

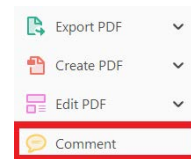
USING e-ANNOTATION TOOLS FOR ELECTRONIC PROOF CORRECTION

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Once you have Acrobat Reader open on your computer, click on the **Comment** tab (right-hand panel or under the Tools menu).


This will open up a ribbon panel at the top of the document. Using a tool will place a comment in the right-hand panel. The tools you will use for annotating your proof are shown below:



1. Replace (Ins) Tool – for replacing text.

 Strikes a line through text and opens up a text box where replacement text can be entered.


How to use it:

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on .
- Type the replacement text into the blue box that appears.


... of nutritional conditions, and landmark events are monitored in populations of relatively homogeneous single n of *Saccharomyces*, and is initiated after carbon source [1]. Si are referred to as mei n of meiosis-specific g *revisiae* depends on th inducer of meiosis) [2 I functions as a repre repression, the genes *pression*) and *RGR1* at ase II mediator subur osome density [8]. *SIM* irectly or indirectly re

jstaddon Reply X
05/05/2017 15:32 Post

2. Strikethrough (Del) Tool – for deleting text.

 Strikes a red line through text that is to be deleted.



How to use it:

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on .
- The text will be struck out in red.



... experimental data if available. For ORFs to be had to meet all of the following criteria:


1. Small size (35–250 amino acids).
2. Absence of similarity to known proteins.
3. Absence of functional data which could n the real overlapping gene.
4. Greater than 25% overlap at the N-termin terminus with another coding feature; ove both ends; or ORF containing a tRNA.

3. Commenting Tool – for highlighting a section to be changed to bold or italic or for general comments.

  Use these 2 tools to highlight the text where a comment is then made.


How to use it:

- Click on .
- Click and drag over the text you need to highlight for the comment you will add.
- Click on .
- Click close to the text you just highlighted.
- Type any instructions regarding the text to be altered into the box that appears.


... nformal invariance:  r A: Math. Gen., Vol. 12 N
... lified theory for a matri 'ol. 8, 1984, pp. 305–323
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This needs to be bold
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4. Insert Tool – for inserting missing text at specific points in the text.

 Marks an insertion point in the text and opens up a text box where comments can be entered.

How to use it:


- Click on .
- Click at the point in the proof where the comment should be inserted.
- Type the comment into the box that appears.

... Meiosis has a central role in the sexual reproduction of nearly all eukaryotes. *Saccharom* analysis of meiosis, esp by a simple change of n conveniently monitored cells. Sporulation of *Sae* cell, the a/α cell, and is of a fermentable carbon sporulation and are refe [2b]. Transcription of meiosis, in *S. cerevisiae* activator, *IME1* (inducer of the gene *RME1* funct Rme1p to exert repressi of *GAL1* gene expression) and *RGR1* are required [1, 2, 3, 4]. These ge


jstaddon Reply X
Yeast.
05/05/2017 15:57 Post

USING e-ANNOTATION TOOLS FOR ELECTRONIC PROOF CORRECTION

5. Attach File Tool – for inserting large amounts of text or replacement figures.

 Inserts an icon linking to the attached file in the appropriate place in the text.


How to use it:

- Click on .
- Click on the proof to where you'd like the attached file to be linked.
- Select the file to be attached from your computer or network.
- Select the colour and type of icon that will appear in the proof. Click OK.


The attachment appears in the right-hand panel.

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6. Add stamp Tool – for approving a proof if no corrections are required.

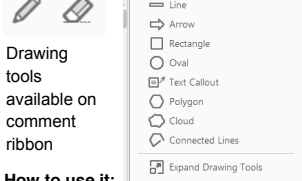
 Inserts a selected stamp onto an appropriate place in the proof.

How to use it:

- Click on .
- Select the stamp you want to use. (The **Approved** stamp is usually available directly in the menu that appears. Others are shown under *Dynamic*, *Sign Here*, *Standard Business*).
- Fill in any details and then click on the proof where you'd like the stamp to appear. (Where a proof is to be approved as it is, this would normally be on the first page).

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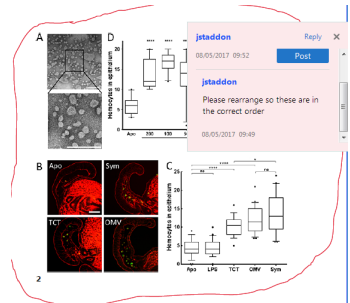


How to use it:

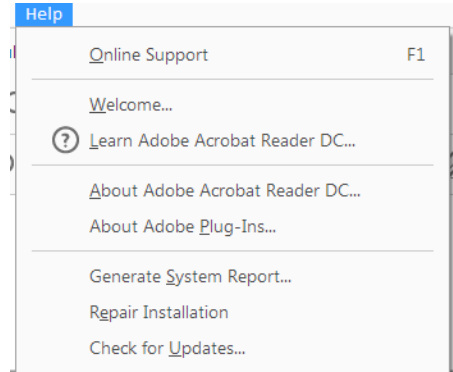
- Click on one of the shapes in the **Drawing Markups** section.
- Click on the proof at the relevant point and draw the selected shape with the cursor.
- To add a comment to the drawn shape, right-click on shape and select *Open Pop-up Note*.
- Type any text in the red box that appears.

7. Drawing Markups Tools – for drawing shapes, lines, and freeform annotations on proofs and commenting on these marks.

Allows shapes, lines, and freeform annotations to be drawn on proofs and for comments to be made on these marks.



For further information on how to annotate proofs, click on the **Help** menu to reveal a list of further options:



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5	AUTHOR: Please cite in the text or delete from the ref. list: Berkowitz 2010	

	
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Manuscript No.	12487
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VICTORIA GODDARD

Discomforting ethnography and contentious biographies: the case of Argentina

This article explores the entanglements of emotion and thought that are a pre-condition to personal and professional engagements with place, particularly where temporal and spatial dislocations produce unexpected gaps and connections between the ethnographer and her or his research subjects. Personal memory and experience provide an awkward but necessary guide when exploring Argentina's history of violence and its connection to different kinds of survival and recognition that shape the interactions between different political and generational cohorts. I explore the contradictory ways in which memory and politics may contribute to defining and redefining historical subjects by focusing on the example of a victim of violence who does not fit easily within the commemorative and politicised delineations of what is considered to be a 'lost' and, sometimes, a heroic generation. Through this exploration, the article aims to reconnect the personal and the political through a dialogue between ethnographic and biographical encounters as discussed in the Introduction to this collection.

