

**Musical Practices and Non-Democratic Political Systems:
Popular Music in Authoritarian Chile 1973-1990**

by

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ABSTRACT

Musical Practices and Non-Democratic Political Systems: Popular Music in Authoritarian Chile 1973-1990

This thesis examines musical practices in Chile during the military government which ruled the country between 1973 and 1990. It argues that accounting for contextual specificities is necessary for the understanding of the relationship between musical practices and non-democratic political systems. In Chile, dictatorial authoritarianism was not an isolated factor influencing musical practices. The political system worked in interaction with various other independent and/or interdependent factors: time period, historical past, transnational interests, technological developments, international music industries, and so forth. Hence, music under authoritarianism should be mapped as a complex web of relationships amongst various individuals and institutions. This idea departs from the preconception that music under repressive regimes follows a binary of control and dissent. In other words, that music is mainly used by the ruling administration as a way of controlling the population, and used by the oppressed to voice their discontent towards the system.

Directed by: Dr. Robert Strachan

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to [1] expose conducted research on the popular music practices in Chile during Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973 – 1990); exploring the complex set of relationships which developed amongst the different agents, institutions and individuals involved in musical practices. By popular musical practices I refer to a wide and fluid range of activities related to the production, mediation and consumption of popular music,¹ which may include music writing, recorded production, performance, media coverage, distribution, reception, consumption, leisure use, and so forth. I will attempt to explain such relationships in terms of the contextual specificities of Chile during the authoritarian period, and place these findings within wider debates surrounding popular music under non-democratic political systems. [2] The thesis also aims to problematise the existing theoretical understanding of popular music practices under non-democratic political systems. This objective examines the assumption that in order to reach a clearer understanding of the relationship between popular music practices and non-democratic regimes, it is fundamental to take into account the contextual specificities in which this relationship unfolds. [3] Finally, this study challenges existing historiographies of popular music during the Chilean dictatorship. Existing accounts of music in Chile during the military regime have tended to concentrate on the left wing popular song movement

¹ In this thesis, popular music is used in a broad sense to refer to music experienced in urban settings, with particular attention given to the 1970s and 1980s. It can refer to music evolved from the Anglo American jazz/rock/pop tradition, but also includes those genres developed in Latin America such as bolero, balada and ranchera, to name a few. In this context, popular music was widely spread throughout Chile via the mass media, but was also experienced in marginalised urban settings or in the private sphere.

of *Nueva Canción* (Fairley 1984, 1985, 1989; Boyle 1985, Morris 1986, Tumas-Serma 1992). By moving the focus away from the political song movement, I will explore other kinds of popular music on which little academic research has been done – for example: music played on the radio, ballad singers, foreign music, rock, pop and so forth. By focusing on musical, social, economic, technological and political factors, I will analyse musical practices in light of the music in circulation at the time.

Background

Chile is located in the Southern Cone of the American continent. The country's surface spans 757,000 km² and its continental coastal line stretches across 6,435 km. Chile's major urban centres are Santiago, Valparaíso-Viña del Mar and Concepción-Talcahuano (Loveman 2001).

Salazar and Pinto (1999: p.9) identify three main social sectors in Chile: '*Las elites o clases dirigentes*' [elites or leading class], '*clases medias*' [middle class], and '*lo popular*' [the popular; including peasants, workers, and the poor in the city]. Income distribution is uneven and has given rise to a long-standing controversy, if considering the country's economic development in the last twenty years. In 1988 the poorest fifth of society received 2% of total income whilst the richest fifth received 60.4% (Larraín 1995).

As a result of centuries of migration and an extended period of assimilation, Chile's ethnic composition is fairly homogenous. Chileans descend from a mixture of Indigenous, European, and to a lesser extent, Christian Middle Eastern communities (Levinson 1998, Castillo-Feliú 2000). The three main minority groups stem from some of the territory's original people: Mapuche in the south, Aymará in the north and Rapa Nui in Easter Island.

