

## **Working Paper Series n°4:** **Arts, Peace and Conflict**



### **From Healing to Hope: The Continuing Influence of the Chilean Arpilleras**

T. Randahl Morris, Ph.D., APR  
University of West Georgia

A paper presented at July 2014 Conference "Arts, Peace and Conflict" at the  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu Centre for War and Peace Studies,  
Liverpool Hope University, UK

## ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s, instances of widespread societal terror and extermination have proliferated. Social injustices and human rights atrocities tear apart the very fabric of a society, often resulting from internal wars which pit people who previously lived side-by-side against one another.

A constant in these conflicts is the silencing of both the spoken and written word which creates an opening for multiple forms of art to function as communicative media, visual testimony, and human rights violations documentation.

This paper studies the processes through which oppressed people are able to create and export visual testimonial art and the conditions that may increase the likelihood of success.

The 40-year history of Chilean arpilleras, commonly referred to as political quilts, is used as a case study to identify four phases of the arpilleras which directly correlate to the creators' lived experience: trauma, survival, healing and recovering, and remembering. The role of oppressors (the Chilean military) and supporters (those who created protected spaces and facilitated movement of the arpilleras) is analyzed in two ways: through their familiar form, which gave the impression that the arpilleras were a safe women's craft; and through their distinctive features, which created openings for the arpilleras to communicate in an international court of public opinion what the oppressors sought to silence. The fifth phase of the arpilleras, continuing circulation, provides an opportunity to examine how the arpilleras are used as models for subversive communication and in healing and reconciliation efforts and how, because of this continuing use, have become forms of exemplary and monumental memory, types of memory that serve to better mankind and inspire other people in similar circumstances.

This close examination of the Chilean arpilleras as visual testimony and communicative art raises questions about the possibilities for usage of testimonial art for other oppressed people and communities and their potential contributions to social justice.

## **From Healing to Hope: The Continuing Influence of the Chilean Arpilleras**

Chilean protest quilts, known as arpilleras, have continued to circulate for nearly 40 years after they were first created by women who, along with their families, were detained, traumatized, and disappeared by the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship. The legacy of the arpilleras and their appropriation by other cultures for resistance and understanding has firmly cemented this unique testimonial art form into international culture. After the 1973 military take-over of the Salvador Allende government, the left behind women, those whose partners and children had been disappeared without a trace by the military and secret police, became primary targets of ongoing terror campaigns. These women chose “la vida” – life – over hiding, desperation, and death. Central to their reclamation of life and agency was participation in arpillera workshops organized under the protection of the Pro Paz Committee and later the Vicaria of Solidarity and the Catholic Church. Because of these protected spaces, the women were able to begin to heal physically and emotionally and to eventually transform themselves into protestors and social justice advocates. The legacy of their artistic endeavors has expanded past geographic and cultural boundaries due to mimesis of the form which has been used as a model for memorializing human rights violations throughout the world. The transcendence of the arpilleras from their initial purpose to become cloth documents and archives of human rights atrocities that occurred during the dictatorship to an artistic art form attests to the relevance of the form to aid in healing, remembering, and documenting.

These patchwork-like textiles<sup>1</sup> and their impact on social justice is the focus of this paper. While sometimes referred to as quilts, women's work, place mats and other familiar yet not accurate names, the premise of this paper is that arpilleras represent a distinct genre of resistance communication that intersects with many familiar art forms. It is the familiarity of the form, not its distinction, that contributed to its initial success in circulating internationally. Yet it is the distinctions that contribute to the communicative success of the arpilleras. In this case, I argue that arpilleras, patchwork crafts that function as cloth documents, do not resemble the AIDS quilt or decorative weaving. Yet they do. It is precisely this dichotomy of *familiar yet distinct* that helps us identify the gap between folk art and testimonial art as a form of resistance. The ability of the arpilleras to positively impact social justice goals will be explored within the framework of familiar yet distinct, with a focus on how the familiar aspects of the work have made arpilleras "safe" and how the distinct elements successfully pushed the arpillera work into the realm of resistance, subversion, and political activism.

Reviewing the 40-year history of the Chilean arpilleras, the context in which they were conceived, created, and circulated, and the circumstances under which they still continue to circulate, impacting truth, reconciliation, understanding, and healing throughout the world, illustrates the transformative power of testimonial art and how it impacts social justice.