Key words memory, gender, politics, violence, Arendt

Introduction

In this article, I explore some aspects of the connections between biographies and ethnographic projects. Such projects can generate a range of different kinds of intimacies, and over time our biographies may be shaped by our encounters in the field as much as they may influence the particular trajectories of our ethnographic projects. There may be a mutual witnessing of lives, we may share in joys and sorrows, be there for the birth of children, the loss of parents, share the process of growing older, and reflect on the adventures and misadventures of the younger generation. At other times, there may be dissonances arising between the experiences encompassed in our biographical views of ourselves and of the field we attempt to explore ethnographically. Either way, it is useful to be thoughtful about the biographical and to pay attention to what a biographical sensitivity may bring to our notice and purpose as researchers.

Biography and autobiography have been considered useful methods by a number of anthropologists to elicit process, understand connections over time and space, and acknowledge the overlaps and tensions between individual and collective memories. Biography is likely to highlight the fragility of our boundaries, especially between private and public, the intimate and the political and the ways in which lives cut across our conceptual and ideological categories. Biography, and perhaps in particular autobiography, can also highlight the unstable and contingent qualities of the remembered past and how what we know, recall and understand may shock, surprise and disturb our sense of the world and how we relate to it.

Biographical projects raise questions about subjectivity and memory, and about the relationship of individuals to the social contexts in which their – our – lives unfold.

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1 Given my own biography, this article reflects on questions of gender and generation,
2 and their multiple entanglements with histories of kinship and state. These unfold
3 through disruptions and continuities that are tangible in the tensions and convergence
4 in experiences that cut across, or are located in-between, the public and the private
5 (Feuchtwang 2007). The tensions and connections that relate to my own story of
6 growing up in Argentina and leaving the country as a young adult have shaped my
7 understanding of many fundamental aspects of Argentine society and history, present-
8 ing possibilities and challenges for an ethnographic project in the Argentine context.
9 The conditions and qualities of belonging appear to be at the heart of the possibilities
10 and challenges of such a project, placing the issue of memory and remembrance, as an
11 expression of and an exercise in caring (Lambek 2007), as an appropriate moral and
12 political starting point. Biographical entanglements may inform the direction of
13 research, and add depth and intensity to the emotional, ethical and political challenges
14 associated with the field.¹

15 The emphasis placed in this article on gender and generations corresponds with
16 the lives and priorities of my research subjects, the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, but
17 also draws on my personal trajectory and my connection to the time and the place that
18 provide the horizon for their long-term struggle: Argentine politics and society since
19 the 1970s and the Mothers' demands on behalf of relatives who disappeared during the
20 military-civilian dictatorship of 1976–1983. Here, I draw on different stories and put
21 together fragments of stories told and retold, as partial memories and traces, highlight-
22 ing the ongoing challenge of incompleteness of understanding and the revelations and
23 surprises encountered as the distances of time and space work their way through what
24 becomes available to be seen or grasped. While presenting the case for incompleteness
25 in the ethnographic project, I will also explore how the 'passions' elicited by acts of
26 violence can shape such a project in unexpected ways. Furthermore, while biographical
27 entanglements might well create conditions for proximity and identification, they can
28 also elicit an awareness of incompleteness and incommensurability of experience that
29 can undermine the possibilities of articulating an authorial voice.

30 Empathy, and the capacity to put oneself in another's place, are important elements
31 when forging a political imagination and pursuing ethical ethnographic practice. But
32 what might be the role of other sentiments, some of them deeply felt and perhaps
33 also disturbing. How might the sphere of private experience inform the process of
34 contributing to a public debate and project? Two examples illustrate the shifting bases
35 of memory and experience, the possibilities and limits of sentiments, and the contin-
36 uous folding in and unfolding of public and private, individual and collective, which
37

38
39 1 I was born in Argentina, where I lived until I left the country in the early 1970s. This meant that I
40 experienced the events taking place there prior to and following the 1976 coup from the distance
41 afforded by living in Europe. The tension between proximity and distance resonates with Skultans'
42 experience of fieldwork in Latvia and the process of writing up her research, with an important dif-
43 ference being that she left Latvia as a small baby, fleeing the Soviet invasion. This difference informs
44 the detail and the shape of what might be accepted as an 'assumption of a common destiny' (Skultans
1997: 1) with my own interlocutors.

45 From Italy and the United Kingdom, I followed the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo who, with very
46 few exceptions (such as the *Buenos Aires Herald* under the editorship of Robert Cox) were ignored
47 or maligned by the Argentine press. On family visits to Buenos Aires, I joined the Mothers' 'rondas'
48 (slow, circular walking around the obelisk at the centre of Plaza de Mayo) and marches and only
decided to approach the movement from an academic perspective in the late 1990s.

we strive to account for in our analyses. A quote from a politician (of my generation) encapsulates many of these issues, as they arise in the examples discussed below.

Como a los Nazis les va a pasar ... As happened with the Nazis ... [wherever they go, we will seek them out], we have sung, on so many marches, demonstrations, *escraches*,² road-blocks,³ over the years and across the country. We have sung it on the 24th March [anniversary of the 1976 coup] everywhere, from Congress to the Plaza de Mayo, in the *escraches* to the genocidal criminals, on the anniversary of the Night of the Pencils, in the demonstrations commemorating the Blackouts of Ledesma or in the last march in Santiago [del Estero]. Because the torturer Musa Azar, denounced for the crime against Leyla and Patricia in Santiago del Estero, is a genocidal criminal from the last military dictatorship [...]. This slogan, sung to a catchy and cheerful tune, which was invented by the children [of the disappeared], is a warning to the state terrorists [...] In the name of our comrades. And of the 30,000 [disappeared]. (<http://argentina.indymedia.org/news>)

These words, which draw on a slogan that is ubiquitous in human rights demonstrations in Argentina, belong to Patricia Walsh, one-time senator and daughter of the writer and journalist Rodolfo Walsh.⁴ In her statement, Patricia Walsh refers to the numerous commemorative interventions that relate to the campaign of state-sponsored violence and repression perpetrated by the 1976–1983 dictatorship. Woven into her summoning of acts of memorialisation for the victims of state violence during Argentina’s ‘dirty war’ is the remembering of a more recent case of murder in which representatives of the state were implicated. In the province of Santiago del Estero, the ex-head of intelligence of the provincial government was convicted of crimes relating to the disappearance, torture and murder of two young women. By naming the two women – Leyla Nazar and Patricia Villalba – in this context, Walsh connects the perpetrators of state terror during the military regime and the apparently unlimited power of economic and political elites in a post-military, democratic era. Walsh enunciates the recognition of these victims by connecting them to the 30,000 people who disappeared during the ‘dirty war’, and locating them within a wider history of fascism and state violence in the 20th century. At the same time, she highlights the enduring efforts of citizens to come together to devise ways of expressing collective remembrance and protest.