Between 1930 and 1970 Chile's population doubled, partly due to a reduction of infant mortality and longer life expectancies (Tironi 1998). Infant mortality dropped from 200 deaths every 1000 births in 1930, to 82 deaths every 1000 births in 1970, and dropped to 16 deaths every 1000 births in 1990 (Loveman 2001: p. 30). During this period, there was also a significant increase in social urbanisation: from 49% in 1930 to 75% in 1970 (Tironi 1998: p. 45). Between 1950 and 1970, previously marginalised sectors increased their access to education and information. During this time, access to education (from primary to higher) doubled, reaching 50% of those under 24 years of age. Furthermore, the beginnings of television and its rapid spread in coverage in the 1960s brought information access to many people living in distant geographic zones (ibid).

According to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* [National Statistics Institute], Chile's population was 8,884,768 in 1970; 11,329,736 in 1982; and 13,348,401 in 1992. It has to be noted that after the coup an estimated 400 to 600 thousand people were displaced, if considering men and women with their wives/husbands, children, and other family members who left for political and/or economic reasons (Correa et al 2001). In 1992, 998,385 people identified themselves as belonging to the ethnic groups Mapuche, Aymará, and Rapanui. Of that figure, 928,060 declared themselves Mapuche. Almost half of those Mapuches lived in Santiago whilst the southern VIII and XI regions also showed a significant Mapuche population.

Chile is in its majority a Christian country. By 1998, 90% of the population declared to be Roman Catholic whilst the majority of the rest are protestant (www.ine.cl accessed 6 May 2010). Despite what people declare for national statistic

purposes, it can be suggested that many of those who declare affiliation to the Church are not actively involved in its activities.

In 1973, the Chilean military forces took over power from the Marxist socialist government led by Salvador Allende. The democratically elected socialist administration was toppled by the armed forces with the consent of a significant sector of Chilean society that opposed socialism and communism, and with the help and support of the United States of America (Vitale 1999, Silva 2002). The coup was followed by a bureaucratic authoritarian dictatorship that implemented drastic changes.² Marxist ideology was severely repressed and the country was subject to significant economic and institutional reforms. Seventeen years of authoritarian dictatorship left an important mark upon the social and cultural configuration of Chile.

This thesis will examine popular music practices under Pinochet's military dictatorship in Chile between 1973 and 1990. A central aim of this study is to progress the theoretical understanding of popular music and politics by challenging simplistic views on popular music practices under non-democratic regimes. It will argue that, in order to understand the interaction between the political system and the individuals and institutions involved in music making, mediation, and consumption, it is fundamental to engage in a contextual analysis of the particular characteristics of the implementation of a political system onto a given state during a given time. In addition, this study will map musical practices as an intricate set of elements and relationships. This approach seeks to depart from the model of control and dissent used to approach discussions on musical practices under non-democratic political

² For a discussion on bureaucratic authoritarianism see O'Donnell 1979, 1999.

systems (Street 1986, Vila 1987, Negus 1997, Garofalo 1992, Zan 2003). Both of these premises will be explored by elaborating a detailed case study on popular music practices under Pinochet's dictatorship.

More specifically, this research will attempt to address issues of popular music production, mediation, and consumption in Chile between 1973 and 1990, and will construct a different approach to historicising the popular music of Chile at the time. Work on Chilean popular music during the 1970s and 1980s has been dominated by studies concerned with the political song movement of *Nueva Canción* and, to a lesser extent, *Canto Nuevo* (Fairly 1984, Morris 1986, Pino Robles 2001). This concentration on *Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo* is perhaps a result of the fact that there is a clear 'political' connotation to both movements in terms of thematic and lyrical concerns and their social context. However, such a concentration overlooks the ways other types of music could be seen in the light of the political context. In other words, the political system might have a bearing on other types of music which do not comfortably fit in the categories of control and dissent. In addition, much of the study on political songs could be framed in terms of the scholar's own political preference. The interests of scholars might therefore impinge upon the types of music that they see as relevant. Within the study of popular music under non-democratic regimes, earlier academic studies tended to prioritise certain styles seen as resistance — rock, folk, *Nueva Canción*, etc (Street 1986, Vila 1987 Garofalo 1992, Fairley 1984, Ryback 1990). This approach does not account for the wide range of popular music available to people, or the ways music is experienced beyond the categories of control and dissent. In recent years, there have been important works which have looked at popular music under non-democracies beyond commonly held binaries such as that of control and dissent (Moore 2006, Drewett 2004, Steinholt 2004, de Kloet 2001,