### **The use of art as testimony during Chile's time of state terror**

---

<sup>1</sup> The arpilleras not only were appropriated by other women in similar circumstances, the dictatorship enlisted supporters to create pro-government arpilleras in an effort to counter the original testimonial artifacts. Sharon Taylor made several trips to Chile during this time and was taken to the state-run workshops that were set up to sell "official" arpilleras to tourists.

The military invasion of Chile on Sept. 11, 1973, the reported suicide of President Allende, and the immediate onset of disappearances and detentions signaling an onslaught of state terror against its own citizens, surprised people at many different levels. Mark Ensalaco reports that many people went willingly to be questioned by police after hearing their name on the radio, many of whom were never seen again (2000). Many people simply could not fathom that the Chile they knew no longer existed; a new regime was in control and the rules diverged drastically from civil society. Irma Muller, the mother of Jorge Silva, who was disappeared Nov. 29, 1974 along with his fiancée, Carmen Cifuentes<sup>2</sup>, remembers that, the night before they were abducted, Jorge's last film premiered at the elegant Las Condes Theatre to a large audience, including members of the military. When they didn't return by the next day, the family realized that they were missing and calls were made, but they were not too concerned because even if Jorge and Carmen had been picked up for questioning, two of Jorge's uncles were retired carabineros from the Chilean police force and the family was familiar with the local procedures. In addition, another uncle worked in a "high position" at the United Nations. Mueller felt confident that if there was any trouble, her family and position within civil society would grant them civil treatment. But in her testimony she notes, "...how many families there were like me, thinking and believing the same, because never had anything similar happened in Chile" (p. 109). She goes on to document her efforts to find her son at the notorious detention center of Tres Alamos. "...and when it was my turn to enter they would say no he's not here he hasn't been arrested, naturally the camp full of armed carabineros, one had only to come a little closer

---

<sup>2</sup> Testimony included in "Scraps of Life" (Agosin, 1984), given by Silva's mother in April of 1985.

than what was allowed and they would put a gun barrel between your eyes as though ready to fire...” (p. 109).

While many people were desperate to communicate the atrocities overtaking their country, Chile’s isolated status all but assured that getting information across the border would be no easy feat. Access to communicative technology and the traditional forms of the press was extremely low and the harsh military rule made communicating a high risk. A virtual shutdown of the press and clamp down on the citizens’ ability to speak freely indicate that Chile was a closed system, one which neither allowed communication out of or into the country. Despite the efforts of human rights groups and influential religious organizations, the magnitude and swiftness of the military control could not be adequately communicated or understood (Ensalaco, 2000, Cooper, 2001).

Ironically, the only people who had any chance of trying to communicate were those with the least power, the wives and mothers left behind once the military exterminated the men. Pushed aside by society and considered inconsequential by Pinochet’s command, initially the women were able to fly under the radar in their efforts to communicate the human rights violations. Their medium – scraps of cloth in a loose patchwork design - expressed the plight of the people in human terms easily understood and felt through scenes portrayed with fabric, sometimes from the clothing of the dead, in organically quilted scenes that depicted specific examples of abduction, torture and death. The resulting testimony, in the form of arpilleras<sup>3</sup>, was then smuggled out of the country. Throughout the world people bought the arpilleras in solidarity for the plight of the

---

<sup>3</sup> The word arpilleras refers to the sack cloth material that comes from agricultural products and was used, as a found object, as the backing for the small cloth documents.

Chilean people and as a way to help the women earn money to feed their families. Peter Kornbluh notes that these efforts also resulted in conversations about what was happening in Chile with the women creators becoming “artistic ambassadors” in the international push to improve human rights (p. 9)<sup>4</sup>.

During the occupation, international media and human rights organizations attempted to chronicle the events occurring within the country. As Chileans fled the country, autobiographical and biographical accounts began to appear in various media and books. Official testimony appears in the body of two truth commission reports. Despite the enormous amount of evidence and increasing determination of the Chilean people, it would be nearly 18 years before Chile would have its first democratically elected president. In 1989, Chilean President Patricio Aylwin entered into one of the most critical periods in more than 150 years of independence, what Ensalaco calls a time in which the virtue of truth was mixed with the virtue of prudence (2000)<sup>5</sup>. Aylwin was attempting to transition the government from one of ongoing military terror to one of democratic principles with a return of the freedoms that vanished with overthrow of former President Allende in 1973. Within the first three months of the Pinochet dictatorship, nearly 18,000 Chileans were detained, questioned and tortured by their own countrymen (Bacic and Stanley, 2005). Aylwin, as the new president nearly 20 years later, was faced with the dubious task of trying to move a country forward while the military still held considerable power and the courts had proven to be ineffective.