The contradictory relationship between memorialisation and historical amnesia has been highlighted in many theories and, at least in part, has been attributed

2 *Escraches* are forms of popular protest first implemented by the H.I.J.O.S. or the Children of the Disappeared in their campaigns to make public the whereabouts – and normal everyday to-ings and fro-ings – of known perpetrators of state violence during the military dictatorship of 1976–1983. They combine graffiti, songs, placards and posters to draw attention to the perpetrators’ presence in a particular neighbourhood. It is now used more widely; for example, in Spain the movement of mortgage debtors (Plataforma de los Afectados por las Hipotecas; PAH) uses *escraches* as a form of protest against evictions and to extend awareness of the plight of those at risk of losing their homes.

3 The road block was used as a strategy of protest by the Piquetero movement, a movement formed by unemployed workers and their families in the wake of the large-scale job losses that followed the wave of privatisations and neoliberal reforms in the 1990s.

4 On the eve of his disappearance in 1977, Rodolfo Walsh made public his *Open Letter to the Junta*, accusing the Argentine military government of planning and conducting a systematic campaign to crush all forms of opposition. This was aimed at preparing the ground for a radical new economic model which, as he predicted, would lead to widespread destitution and hardship.

1 to the difficulties inherent in bringing about successful transmission of memory
2 and value across the generations or, to highlight the specificity of the present con-
3 text, of uncertainty and instability, which reflects the impossibility of making past
4 experience relevant to the present in the contemporary world (Nora 1989; Le Goff
5 1992 [1977]; Connerton 2009; Hobsbawm 1995). This impossibility is related to
6 the instability of place and to the growing distance that separates everyday life
7 and place, and the detachment between meaning and locality. For Connerton,
8 this detachment relates to the realm of experience, or to what he refers to as the
9 'human-scale-ness of life' (2009: 5). And, following Lukacs, he points out that
10 amnesia is integral to the survival and reproduction of the edifice of capitalist
11 production (Connerton 2009). The challenge is, then, to sense or understand what
12 we must retain and remember as well as finding ways through which we might
13 achieve this. Memorials and monuments may conceal more than they reveal in
14 prompting and amplifying our memory of an event; memorialisation glosses over
15 the event and elicits a process of forgetting by suggesting a misleading degree of
16 closure (Argenti and Schramm 2010). For our purposes, memory is best under-
17 stood as experiential and open-ended, contested and contextual (Connerton 2009)
18 and above all, subject to human agency; as Argenti and Schramm (2010) remind
19 us, remembering – and especially the collective remembrance of violence – is a
20 political act. The examples discussed below reflect the politics of memory, which
21 provides the context in which the relationship between narrative and action are
22 explored, as they come together in the telling of stories that link us to the world
23 (Arendt 1998 [1958]; Jackson 2013).

24 25 26 **The 'forgotten' Norma Mirta Penjerek**

27
28 On a quiet day in May 1962, the city of Buenos Aires was paralysed by a strike
29 called by the CGT, the General Trade Union, in protest at the conservative govern-
30 ment's austerity policies. The elected government of Arturo Frondizi had been cut
31 short by a military coup in March, and the mood of instability and discontent was
32 palpable. On that day, the anger of workers brought the city to a halt and many resi-
33 dents decided to stay home. In a middle-class suburb of Buenos Aires, a 16-year-old
34 schoolgirl disappeared on her way home from her English language class just 15
35 blocks away. On 16 July, the press reported that the body of a woman had been
36 found in an abandoned field in a remote corner of the province. Reports suggest that
37 the body recovered from the field in Llavallol did not match the description of the
38 young girl who had disappeared all those weeks ago. The reports from that period
39 also suggest that the investigation was a shambles and that crucial clues were lost
40 from the site where the body was found, errors that were compounded by further
41 procedural irregularities. The identification of the body was difficult and the evi-
42 dence was contradictory. Nevertheless, the woman found in Llavallol was formally
43 identified as Norma Mirta Penjerek and buried in the Jewish cemetery of La Tablada
44 on the outskirts of Buenos Aires.

45 At the time of Penjerek's disappearance, different stories about her abduction circu-
46 lated, not least among young girls. Her story had a resonance and salience that eluded
47 those of many other young women who had disappeared, many of them migrants who
48 travelled to the city in search of a better life. Although fears relating to the 'white slave

trade' (*la trata de blancas*)⁵ have a long history in Argentina and are a stubborn presence in the country's imaginary, the rumours relating to Norma Penjerek stand out: they referred to evidence of orgies where powerful men indulged their every whim and fantasy at the expense of poor and vulnerable women; they commented on evidence of bizarre practices such as vampirism, and provoked a heightened sense of danger. Such stories covertly spoke about the excesses of power, about the capacity of elites to exercise unbridled power, a power that was expressed through lust and control over the bodies of others, revealing the vulnerability of the humble and the ordinary as well as the violence perpetrated by men on women and the ultimate fragility of young women's lives.⁶ Such stories suggested that safety was only to be found in the home as the city streets posed enormous risks, even to those merely going about their everyday lives. The extraordinary could occur to the ordinary, in an ordinary place and on an ordinary day.

