic and elitist institution still utilise the space for commemorations, debates and conferences. They value it as a space which human rights themes can be elaborated. *Londres 38* do not use it for events or seminars, while the *Vicaría de Solidaridad* collaborates by participating in events and any of their book launches are usually held at the museum. Finally the INDH tries not to rely too heavily on the infrastructures of memory that the museum provides to maintain institutional independence not to be confused as the same institution. If the cultural events at the MMDDHH have the impact of reaching a wider audience in terms of numbers and profile then the travelling exhibition has the impact of reaching a wider audience geographically.

4.4 Travelling Exhibition

A central part of the museum's outreach activities, the *Muestra Itinerante* has set up in various cities all the way from Calama and Antofagasta in the far north to Concepción and Puerto Montt in the south. It facilitates a decentralisation of the museum and allows for social impacts on visitors from across the country. It consists of a 'compact museum'²¹ as well as a section that is relevant to that particular region. The exhibition in the town of La Serena, which ran in May and June 2012, attracted over 6500 visitors.²² The travelling exposition has educational and emotional impacts on the visitors in a similar way to the permanent exhibition impacting on Chilean visitors. As well as shared educational impacts, Impacts specific to the travelling exhibition are that it allows the museum to reach a broader audience and it creates a space for non-Santiago residents to engage with and discuss themes which is not possible at home or in school.

Comments showed how the travelling exhibition was having an impact on opening a space for intergenerational dialogue in non-Santiago residents.

²¹ <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/expos/muestra-itinerante-en-mejillones/> Accessed 07/08/13

²² <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/expos/muestra-itinerante-del-museo-en-la-serena/> Accessed 07/08/13

CB Unknown: 'Today I'm here with my 5 year old son, thanks to those who fought and gave their lives so that we can enjoy this privilege.'

CB Ana: 'I thank you for giving me the possibility to show our children the history of Chile.'

CB Javier: 'Excellent! The exhibition gives us the possibility of showing our son the truth of what happened but in images not just conversations.'

These impacts are enhanced by the careful curation of the travelling exhibition to include aspects of local history and memory. The museum appeals to local organisations to donate material and also recruits guides from the local population. Alongside the exhibition it runs seminars and events on themes around memory and human rights. The travelling exhibition functions in a similar way to the main museum in Santiago. However, in reaching distant corners of the country it can make the social impacts of the museum felt across the nation.

5. Conclusion

This study has shown that the MMDDHH has a wide variety of important impacts on its users. The array of social impacts of the MMDDHH range from; educational and emotional impacts, creating space for dialogue and reflection, becoming a legitimate visitor site for foreigners, contributing to memory fatigue, shaping consciousness, providing symbolic reparations and providing memory infrastructures for human rights organisations. Educational impacts span across multiple visitor groups however other impacts such as provoking reflections on international human rights are specific to certain groups. The impacts influence each other with some acting as facilitating other and some obstructing other impacts. Furthermore, each of these impacts can vary on scales of: timeframe (short term-long term), directness, simplicity, and intentionality. Not only this, but each individual experiences the impacts in different way, the impacts being filtered through interconnected factors including: reasons for the visit, identity, personal background, link to the theme, the group you visit with, and physical aspects of the museum. Taken together the results indicate evidence of a potentially huge variety and complexity of social impacts of the MMDDHH on its users. This study has highlighted some of the key social impacts of the MMDDHH.

The results have implications for other museums across the continent. With other countries embarking on large-scale state-led memory museum initiatives, museums must not be used as a post-violence panacea, they can contribute in a small yet meaningful way to processes of transitional justice. Through educating people about the past and providing spaces for dialogue that is difficult in other contexts, memory museums can contribute toward a deepening of cultures of democracy. As the MMDDHH evolves and more research will be necessary to investigate medium and long term impacts on users. Future research should not only seek to find long-term impacts but must also take into account economic, cultural and political impacts of memorialisation projects. Despite this study shedding some light on the

impact of memory museums, how these sites impact on post-conflict societies is a largely unexplored area. The more profound long-term impacts remain to be seen.

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Elgüeta, Gloria (2013) Member of memory site *Londres 38*, Interviewed 21st June 2013 at the National Library, Santiago.

Lauzán, Silvana (2013) Head of research at the National Institute of Human Rights (INDH) Interviewed 20th June 2013 at her house in Santiago.