---

<sup>4</sup> As noted in the second edition of *tapestries of hope, threads of love, The Arpillera Movement in Chile* by Marjorie Agosin.

<sup>5</sup> The question raised is whether the new government should have pushed the military to provide information for the truth finding effort in the face of continued military threats. Ensalaco notes that transitional governments are full of risk and asks if sacrificing justice is prudent in these cases (p. 236).

Aylwin's first step was to establish a presidential<sup>6</sup> commission with the task of discovering the "whole" truth about the missing and detained people – which now numbered in the tens of thousands – and to determine the scope of the atrocities.

The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation ultimately was presented with 3,400 death cases and concluded that 94 percent were caused by government agents. A 1,200-page report covered logistics (commission objectives, truth indicators, court evidence, reparation and prevention proposals), the context within which the human rights violations occurred (political, legal and institutional frameworks), war tribunals, court behavior during the military junta, the impact of the violations, and recommendations. Nearly 1,000 pages of the document were dedicated to testimony, analysis, and societal reactions (Report, 2002).

At the end of the process in 1991, President Aylwin announced in a televised broadcast that he was satisfied that the truth of the occurrence of the human rights violations had been established and could not be denied. But the process and results were fraught with controversy especially surrounding the policy of "no naming" that served to placate the volatile military which continued with ominous threats against the country (Aguilar, 2006)<sup>7</sup>. With the establishment of a Corporation for Reparations and Reconciliation, the process continued but the number of cases nearly doubled as more people came forward and efforts were hindered by a strong military presence, the

---

<sup>6</sup> A presidential commission, in contrast to a parliamentary commission, gave Aylwin more flexibility in how the commission was run, the outcome, the form of the report, and oversight (Ensalaco, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> During the investigation process, former president and now armed forces General Augusto Pinochet, in an effort to intimidate the commission, put the military on nationwide alert. "Pinochet's stunt was meant to convey the simple but ominous message that the possibility of military intervention was now part of operational doctrine (Ensalaco, 203).

transitional nature of the country, deliberate perpetrator interference, and stonewalling (Ensalaco, 2000). Indeed, more than 10 years later, a second truth and reconciliation process would commence to attempt to do what the first commission was unable to complete<sup>8</sup>. What, however, was left behind were the official testimonies that family members, friends, witnesses, testimony takers, human rights attorneys, support staff and commission members had labored over in an attempt to put together a comprehensive and accurate picture of those military years. These testimonies often were incomplete and consistently overly concise, many times with a life story reduced to a sentence. The lack of information from perpetrators due to either arrogance or fear of incrimination has been well documented. A Chilean human rights worker sums up the issues of the time: “You must realize that at the time that testimony was taken, the military still had full power. The minimum would be in the report. The name, profession. The military didn’t want to be named. It was an abstract”<sup>9</sup>.

But in contrast to the official testimony, unofficial testimony by survivors lives on in museums, memorial sites, and publications. The arpilleras, functioning as cloth archives that often substantiate specific instances of abductions and disappearances, communicate without the burden of politically correct language. They document atrocities in a way that cannot be contested when the words become compromised due to

---

<sup>8</sup> The Valech Report was released in 2004 and specifically focused on victims of torture whereas the Rettig Report addressed people who had been disappeared. Bacic and Stanley, in their summary article on the Valech Commission, note that there were 1,132 detention centers across Chile that were used as torture centers. Beginning with the coup and continuing until 1990 when Aylwin became president, torture was institutionalized and “preceded most of the executions and ‘disappearances’ of victims” (2005, 1). Proven cases of detention numbered 33,221 but the authors note that many people still did not trust the government and refused to come forward to provide testimony.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Roberta Bacic, 2009.

conflicting objectives for reconciliation that are inconsistent with individual and family needs to recognize and memorialize. Erik Doxstader (2009) indicates that the process of reconciliation creates a time of diminished or transitional truth, a turn from the law to create a space for coming together (19). This “middle voice” cannot emerge until a time of *kairos* when the two opposing sides are finally willing to come together, to share opposition in an effort to find common grounds for working toward working together (20). In contrast to the rhetoric of transitional justice, testimonial arts created during a time of oppression are unique because they communicate truth in a non-threatening form that often facilitates a safe environment for disclosure by both the creator and the audience; yet, the distinct aspect of the truth of testimonial art is that it is never diminished because the images remain as concrete representations of what has happened.