While these various rumours offered an implicit critique of hierarchy and power, of gender relations and class inequalities, and seemed to challenge the moral legitimacy of the political elite, Manzano (2014) has argued that it was precisely the elite that promoted these stories and encouraged their circulation, aiming to curtail the wave of change and experimentation that was sweeping through Argentine society, particularly among the young, during the 1960s. These changes affected the private and the public sphere, proposing new attitudes regarding sexuality, gender identity and personal relationships, as the 'old ways' came under scrutiny and alternatives were explored. They seemed to augur radical change and a future (Cosse *et al.* 2010), in which the very existence of the patriarchal family was uncertain. Enthusiasm for change might be checked by the fears and anxieties that the 'Penjerek case' could elicit among the young and their families. Moral panics were widespread throughout 1963 and were linked to measures such as policing public behaviour, raiding night-clubs, rounding up school truants and generally curtailing the freedom of the young. The tragic death of a quiet girl from a respectable family served as an example that justified the disciplining of the young – and young women in particular – and highlighted the safety of home, and putting things and people back in their rightful place. Such anxieties about young bodies, and the drive to control them, converged with broader concerns as Cold War rhetoric explicitly connected declining morals, corruption and heightened political activity with a landscape of danger that was articulated through anti-communist and nationalist ideologies.

The 'Penjerek case' became entangled with the social and political concerns of her time and became a footnote to wider and even more complex landscapes arising from the recent history of European Jews. While looking through the archives of the National Library in Buenos Aires in 2011, I was struck by the juxtaposition of two news items in one of the main national newspapers. Penjerek's disappearance had coincided with the execution of Adolf Eichmann on 31 May 1962. Eichmann, accused of coordinating the deportations of victims of Nazi power in Europe between 1942 and 1944, had found his way to exile and a new life in Argentina in the

5 See Donna Guy's excellent study of migration and the anxieties generated by prostitution and 'white slavery' in late 19th and early 20th century Argentina (Guy 1991).

6 I follow Stewart and Strathern's observation that rumours and gossip are forms of power and 'tend to form networks of communication in which fears and uncertainties emerge and challenges to existing power structures can be covertly suppressed' (2004: x–xi).

1 early 1950s. In May 1960, he was abducted and smuggled out of the country to face
2 trial in Israel.⁷

3 The juxtaposition of the news items on Norma Mirta Penjerek and Eichmann's
4 execution, and the coincidence of these events gave credence to a theory that explained
5 Penjerek's murder as a fallout of the Eichmann case. Her Jewish identity made her a
6 target for retaliation in response to Eichmann's execution. A closer look at the archives
7 showed that there had been a significant rise in violent crimes against Jewish individuals,
8 institutions such as schools, businesses and neighbourhoods from around the time of
9 Eichmann's arrest and until after his trial. In 1962, 19-year-old Graciela Sirota was kid-
10 napped by a filo-Nazi group, beaten, tortured and a swastika burnt into her skin.⁸ She
11 may have been targeted simply because she was Jewish, but another version suggests she
12 was carefully chosen because her father owned the flat where Eichmann was kept cap-
13 tive until he was smuggled out of Buenos Aires (Goñi 2002). Young people were partic-
14 ularly vulnerable to attack, and rumours circulated about the presence in schools and
15 neighbourhoods of neo-fascist groups that were purportedly linked to Eichmann and
16 his family, but recruited among young Argentine men, many of them from elite families.
17 For their part, Jewish youths responded by organising to defend themselves. But young
18 girls felt they were likely victims of aggression, alongside those who had left-wing
19 sympathies, who defied conventions or were, quite simply, different.⁹

20
21 7 Recent research raises questions about a number of aspects to this story. In his study of Argentine
22 Peronism, Raanan Rein questions the widely-held views regarding Argentina's self-appointed role as
23 a haven for Nazi collaborators. Instead, he points out that Argentina is comparable to other countries
24 that, following the end of the Second World War, were intent on recruiting German scientists (see
25 Brodersen 2015). He argues that Perón, and later President Frondizi, were very supportive of the state
26 of Israel. Perón tried to win the support of the Argentine Jewish community, for example by establish-
27 ing the pro-Peronist *Organización Israelita Argentina*. Gradually, relations between the community
28 and the government improved and he argues that especially during the brief Frondizi government,
29 Argentine Jews enjoyed security and prosperity until Eichmann's capture in 1960 triggered anti-Semitic
30 terror campaigns (Rein 2001).

31 Gaby Weber (2013) challenges the story of Mossad's discovery of Eichmann's whereabouts in
32 Buenos Aires and his subsequent kidnapping by Israeli agents, suggesting that a far broader alliance
33 of forces was involved. She too points to the state of flux that characterised alliances between differ-
34 ent powers in the immediate post-war era, and in particular points to the good relations that existed
35 between the governments of Adenauer in West Germany and Ben Gurion in Israel. She suggests that
36 a combination of economic and political interests were at stake, notably in relation to the politics of
37 nuclear power, where the possibility of nuclear disarmament was raised by Khrushchev at the Paris
38 Conference of May 1960.

39 8 Graciela Sirota was attacked on 21 June 1962; on 28 June, the Jewish community called a strike
40 which closed Jewish businesses across the country. They were widely supported by trade unions,
41 artists and intellectuals (see Rein 2001).

42 9 It was mainly from my (female) Jewish school-friends that I learned about the climate of fear in
43 which they lived, the insults and the threats they were subjected to, and how they sought safety in
44 numbers. Although the Argentine right has a historical trajectory that is independent of the fallout
45 from the collapse of the National Socialist regime, there were ideological and personal connections
46 between the European and the local movements. At least one of Eichmann's children, Horst Adolf
47 Eichmann, was known to belong to Tacuara, a fascist group that carried out acts of intimidation and
48 violence against left-wing and Jewish individuals and institutions after Eichmann's kidnap and trial
(see Brannan 1965). Many of the young men in the pro-Nazi groups filled the ranks of the Argentine
Anticommunist Alliance that conducted a campaign of terror, which prepared the ground for one
of the most brutal of a long series of military regimes. Nazi sympathies and anti-Semitism were a
prominent feature of Argentine camps and permeated the campaigns of abduction, torture and death
of the military regime between 1976 and 1983.