Museum Guides and education team (2013) Interviewed between 17th and 29th June 2013 at the MMDDHH.

Ortiz, Maria Luisa (2013) Head of collections and research at the MMDDHH. Interviewed on 18th June 2013 at the MMDDHH.

Sepulveda, Maria Luisa (2013) President of the board of directors of the MMDDHH, also on the boards of the INDH and the Vicaría de Solidaridad. She was involved in the first Valech and ran the second Valech commission. Interviewed 19th June 2013 at the MMDDHH.

Vergara Low, Maria Paz (2013) Executive Director of the Vicaría de Solidaridad. Interviewed 13th June 2013 at the Vicaría archives.

Visitor Vox Pops

The anonymous interviews were conducted between the 17th and the 29th of June 2013. All interviews were conducted as visitors left the museum.

Interviewee number	Demographic information. (<i>age</i>)
Int.1	A Chilean Grandmother (65) and her grandson.
Int.2	A US family visiting their daughter who was studying in Santiago. Mother (55), father (57) and daughter (20).
Int.3	Colombian men (25, 25).
Int.4	Mexican male students (19).
Int.5	English student (24) travelling in South America.
Int.6	Chilean, male university students studying journalism (24, 25).
Int.7	Chilean, male university students studying librarianship and sociology (22, 23).
Int.8	2 Chilean women (45, 50) from CINTRAS an NGO which gives human rights training for people working with victims of torture. From Chillán.
Int.9	2 Female French students (23, 24) on a university exchange in Santiago one had done an internship in the MMDDHH.
Int.10	4 Chilean university students aged between 18 and 20. 2 female, 2 male
Int.11	2 Australian university lecturers one male one female (60, 64)
Int.12	Chilean-Colombian man (31) with Colombian girlfriend (25) and his mother (60) who was a political exile during the dictatorship.
Int.13	Dutch female (24) working as an artist in Valparaiso for 3 months.
Int.14	Chilean male drama student (24)
Int.15	Australian male (47) working in Chile presenting papers from the government of Australian on education.
Int.16	Chilean couple from the local area Quinta Normal (31, 32)
Int.17	Chilean students. One male one female (19 and 20) a painter and a writer.
Int.18	2 Chilean sisters (33, 34) one lives in USA.
Int.19	Male from the USA (35) Studying law on a study abroad program.

Int.20	1 male 1 female from U.S.A on a law study abroad program
Int.21	Chilean male (46) accountant.
Int.22	Colombian male (45) priest.
Int.23	Australian couple (20, 18) students travelling in South America.
Int.24	Female tourists from Brazil (28, 44)
Int.25	Male tourist from Australia (63) interested in history.
Int.26	2 Chilean archaeology students. 1 male 1 female (20, 22).
Int.27	French male tourist (36)
Int.28	3 Chilean students. 2 female 1 male Journalism students in their (23, 23, 22) Had come to the journalism seminar but popped in to the exhibition as they arrived early.
Int.29	2 female journalism students (25, 47) Had been sent by their university.
Int.30	Spanish female (57) lives in Austria.
Int.31	Family of 6 from Brazil 3 males 3 females on a family holiday.
Int.32	Mexican male theology student (21).
Int.33	Female Chilean (18) History student.
Int.34	2 Chileans. 1 female (31) 1 male (33) a student and a cook.
Int.35	2 US visitors. 1 male (21) 1 female (21). One studying here the other travelling and visiting.
Int.36	2 female German tourists (28, 35).
Int.37	2 Chileans, 1 male 1 female (20, 21) medical students.
Int.38	2 male (Chilean and Spanish) 1 Spanish female (43, 53, 51) University lecturers
Int.39	Australian family. 2 male 1 female (41, 42, 18) On a stop-over flight from Australia to Peru and had 8 hours to spend in Santiago.
Int.40	2 Chilean professionals 1 male (26) 1 female (24).
Int.41	Chilean male (35) Civil constructor
Int.42	2 female Chilean students (23, 23) Studying industrial design.
Int.43	US Male (21) Studying law in Santiago.
Int.44	2 Chilean males (18) photography students.
Int.45	Australian family 1 male (36) 1 female (35) 2 children
Int.46	1 Chilean man (46). Engineer.

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