Because of their long history, the arpilleras have evolved through time, circumstance, and usage. The arpilleras and the concept of the arpilleras have been used by many different groups for different purposes. Henry Jenkins notes that Michel de Certeau’s theory of appropriation allows for “competing and contradictory interpretations” of text based on divergent needs and perspectives resulting in multiple, changing meanings that are affected by numerous factors (Jenkins, 1992, p. 32-34). These differences result in fluid meanings that change and shift with time and circumstance. In the case of the arpilleras, it is possible to look at the development of the arpilleras as a continuum and to triangulate this timeline of development with the primary actors and the concept of familiar yet distinct to begin to uncover a rich picture of the relationship between the arpilleras as object and arpilleras as catalyst for social justice. Igor Kopytoff’s discussion of the multi-centric economy is helpful in this examination,

particularly his differentiation between commodities (objects developed for exchange value) and singularities (objects valued outside of exchange values). In his example of the Nigerian Tiv, he identifies three spheres with a moral hierarchy: at the low end are objects produced for the market, at the midpoint are objects involved in social maneuverings such as prestige objects, and at the high end of the moral hierarchy are rights and obligations of kinship, including people, which he calls the intimate domain (Buchli, 2004, p. 218). By applying this type of multi-centric model to the spheres of the arpilleras, the possible interpretations of why and how the arpilleras affected social justice within and outside Chile come forth. Whereas in Kopytoff's example the objects are the focus of the sphere, in the arpillera model the actors or groups become the spheres and their interpretation of the arpilleras as being familiar or distinct within a particular time or phase results in multiple meanings consistent with de Certeau's fluidity of meaning.

The continuum of the arpilleras is characterized by five stages that roughly correlate to the historical events of the Chilean military terror campaign against the populace and the changing emotional state and subjectivity of the women who created the arpilleras (see chart, p. 19). The subjects or groups associated with the arpilleras consist of the arpilleristas or creators, the military junta or oppressors, and the supporters. Of the three groups, the supporters – which include church officials, human rights workers, individuals, and other helping groups - have been primarily responsible for the international prominence of the arpilleras and their continuing circulation. The actors' interpretation of the arpilleras as familiar or distinct impacts the singularity value of the arpilleras. The moral value or scale, as indicated on the following chart, goes from low

to high, with distinctiveness closely aligned with increasing morality, in this case ideals of social equity, the right to earn a living, fair treatment, human rights, freedom of speech, and solidarity.

The first phase of the arpilleras - trauma - began with the government seizure, led by Augusto Pinochet and the four branches of the military in September of 1973.

Detentions and disappearances began immediately and the left behind women were thrown into a life that required them to be breadwinners, heads of household, and investigators – all without prior experience or training. The terror of the time was so acute that their physical bodies were frozen with fear. The arpilleras during this time were experimental, a form of therapy for the women to give them something to do with their hands. Women gathered in church-sponsored groups to share experiences and ideas about how to find their missing relatives. The contributions to social justice were to give the women a safe place where they could express themselves, among others in similar circumstances, and to stitch stories that could not yet be spoken due to the trauma and because of fear of retribution by the military. As creators, the women did not initially attach a great deal of importance to the small crafts. The oppressors ignored the sewing projects, seeing them as harmless women's work. The primary supporters were the church organizations, first the Pro Paz then the Vicaria of Solidarity, and the workshop organizers who saw the small crafts as a way for the women to deal with their emotions.