The silence and forgetting regarding Penjerek has shifted of late. The outstanding questions pertaining to her disappearance have recently attracted public interest. While a book published in 2007 raised awareness of her case (Domina 2007), the internet has become the site where comments and stories proliferate, largely repeating earlier accounts of her disappearance, adding little new, nevertheless providing a kind of coherence to what had been loosely threaded rumours and conjectures. Other stories are proposed and possible endings are envisaged, such as the possible involvement of Norma Penjerek's family in Eichmann's identification and capture. For example, one suggestion is that in order to avoid the inevitable retaliation that would follow Eichmann's trial and execution, she was spirited out of Argentina to live out her life on an Israeli kibbutz. Some contributors to the online discussion express concerns about the ultimate unknowability of her fate; others worry who might be buried in the Tablada cemetery. If it is not her body resting there, who lies in Norma Penjerek's tomb? And if it is not hers, what further wrongdoing, what other immoral tampering and what improper burial might be encoded in the mysteries surrounding her story?

Grace, my neighbour in West London, happened to go to the same school as Norma Penjerek: the Liceo Nacional de Señoritas No. 12 Fray Mamerto Esquiú. This coincidence was brought to my attention when I mentioned in passing that I was interested in Penjerek's story. Grace still remembers that time vividly, 'as if it was yesterday'. She recalls going to school as usual and finding that one of her fellow pupils had disappeared. Grace recalls the profound disquiet of the students; she too was deeply affected and felt compelled to do something. She attempted to rally her fellow students, to demonstrate their repudiation of this act of violence against a young girl. But the plan was cut short when she was summoned by the headmistress, who reprimanded her and called in her father, presumably with a view to gaining his support. She recalls fondly that her father 'elegantly' showed his understanding and support for his daughter and refused to endorse the school's reaction. Grace recalls the turmoil that swept through so many of the capital's secondary schools at the time. Nevertheless, the authorities at her school had also made it very clear that the kind of public action she had proposed was quite unacceptable.¹⁰ Although there was a great deal of solidarity and show of support by trade unions, parties of the left and other groups towards the victims of anti-Semitic attacks, there seems to be little evidence of a campaign in the name of Norma Penjerek.¹¹

Although Norma Penjerek remains a vivid and compelling memory of my childhood and that of others, it became clear through many informal conversations that she was not remembered widely. A modest survey based on a random sample of adult

¹⁰ Secondary schools, especially in the capital, were subject to violent attacks and were also sites of struggle and protest. Tacuara found supporters in some of the most well-known and prestigious schools in the capital, such as the Nacional Buenos Aires and the Nacional Sarmiento. One of the worst cases of violence took place in the Sarmiento on 17 August 1960, when students who were members of Tacuara attacked their Jewish fellow students. In the attack, Edgardo Trilnik, 15 years old, was killed (see Kiernan 2005). Currently, the Sarmiento secondary school is involved in developing an archive of the school's history; in 2015, they focused on the school during the 1950s and early 1960s, including the Tacuara presence, compiling the testimonies of students from that generation (see Archivo Historico at <https://es-la.facebook.com/ArchivoHistoricoSarmiento>).

¹¹ Despite the condemnation of Tacuara and its violent tactics, individual members of the group found themselves in key positions in right-wing groups, and eventually as part of paramilitary groups working for the government, while others renounced anti-Semitism while espousing violence as a strategy within movements like the Peronist Montoneros or the ERP and FAR.

1 residents in the city of Buenos Aires and its environs suggested that there were clear
2 gender and generational factors in relation to who remembered her and what was
3 remembered, although it would be impossible to draw clear demarcations between
4 those who recalled her and those who did not, and between those who recalled her as
5 a 'case' and those who had a more personal and embodied recollection of the events
6 surrounding her disappearance.¹² With important exceptions, older men in the sample
7 recalled very disconnected fragments of the story; older women were more likely to
8 recall her accurately and promptly. Some remembered the impact the case had on their
9 own lives, as their families cancelled outings and forced them to remain in the safety of
10 their homes.

11 In most cases, younger men and women could not find a connection to the name
12 or the story surrounding it. Generational transmission of the memory of Penjerek's
13 tragic story had been imperfect, in contrast to what took place with the victims of
14 state violence such as the disappeared or the victims of class-based sexual violence,
15 including Leyla, Patricia and Maria Soledad. Norma Penjerek was a forgotten victim.
16 The question was why and how this had occurred, what responsibility had my gen-
17 eration failed to live up to and why? And in forgetting Norma Penjerek, what else
18 was forgotten? What other experiences and lives were rendered invisible in the silence
19 and opacity surrounding her fate? Although several responses to our questionnaire
20 were revealing in what was remembered, misremembered or not remembered at all,
21 one response struck me as particularly significant. This was the case of a woman who
22 reacted promptly when asked if she knew about Norma Penjerek, stating that indeed
23 she did and that Norma Penjerek 'was the first disappeared'. Her response is striking
24 because it condenses many layers of meaning: the exposure of youth to violence, the
25 complicity or direct involvement of agents of the state in the violence unleashed on
26 civilian populations and the emergence of a new historicity, a lens through which to
27 understand the past and its relation to the present as well as a reflection of the success
28 of human rights organisations' politics of memory.

29 This situation contrasts with later cases in which widespread solidarity and pro-
30 test placed a personal tragedy firmly within the space of public debate. In 1990 Maria
31 Soledad Morales, a seventeen-year old student, was drugged, raped and murdered in
32 the Argentine province of Catamarca. As occurred with Norma Penjerek, there were
33 rumours that she was the victim of the arrogance and abuse of members of the elite,
34 or the 'children of power' (*hijos del poder*). Delays in the investigation, the evidence
35 of a cover-up and complicities among the authorities and members of the local elite to
36 protect potential culprits provoked widespread outrage. Several children of the elite
37 were under suspicion, including the city mayor's nephews, the son of a parliamentarian
38 and the son of the chief of police. Martha Pelloni, a Missionary Carmelite and headmis-
39 tress of Maria Soledad's school, led the protests, which were known as the 'marches of
40 silence' and brought together people from across the social spectrum.

41 The pressure brought about by persistent popular protest ensured that the case
42 was not abandoned and eventually two of the suspects were put on trial.¹³ The case had
43 wide-ranging repercussions and affected the highest levels of regional and national

44
45 12 In addition to my own enquiries, conversations and research on the question of Norma Penjerek,
46 Graciela Estevez carried out two brief surveys involving 30 respondents in 2007 and 2012.