2010).³ In an effort to broaden the scope of the analysis of popular music practices during the Chilean dictatorship, this thesis will provide a descriptive and reflective account of a broad range of Chilean popular music practices from 1973 until the return of democracy in March 1990, which have been hitherto understudied.

For seventeen years between 1973 and 1990, Chile was ruled by a military dictatorship lead by General Augusto Pinochet, the military junta, and a number of civilian advisors. This period was characterised by important social, political and economic changes which were implemented on the basis of fierce repression and the rejection of dissent. Much has been written about this period in Chilean history in disciplines such as history, sociology, politics, literature and economy, amongst others (Angell 1993, Arriagada 1988, Barros 2009, Brunner 1981, Díaz 1982, Drake and Jakic 1995, French-Davis 1999, Garretón 1998, Guzmán 1999, Jofré 1989). Furthermore, a rich body of work has sought to report on and seek justice for the systematic abuse of human rights in the search for truth and justice (Arce 1993, Cozzi 2000, Ensalco 2000, Merino Vega 1993, Montealegre 2003, Padilla Ballesteros 1995, Vargas 1991).

In regard to this period, popular music has received little scholarly attention. Indeed, there have been a number of publications within the Popular Music Studies (PMS) field which have focused on the Chilean dictatorship (Fairly 1984, Boyle 1985, Morris 1986, Taffett 1997, Pino Robles 2001). However, research has largely focused on music used to express dissent towards the Pinochet regime.

³ These works will be discussed later in this introduction.

My interest in this period stems from the need to gain a deeper and more informed understanding of an era which has divided many generations of Chileans. I was born in Chile in 1983 and spent part of my childhood living in the times of dictatorship. Whilst growing up, and like many in my generation, I inherited my parents' attitudes towards Pinochet's regime: rejection and disgust. The 1990s were a period in which recent politics were not discussed openly, and hence my understanding of the period was limited and biased. My interest in the dictatorship period began while doing my BA dissertation on independent rock labels in Santiago 2005. Through my recent research on our domestic music industry I realised how little I knew about earlier Chilean popular music and what a powerful influence the transformations experienced during the dictatorship have had on present day Chile. By 2004, I also felt that PMS had only addressed a very narrow selection of Chilean music during the dictatorship.

This thesis reflects, in part, my journey through the understanding of Chile's past, and an exploration of its earlier popular music. After five years of study, my disagreement with the dictatorship and Pinochet's methods of control through the infliction of fear and pain have strengthened. However, being a declared Pinochet detractor does not make me a fierce Allende supporter. I believe the binary pro Allende/pro Pinochet should not cloud the scholarly understanding of how music was actually used by musicians, in the media and by individuals in their daily life. Yet, the myriad of popular music situations and developments are far greater and more complex than the Allende/Pinochet binary. My main concern in this thesis is to look at popular music in a wide variety of settings by giving a more nuanced account of this cultural practice during the dictatorship. In doing so, I am consciously standing

on the uncomfortable middle ground by exposing research that is neither pro Allende nor pro Pinochet. I am aware that this approach might not be favoured by some.