In the second phase of the arpilleras – survival – the supporters began to set up sales through local craft fairs and realized that they could be sold to provide a small stipend for the women. People began to take arpilleras out of the country, selling them in their own locales, and sending the money back to the workshops in Chile. The creators

began to organize their thoughts and techniques for how to make the arpilleras. The scenes reflected their daily living including specific instances of oppression, torture, and disappearance. These forms of visual testimony made the arpilleras distinct from other types of textiles people were accustomed to seeing. The form of the arpilleras – stories told in old, worn cloth, sometimes from the clothing of the disappeared – made the arpilleras seem familiar yet distinctive because they were so poignant and compelling. The contributions to social justice included giving the women a way to regain their voices, to earn money to support their families, and to begin to gain recognition outside Chile that human rights violations were occurring. The oppressors continued to relegate the small quilts to the realm of harmless crafts.

In the third phase of healing and recovery, the use of the arpilleras began to shift and gain momentum. As the years passed, the arpilleras began to regain their confidence and ability to speak out against the continuing military oppression. The women realized that their arpilleras were distinct and were an important vehicle for them to distribute the details of disappearances to a world audience. Their increasing confidence was evidenced in public group protests within Chile, and messages substantiating human rights violations were embedded within the arpilleras either as part of the visual story or on small scraps of paper tucked into hidden pockets on the arpilleras. In 1980, nearly seven years after the first arpilleras were made, the Pinochet government renounced the arpilleras as subversive in a series of articles in government controlled newspapers, and the arpilleras were banned. Recorded testimony of the women tells of them working on the arpilleras at night, while hiding under blankets with candles. Getting the arpilleras to the workshops was a trip fraught with the fear that they

would be caught and tortured. The level of morality associated with the arpilleras skyrocketed for the creators, oppressors, and supporters. During this period, the increased credibility of the arpilleras served to further the Chilean people's claims of oppression and human rights violations but it would be another nine years before a democratic election would take place. While some scholars contend that the women worked within their traditional roles, Jean Franco argues that the women "substantially altered tradition by casting themselves a new kind of citizen and appealing beyond the state to international organizations" (Franco, 1999, p. 50).

Remembering, as the fourth phase of the arpilleras, also encompasses the commitment of the women to continue seeking the truth. Franco notes that not only did family members die, the public sphere died as well (52). The memorializing evident in the arpilleras was for missing bodies and missing cultural and social traditions. The arpilleras functioned as circulating memorials of the disappeared, symbolically reinforced beliefs such as faith in the church and the strength of community, and also identified social issues that needed to be addressed and corrected. The women used the familiarity of private life as the backdrop for their woven scenes and made it distinctive by contrasting it with visuals of the military in direct opposition to their rhetoric of the state acting as protectors of the people. The women took pride in the realization that their arpilleras were in foreign countries that they would never visit and were encouraged that others found them of value. The distinction of the arpilleras increased among oppressors as they realized merely banning the arpilleras was not going to eliminate the threat. The form of the arpilleras was appropriated to visually express pro-government messages and these forgeries were passed as legitimate arpilleras. Government-run arpillera workshops

featured arpilleras with themes of happiness and prosperity which were sold to tourists. Supporters continued to smuggle the subversive textiles out of the country and they continued to gain value as archives of a time when written and spoken language was suppressed.

The continuing circulation of the arpilleras is the 5<sup>th</sup> phase of the arpilleras and continues today, nearly 40 years since they were first fashioned of scraps and attached to recycled hessian sacks from beans and flour. The arpillera's legacy lives on in what is now a distinct art form that is used as a model for subversive communication and healing in other countries such as Peru and Northern Ireland. Although the original oppressors are no longer in official positions of power, the oppression lives on for many people because of the lack of justice in prosecuting those responsible for the deaths and torture. However, in the new memorial museum opened in Santiago in January of 2010, arpilleras are featured as a familiar component of the people's effort to communicate with the world outside Chile.

The interplay of these three spheres of creator, oppressor and support creates an environment in which social justice can begin, exist, and potentially grow outside the boundaries of an oppressed society. Arjun Appadurai's writings on the production of locality is relevant to environment because the ongoing recreation of the arpillera can be seen as a ritualistic manifestation of the missing bodies and as an effort to visually and symbolically keep their communities alive despite the military efforts to control and suppress even the most basic needs. The resulting ethnoscape is important, says Appadurai, because it informs us on the "relationship between local and global realities" and leads to discourse within a spatiotemporal neighborhood (Appadurai, 1996, p. 185).