47 13 The son of a member of Congress and member of the governing party was found to be the principal
48 culprit, aided and abetted by Maria Soledad's ex-boyfriend. It is widely believed that more people
were involved in the murder and in the cover-up that followed.

government, including the collapse of a local political dynasty, resignations and federal intervention in the province of Catamarca. The marches, widely covered by the media, brought the case of Maria Soledad and the corrupt semi-feudal relations that prevailed in the province to the attention of the entire country. A book (Rey and Pazos 1991) and a film made by a well-known director, Héctor Olivera, in 1993 (*El Caso Maria Soledad*) also marked this case and helped to translate the tragic death of this young woman into a public event, ~~with~~ political and social implications.

A changing landscape: gender and protest

Since the 1960s and Norma Penjerek's disappearance, profound changes have taken place in the country's political culture and the contours of the public sphere. Most importantly, there have been highly significant developments in the range and repertoires of protest. The most ~~significant and~~ influential innovations were articulated by a group of women who, in 1977, came together to protest against the military government. Defying the iron grip of the military's control over public space and their repression of all opposition and protest, these women were propelled by personal loss, the disappearance of their sons and daughters, to defy the military government. As Feijoó and Nari comment, it is quite remarkable that it was women who led the way in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the military regime and who pioneered new and effective forms of protest. In response to a government that attacked the life as well as the freedom of citizens, these women 'erected the principle of life against a government that dismissed the value of human life. It was women who aroused a society that had become a silent accomplice in the face of these horrors' (Feijoó and Nari 1994: 112). In defending life itself, they forged a new ethical and political language; the relationships and experiences of the private sphere provided the motivation and resources for this task.

The women who defied the military between 1976 and 1983 were, as Jelin, Feijoó and Nari and others have commented, breaking new ground in a society that was saturated with the exercise of violence by the state under the banner of what was referred to as the Process of National Reorganization (see Feijoó and Gogna 1990). These small groups of women who demanded to know the whereabouts of their children and their grandchildren defied military power through the force of their perseverance and imagination and shaped the terms of debates concerning the enduring problems of violence, political injustice and economic inequality, and continue to do so into the present day. From the safety of Europe, I followed the extraordinary actions of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, as a small handful of journalists defied threats and exile to report on 'what was really happening in Argentina'. I received contradictory accounts from home, heard the stories of those who had fled under the pressure of threats to themselves and their families, who told of the sudden disappearance of colleagues and friends. Over the course of visits from the 1980s to the 1990s, I witnessed the blossoming of the presence of the Mothers in the public sphere and felt that with their quiet circling around the Plaza de Mayo under the hostile watch of the military – and much of the public too – they had achieved something that went beyond all expectations in standing firm and providing an enduring alternative and a persistent critique of the status quo. I was impressed, and moved, by their ability to arouse sentiments of love, passion, commitment and courage, by the fact that they could gather such vast and diverse

1 crowds and, increasingly, command the attention of those in power. I was, above all,
2 interested in how they had forged a quite novel sense of public space and how they had
3 initiated and fostered a new politics that has grown and responded to new challenges
4 over more than 30 years. It seemed to me that their movement could be understood in
5 an Arendtian sense of the political, as acting in concert, shaping and reshaping a public
6 space for dialogue and contentious action.

7 Nevertheless, in approaching the question of the Mothers' stories and actions eth-
8 nographically, I faced many obstacles that were to do with capturing, understanding
9 and reflecting on the multiple dimensions of this politics, in which sentiments and pas-
10 sions played such an important part. Some discomfort arose from disconnections and
11 dislocations between my story and the story of generations that unfolded in Argentina
12 from the 1960s, a story of which I was a part, but from which I was also estranged
13 through distance. I belong to the generation of the disappeared, and the mothers
14 belong to the generation of my own mother. As an Argentine living abroad for several
15 decades, my interest in them inevitably raised questions from them; about my story.
16 I was not always comfortable sharing this story in its entirety, not least because of a
17 feeling that it was rather irrelevant when faced with the heroic stories of the children
18 who were taken, tortured and disappeared. Consequently, our conversations rarely felt
19 like an 'exchange of stories' (Skultans 1997: 1) and seemed instead to be more like a
20 negotiation of potentially shared terrain that also recognised the possibility of incom-
21 mensurability and difference between their experience, that of their disappeared chil-
22 dren and my own trajectory.

23 While I failed in my attempts to find a way to capture in writing the range and
24 depth of the emotional registers of the stories, events and the multiple performances of
25 politics that took place under the banner of the Mothers and other human rights
26 groups, these highlighted burning questions about the nature of the political and of the
27 importance of 'acting in concert'.¹⁴ It seemed that, despite hostility from much of the
28 press and sectors of the public, the Mothers succeeded in transmitting to the new gen-
29 erations not only the memory of their disappeared children, but along with it, a sense
30 of inclusiveness and the possibilities of creating new repertoires of protest. Over a
31 period of more than 30 years, the Mothers helped open up a public space ~~of protest~~ and
32 created a new language and practice of protest, extending the possibilities of public
33 action and the boundaries of the political.¹⁵

34 The extent to which the Mothers and the Grandmothers have shifted the terms of
35 protest and politics in a radical new direction is striking. At the same time, many other
36 struggles and changes have taken place since the 1960s, not least where women's place
37 in the public sphere is concerned. From the recognition of women's invisibility to the
38 recognition of the value of women's domestic labour, women became increasingly vis-
39 ible protagonists in the sphere of politics and public life (Jelin 1996). They were active
40 within neighbourhood groups, as their responsibilities as mothers and housewives

42 14 In Vieda Skultans' vivid description of her Latvian experience I recognise some of my own difficul-
43 ties. She explains: 'I did not feel intact after my fieldwork in Latvia. I had not anticipated the rawness
44 of people's pain nor the force and urgency of their drive to narrate the past. Their effect on me was
45 an uncomfortable combination of exhaustion and a determination to do justice to the narratives
46 entrusted to me' (Skultans 1997: 9).