Since most previous studies have focused on popular music as a form of resistance and dissent towards the Pinochet regime, this thesis wants to offer an additional angle to popular music during the Chilean dictatorship. It wants to discuss how music was actually used, even if, for many, this may seem uncomfortable. The approach in this thesis also implies concern with the way PMS has embraced the study of popular music under non-democracies. Too often, PMS has too easily assumed an emancipator effect on behalf of its object of study⁴. In doing so, popular music scholarship has placed greater value on histories of resistance, oppression, censorship, agency, and redemption. Certainly, the importance of such accounts is pressingly worthy. However, there is a wealth of issues and complexities which have been overlooked within PMS. The present study is not intended to provide an ultimate solution. Instead, it steps towards an initial approximation to a largely understudied object within a widely studied period.

Recent studies of popular music under non-democracies: PMS looking beyond commonly held binaries

In the last decade, a number of monographs have looked at popular music under non-democratic regimes. There are trends within these works, some of which tie in with the present study of popular music practices during the Pinochet dictatorship. Within their object of study, these pieces have challenged a number of binaries used to conceive cultural expression under non-democratic regimes. In

⁴ In this sense, this thesis fits with the criticisms of a general approach to popular music studies raised by Johnson and Cloonan (2008).

addition, these works show a departure from earlier writings on popular music under non-democratic regimes because of their in-depth focus on a particular country and period.⁵ By giving an overview of their research and highlighting some common themes between their work and mine, I will discuss the studies of de Kloet (2001, 2010), Drewett (2004), and Moore (2006) in the following section.⁶ Like this thesis, these works have addressed the complexities and nuances of popular music under non-democratic regimes, and have sought to look at popular music processes beyond the binaries of control and dissent. Like the present thesis, these studies are not comparative and thus do not tend to incorporate homologous examples drawn from other contexts. Instead, they focus specifically on particular countries and periods under non-democratic rule.

In his thesis '*Sonic Red Trajectories Popular Music and Youth in Urban China*' (2001) and subsequent book '*China with a cut: globalisation, Urban Youth and Popular Music*' (2010), Jeroen de Kloet traces the origins of Chinese rock in the 1980s, and its developments during the 1990s and onwards. De Kloet calls to 'rethink the complex relationship between politics, popular culture, and everyday life' (p. 2) in the present context of a country which has too often only been looked at in terms of its recent political situation. In doing so, the author analyses rock culture in China and

⁵ For a discussion on earlier writings which have partly, or more restrictedly, focused on popular music under non-democratic regimes, see chapter one.

⁶ The works of Drewett, De Kloet and Moore illustrate a new tendency in the study of popular music under non-democratic regimes.

its multiple negotiations with time; tradition and modernity; identity and place, and those individuals and institutions involved in rock's production and reception.

De Kloet's work traces the development of the Dakou culture in the late 1990s. The Dakou culture emerges from unwanted waste tapes and CDs which were dumped into China with a cut to prevent their resale. These CDs and tapes 'with a cut' were then sold in urban China's black market. De Kloet (2010) also discusses the influence of the internet in China's rock culture. The internet put an end to Dakou practices and opened a vast plethora of opportunities for Chinese rock. China's current youth generation is characterised with individualism fuelled by the effects of a burgeoning market economy. However, the three rock generations identified by the author (80s, 90s, 00s) are said to be unified by their motivation to strike/enhance their differences when compared to earlier rock developments and, more particularly, their parents.

In a broader sense, de Kloet also wishes to unpack a narrative he names 'the rock mythology' – grounded in discourses within and outside China, which illustrates rock culture as well defined and defiant. In regards to rock in China, the mythology presents a romanticised portrayal of Chinese rock which ties in well with the belief of rock as music defiant of the status quo. The rock mythology 'suits our desire to see dominant ideologies subverted. It strengthens the stereotypical image (among other stereotypes) of China as a severely repressive society with a cruel political regime, and by doing so, indirectly celebrates liberal Western society' (p. 31). This mythology embraces all those involved in the world of rock, from musicians to audiences, journalists to academics. It also forms the basis of rock culture and unites rock producers, performers, and consumers of rock. The rock mythology is described as a 'global set of narratives' (p. 32). In China, this narrative is rooted in a particular way

dictated by the context and is based on a perception of rock as a rebellious, clearly delineated and identifiable subculture which is distinctly opposed to pop.