The international circulation of the arpilleras creates and global neighborhoods which facilitate their continuing circulation and appropriation.

Importantly, the arpilleras have inspired other subversive efforts and communicative art projects throughout the world. Among the best known arpillera-inspired projects are those made by the Kuyanaky, a collective of displaced Andean women in Peru. The women lost their homes and community during the civil war of 1980 to 2000, but by working together, they were able to make individual and collective arpilleras that showed the devastation of the war and contrasted the past with the present. The largest of these Peruvian arpilleras was presented to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru in 2002, was publicly displayed at court proceedings, and was featured during in 2008 at the Art of Survival exhibit at the International Quilt show, in Derry, Northern Ireland. During this same time period, the community of Derry was commemorating the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Good Friday agreement that brought about peace after the many years of the “troubles”. The Irish women produced arpilleras in remembrance of the more than 3,000 people who were killed during those times. The Irish quilts, like the Chilean ones before them, facilitated group conversation, healing and remembrance. Human rights workers have hosted numerous arpilleras exhibits and talks within the last few years in places as far-flung as Russia, England, the United States, Spain, and the Chilean government has embraced arpilleras as “ambassadors” for their 2010 biennial celebrations worldwide<sup>10</sup>.

But the arpilleras have also been embraced on a micro scale. Among teachers internationally, arpilleras are used as tools for learning about human rights atrocities.

---

<sup>10</sup> Roberta Bacic, an international human rights advocate, has spearheaded many of these efforts.

Facing History, an international pedagogical effort with more than 126,000 members, has a multi-part curriculum on their web site titled: Stitching Truth. In the U.S., arpilleras are used by many teachers for many subjects. In 2009, a teacher from Decatur, Ga., for example, received a mini-grant for an elementary school arpillera project that featured the solar system. The arpilleras, as when they were first created, continue to speak to many people on many levels.

### **Contributions of the Arpilleras to Social Justice**

The question of how arpilleras positively impacted social justice among the women left behind, in their communities, country and beyond has been explored through the lens of multi-centric actors who appropriate the arpilleras for different uses at different times. The attributes of distinctiveness, familiarity and moral scale further our understanding of why the arpilleras garnered attention and success in communicating human rights violations and promoting solidarity. Some of the contributions to social justice include:

- Creating a “safe” form of communication to voice what had been silenced
- Opening an opportunity for marginalized women to tell their stories and to gain strength in their resolve to survive and to resist the hegemony of the military repression
- Documenting human rights atrocities
- Giving notice to the military junta that the people would not be subdued by terror
- Serving as an example of how marginalized can speak when written and spoken words are silenced.

Circulation of the arpilleras extends the idea of the justice cascade (groups of international activists who work in tandem to bear pressure upon government to eliminate human rights abuses (Lutz and Sikkink, 2001) to activities during times of oppression and pre-transitional environments through the organization of supporter groups who make possible the selling and circulating of arpilleras. It also sets the stage for the time of kairos, as described by Eric Doxstader (2009) by facilitating group formation around a common theme that leads to individual and collective agency which is a necessary precursor to the time when people are ready to come to the table together and seek ways to reconcile. The need to tell the stories, not ignore the truth, document and preserve history, be a catalyst for grieving and healing – all these very real needs have been shown to occur through the creation of arpilleras and illustrates that the resilience of oppressed people speaks to the power of the human spirit.

### **Possibilities for the future of testimonial art**

Since the 1970s, instances of widespread societal terror and extermination, often through internal wars that tear apart the very fabric of a society, have appeared to be on the rise. Studying the processes through which the oppressed people are able to export testimony through forms of communicative art may illuminate techniques that, in conjunction with this case study of the Chilean arpilleras, can serve as an inspiration for other communities in other times.

PHOTO: Women protesting at Villa Grimaldi, one of the most notorious detention and torture centers in Santiago, Chile. 1989. Presented to Gayla Jamison during the filming of her documentary, *Scraps of Life*, based on the book of the same name by Marjorie Agosin. Photo by T. Randahl Morris, 2009.