47 15 When the economy collapsed in 2001 and people took to the streets in apparently spontaneous
48 protest, many of those who had never before protested or marched said that they had been moved
to take action when they had found out that the Mothers had been targeted by the authorities.

compelled them to confront the erosion of living standards and livelihoods. Feminist groups emerged in the early 1970s and, although they were dissolved by the military after the 1976 coup, they returned with increased vitality during the transition to democracy. The diverse forms of women's involvement, through housewives' organisations, feminist organisations or human rights groups, contributed to the emergence of experiences, networks and organisations that recognised and addressed women's issues.¹⁶ These were not isolated changes but mirrored and were reflected in wider, global debates and struggles.¹⁷

The return to democracy enabled a regrouping of organisations and the establishment of significant institutions such as the Tribunal of Violence Against Women and organisations such as the '*Lugar de la Mujer*' ('Women's Place', set up in Buenos Aires in 1983), and many are active to this day. The aim of Women's Place is to provide services and support women's participation in line with the claim that 'we are protagonists' (*Somos protagonistas*). The website explains that: 'Women have gone from the solitary private space, in which they did not count, to a public world which started, reluctantly, to listen to them' (lugardemujer.org.ar). Grassroots initiatives, rooted in civil society, exist alongside institutional initiatives, such as the *Comisaría de la Mujer y la Familia*, sponsored by the Ministry of Security of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires. It is primarily intended to address domestic violence and violence against women and children. This, then, is a very different political and physical landscape from the one in which rumours and reality converged to tell the story of the terrible fate suffered by Norma Penjerek. And it is important that this new landscape has been produced through the concerted action of many different actors. Yet despite these changes, the victims of violence in the home and in public space continue to be news, while at the same time the public perception of official ineptitude or indeed the complicity of the authorities (Caldeira 1996) is all too often confirmed. While our informant remembered Norma Penjerek as 'the first disappeared', others recall her as one of a long list of young women whose violent deaths remain unsolved (Carabajal 2011).

The Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo's creation of a new lexicon of protest and their sustained challenge to those in power illustrate their trajectory from the private to the public, from their deep concern for their children to a wider, embracing project, or towards the 'care for the world' that Arendt identifies with authentic politics (Villa 2005; Kateb 2005 [2000]; Arendt 1990 [1963]). Their engagement with imagination, with care and passion, has done much to make their passage through history memorable, a quality that, as Kateb points out, is fundamental to Arendt's concept of the political. For Arendt, the political 'exists to be memorable, to become the stuff

16 Women and families played an important and visible role in the Human Rights movement. As well as the Mothers and Grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo (Madres and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo), there were also the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights (Asamblea Permanente para los Derechos Humanos, APDH), Families of the Detained and Disappeared (Familiares de Detenidos y Desaparecidos), the Ecumenical Movement for Human Rights (Movimiento Ecuménico para los Derechos Humanos or MEDH) and the Service of Peace and Justice (Servicio de Paz y Justicia or SERPAJ). Over time, new generations contributed their own efforts and innovative forms of protest, notably the H.I.J.O.S. or Children of the Disappeared.

17 As Jelin notes, these issues were highlighted in the international context – for example, the declaration of International Year of Women in 1975 was an important focus for such debates. Inaugurated in Mexico City with a large international meeting that attracted a wide range of women, particularly non-elite women, the Year of Women created many opportunities for building solidarities and networks across national borders (Jelin 1996).

of stories immediately' (Kateb 2005 [2000]: 133). Such stories are a crucial force in producing the political and, above all, have the power to connect self and other, to construct a public world, to reconcile the private self and the public and articulate a political commitment to the world (Jackson 2013). The stories that were made and shared alongside the production of memorable actions in relation to the disappeared, and the visibility achieved through many years of struggle, have eluded Norma Penjerek. But, as new stories unfold and new languages and modes of telling stories emerge, there is hope that her story or the various stories she may inspire will be told. The expectation is that now they will be told not as props for strategies of control through moral panics, but as stories that claim the right to be visible, integral and free.

Passions and reason: Arendt on *Eichmann in Jerusalem*

Eichmann's trial has been considered a turning point in the process of rendering private suffering public and producing a collective memory. Hannah Arendt's report on this important trial provoked admiration and dismay in equal measure (Arendt 1979). Her writing on Eichmann and his role in the organisation of Nazi genocide is relevant to our discussion, raising important issues about the responsibility of the writer, about ethical action and simply how to approach horror and suffering as well as adding important dimensions to her analysis of totalitarianism. Arendt's report on the trial was considered by many, including close and dear friends, to be insensitive (as well as containing factual errors). In what Deborah Nelson (2004) has described as the 'scandal of tone in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*', Arendt was thought to be conceding too much ground to Eichmann's views and to show a lack of sympathy towards his victims. While various explanations have been offered for her 'tone' and what seems an inappropriate recourse to irony in her depiction of the man and his trial, Nelson and others stress the importance of locating her approach within her broader political philosophy. Arendt was struck by Eichmann's ordinariness and thoughtlessness, his inability to put himself in the place of another.¹⁸ These shortcomings of the man are crucial and illustrate Arendt's diagnosis of the conditions of possibility of totalitarianism while apparently contradicting her approach to stories that, as they are told and shared, create new political possibilities (as described above). In *On revolution* (Arendt 1990 [1963]), published in the period immediately prior to the trial, she argues that the capacity of emotions such as compassion, sympathy and love to overwhelm us (and others) poses a danger to the political: the emotions can obscure the facts and have the effect of suppressing plurality in favour of an all-encompassing purpose or rationale. She argues that 'The boundlessness of emotion and sympathy' are dangerous because it 'dissolves otherness by eliminating distance, which maintains the distinction between self and the other that makes plurality attainable' (Nelson 2004: 233–4).

¹⁸ Arendt guides us in the process of thinking when faced with violence and atrocities. For example, she contextualised Eichmann's 'ordinariness' historically and politically within the social and cultural conditions produced under totalitarianism. Reflecting on the matter of conscience she comments: 'From the accumulated evidence one can only conclude that conscience as such had apparently got lost in Germany, and this to a point where people hardly remembered it and had ceased to realize that the surprising "new set of German values" was not shared by the outside world' (Arendt 2005: 42).