	CREATOR	OPPRESSOR	SUPPORTER	MORAL SCALE
TRAUMA	Familiar form, therapeutic craft	Familiar, women's work	Distinct, income potential	Low
SURVIVAL	Familiar, potential income	Familiar, largely ignored	Distinct, support for solidarity	Increasing
HEALING & RECOVERY	Distinct, subversive communication	Distinct, appropriated for state messages	Distinct, cloth documentation of human rights abuses	High
REMEMBERING	Distinct, Circulating Memorials	Familiar, threat neutralized	Distinct, status as archives of period when spoken and written language forbidden	High
CONTINUING CIRUCLATION	Distinct, model for subversive communication	Distinct, used in museums and public commemorations	Distinct, status as worldwide art form of resistance	High

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agosin, Marjorie. 1987. *Scraps of Life, Chilean Arpilleras*. Trenton: Red Sea Press.
- . 2008. *Tapestries of Hope, Threads of Love. The Arpillera Movement in Chile*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
- Anthonissen, Christine, and Jan Blommaert. 2007. *Discourse and Human Rights Violations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bacic, Roberta. 2002. "Dealing with the Past: Chile Human Rights and Human Wrongs." *Race & Class: A Journal for Black and Third World Liberation* 44 (1):17-31.
- . 2003. "A brief testimony about the Chilean Churches' commitment to human rights during Pinochet's dictatorship." *Committee for Conflict Transformation and Support Review* 21.
- Baldez, Lisa. 2002. *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barry, Brian. 2005. *Why Social Justice Matters*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bevernage, Berber. 2010. "Writing the Past Out of the Present: History and the Politics of Time in Transitional Justice." *History Workshop Journal* 69: 111-131.
- Call, Charles. 2004. "Is Transitional Justice Really Just?" *Journal of World Affairs* XI (1):101-113.
- Certeau, Michel de. 1988. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chilean National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. 1991. "Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (Rettig Report)." *United States Institute of Peace Truth Commission Digital Collection*. Accessed Jan. 12, 2008. [www.usip.org/library/truth.html/#chile](http://www.usip.org/library/truth.html/#chile)
- Doxtader, Erik. 2009. *With Faith in The Works of Words: The Beginnings Of Reconciliation in South Africa, 1985-1995*. East Lansing; Cape Town [South Africa]: Michigan State University Press; David Philip Publishers.
- Elkins, James. 2003. *Visual Studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Ensalaco, Mark. 2000. *Chile under Pinochet: Recovering the Truth*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fletcher, Laurel, Harvey Weinstein, and Jamie Rowen. 2009. "Context, Timing and the Dynamics of Transitional Justice: A Historical Perspective." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31: 163-220.
- Franco, Jean. 1999. "Gender, Death and Resistance: Facing the Ethical Vacuum." In *Critical Passions, Selected Essays*, 18-38. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hayner, Pricilla. B. 1994. "Fifteen Truth Commissions--1974 to 1994: A Comparative Study." *Human Rights Quarterly*, 16 (4): 597-655.
- . 2011. *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. New York: Routledge.
- Hill, Charles. 2003. "The Psychology of Rhetorical Images." In *Defining Visual Rhetoric*, edited by Charles Hill and Marguerite Helmers, 25-40. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Jamison, Gayla. 1991. *Scraps of Life*. Film. Lightfoot Films.
- Johnston, Hanks, and John Noakes. 2005. *Frames of Protest: Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, pp. 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Lerche, Charles. 2000. "Truth Commissions and National Reconciliation: Some Reflections on Theory and Practice." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 7 (1): 1-20.
- Macleán, Iain. 2006. *Reconciliation, Nations and Churches in Latin America*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Minow, Martha. 1998. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Peters, Julie. S. 2005. "Literature, the Rights of Man, and Narratives of Atrocity: Historical Backgrounds to the Culture of Testimony." *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 17: 253.
- Polletta. 2006. *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 2004. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Roht-Arriaza, Naomi. 2005. *The Pinochet Effect. Transnational Justice in the Age of Human Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Schaffer, Kay, and Sidonie Smith. 2004. *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition*. New York: Palgrave.
- Schirch, L. 2005. *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

- Sepulveda, Emma, ed. 1996. *We, Chile: Personal Testimonies of the Chilean Arpilleristas*. Translated by Bridget Morgan. Falls Church, Virginia: Azul Editions.
- Stone-Mediatore, Shari. 2003. *Reading Across Borders: Storytelling and Knowledges of Resistance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Warner, Michael. 2005. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books.