1 Instead, we are urged to think and to reflect in relation to the world and our
2 responsibility towards it, to doubt ourselves, to question, while engaging with others
3 freely in the plurality of thought and experience; to face reality, which means living
4 with doubt, contradiction and discomfort. Arendt does not deny suffering but rather
5 urges us to go beyond it to come to grips with the facts pertaining to the conditions
6 that give rise to it. It is all too easy for emotionally charged representations of suffering
7 to distract us from the causes of suffering, while it is also the case that the display of
8 suffering has not, so far, dissuaded those responsible for inflicting suffering from con-
9 tinuing to do so.¹⁹ The challenge is to be led neither by the passions, which can mislead
10 and distract through their intensity and immediacy, nor by rationality, which can
11 impose a homogenising, unifying metanarrative and discourse to the detriment of the
12 plurality of social life. Instead, Arendt emphasises the importance of thinking, of
13 reflection including self-reflection, and of staying in touch with reality, no matter how
14 difficult this may be.

15 The jagged interface of memory and the shifting terrain of the past, the relational
16 conditions for self-reflection, suggest that 'biography' may tempt us towards an overly
17 coherent presentation of self and other and that the edges, the gaps and the inconve-
18 niences and discomforts of our relationship to self and other may have to be glossed
19 over to present a biographical account. Perhaps it is preferable to talk about life as a
20 kind of context and set of conditions of possibility that we may share, however incom-
21 pletely and imperfectly, with others – recognising too that some lives, as lived trajec-
22 tories, are both solitary and completely entangled with the lives of others (see Beatty,
23 this issue).

24 Putting (some of) the pieces of the puzzle together; fragments of past experience,
25 memories such as children fighting on a stairwell over who was really responsible for
26 killing Christ, the distress of a schoolgirl when she learnt about the burning of books
27 by Nazi sympathisers (her own family tree, grown over centuries in Germany and then
28 brutally truncated by the Nazi regime, was quietly but visibly kept in a book in the
29 family's living room); the fearful stories of another schoolgirl about the threatening
30 presence of philo-Nazi gangs in her very respectable neighbourhood, and all the stories
31 of those who are afraid because of who they are – Jewish, or Communist, female,
32 young, old – stories about social invisibility and about people who disappear and bod-
33 ies that appear, sometimes barely appearing accidentally and sometimes appearing
34 spectacularly and displayed to say: this is where power is and this is what it does. All
35 these demand a story, one that can be apprehended, and work so that these experiences
36 are made to matter.²⁰

37 19 While empathy and the capacity to put oneself in the place of another is fundamental and compas-
38 sion can lead us towards understanding, other passions pose a serious distraction partly because they
39 foreclose dialogue and analysis and partly because they are powerful yet ephemeral. This seems to
40 be the conclusions reached by Williams (2016) in his recent book on the pursuit of justice after the
41 Second World War, where he alludes to Arendt's writing on Eichmann's trial.

42 20 It is difficult to understand the work of stories without considering their ability to elicit emotions.
43 In relation to a different context and to debates regarding 'humanitarian government', Fassin (2012)
44 raises the problem and potential risks of a politics based on suffering and compassion. At the same
45 time, he points out that moral sentiments and emotions which, like compassion, lead us to pay
46 attention to the suffering of others, have the capacity of linking action and values. While refusing a
47 'government' based on humanitarianism, it is nevertheless useful to think about the role of compas-
48 sion in creating links, bonds, solidarities and actions that we might be quite comfortable defining as
'political'.

1 Skultans (1997) reflects on the multivocal qualities of her work on Latvian lives,
 2 which emerge from a dialogue about stories and memories made possible by the over-
 3 laps between her autobiography and the experiences of her interlocutors. The ques-
 4 tions relating to Norma Mirta Penjerek and my own preoccupation with her short life,
 5 and, for that matter, the challenges faced by the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, all relate to
 6 the impossibility of dialogue and the incommensurability of experience. Nevertheless,
 7 as the Mothers have shown, these stories, in the incompleteness of the truncated lives
 8 they reflect and represent, can and should be told. They matter in themselves and they
 9 are constitutive of powerful political actions. Arendt, reflecting on the notion of 'life',
 10 points out that:

11
 12 The chief characteristic of this specifically human life, whose appearance and
 13 disappearance constitute worldly events, is that it is itself always full of events
 14 which ultimately can be told as a story, establish a biography; it is of this life, *bios*
 15 as distinguished from mere *zoe*, that Aristotle said that it 'somehow is a kind of
 16 praxis'. (1998 [1958]: 97)

17 Action and speech, which were constitutive of the Greek understanding of politics,
 18 produce stories that can be told. Retrieving life through stories about lives is the work
 19 of ethnography and politics.²¹ Ethnography as a process, as an open-ended quest, with
 20 its insistence on attending to minutiae and to the importance of the small things, high-
 21 lights the recognition of contradiction. The effort to accommodate multiple voices and
 22 plural perspectives and the insistence on self-reflection and preparedness for surprise
 23 – and discomfort – is compatible with the direction Arendt proposes for politics, but
 24 may also be useful as a direction for life.

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44
 45
 46 21 The temptation to succumb to emotions and to understand what fragments we may grasp as part of
 47 a 'then' in contrast to 'now' and be seduced by the metanarrative of progression – from violence and
 48 totalitarianism towards democracy and participation – is checked by Arendt's 'insensitivity' and her
 insistence on thinking, which are a salutary corrective both in life and in ethnographic practice.

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7 Ethnographie inconfortable et biographies 8 controversées: le cas de l'Argentine

11 Cet article explore les enchevêtrements d'émotions et de pensées qui sont une condition préalable
12 aux engagements personnels et professionnels avec le lieu, en particulier lorsque les dislocations
13 temporelles et spatiales produisent des lacunes et des liens inattendus entre l'ethnographe et ses
14 sujets de recherche. La mémoire personnelle et l'expérience constituent un guide maladroit mais
15 nécessaire pour explorer l'histoire de la violence en Argentine et son lien avec les différents types
16 de survie et de reconnaissance qui façonnent les interactions entre les différentes cohortes poli-
17 tiques et générationnelles. J'explore les manières contradictoires dont la mémoire et la politique
18 peuvent contribuer à définir et à redéfinir les sujets historiques en mettant l'accent sur l'exemple
19 d'une victime de violence qui ne rentre pas facilement dans les délimitations commémoratives et
20 politisées de ce qui est considéré comme une génération «perdue» et, parfois, héroïque. A travers
21 cette exploration, l'article vise à reconnecter le personnel et la politique à travers un dialogue
22 entre rencontres ethnographiques et biographiques comme discuté dans l'Introduction à cette
23 collection.

25 **Mots-clés** mémoire, genre, politique, violence, Arendt

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