In *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba*, Robin Moore (2006) examines the changes in musical performing arts seen in Cuba since the 1959 socialist revolution. Moore engages in a nuanced review and reflection of musical developments within the context of the Castro dictatorship. Moore clarifies that his approach to the study of Cuban culture is likely to be welcomed with mixed feelings by both supporters and detractors of the socialist revolution. To those who condemn the regime, Moore's work might seem too condoning of the Castro administration, whilst for Castro supporters his work might appear too critical. In this regard, Moore states his inclination towards socialist ideals. However, he is also aware of the oppressive particularities of life in Cuba.

The main aim of Moore's work is to examine the relationship between socialist discourse on art and culture and what has actually happened on the island during socialist rule. Moore explores musical practices in Cuba before the revolution in the 1950s and moves across the years in chronological order until 2004. With a focus on the socialist revolution that began in 1959, he draws attention to the organisation of daily life in a country where institutions are always government controlled, as opposed to sometimes being controlled by non-governmental associations.

Moore discusses changes in popular music practices experimented with as a result of the beginning of the revolution. Many night venues had to close, and various musicians had to leave to country. The recording industry was nationalised and copyright was eliminated. Since then, music has been given great importance by the

government and there are state institutions which are in charge of musical matters. In general, musicians have been given good opportunities for education and development, and the number of musicians per capita is astoundingly high. Moore's work is mainly concentrated in Havana and does not include much coverage of hip-hop and rock. His work gives strong consideration to music in Cuba and its role in the daily lives of its inhabitants, in which control and dissent are part of a larger set of complexities.

Drewett's PhD thesis, *'An Analysis of the Censorship within a Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s'*, is a major work on popular music censorship in South Africa under apartheid. Focused on the 1980s, it explores the various ways of censoring music and how censorship is resisted. The 1980s in South Africa were subject to an intense level of authority, surveillance and censorship was a small element within the general control system (p. 36). As a consequence of potential 'political and/or economic reprisals' (p. 11), many musicians also engaged in self-censorship, the importance of which is also examined within Drewett's work.

Drewett's work does not intend to address the influence of popular music on political transformation. Instead, his work seeks 'to document, contextualize and analyse all known forms of censorship and as many instances of resistance to that censorship as have been discovered during the period of research' (p2). He focuses on the experiences of musicians under a repressive environment and their struggle for freedom of expression.

The struggles addressed by his research on South Africa go beyond focusing on a purely political and racial battle. According to Drewett, much of the previous research on South Africa under apartheid has emphasised the relationship of race with

class and ethnicity (p. 25), and has given less importance to gender discrimination. However, Drewett suggests that many women saw the gender struggle as part of the overall struggle against apartheid. Furthermore, musicians were affected in different ways depending on the groups they identified with. Race discrimination made the experiences of white musicians very different to that of black ones who faced official discrimination and restriction of movement. Although many white musicians were also subject to obeying rules they did not agree with or to witnessing the discrimination of fellow black colleagues, white musicians did not have to endure the harshest side of apartheid discrimination.

After engaging in a discussion of existing scholarly definitions of censorship, Drewett defines the censorship of popular music as:

‘a wide variety of inter-related practices (both legal and extra-legal) which combine to explicitly interfere with the freedom of expression, association and movement of popular musicians to ensure that the articulation of certain facts, opinions or means of expression are stifled, altered and/or prohibited’ (p. 14).

Drewett sets his work within a ‘conceptual, theoretical and methodological context’ (p. 32) and looks at the mechanisms of censorship by the government, non-governmental institutions, and anti-apartheid resisters. He then analyses various methods of resistance to censorship such as ‘textual resistance to censorship’ (p. 34) and also musical resistance. According to Drewett, whilst censorship was mostly focused on lyrics, ‘resistance to censorship could occur on a musical level’ (p. 34).

Like the present thesis, these works take a more nuanced approach to the study of popular music in the context of a repressive regime which responds to the need to acknowledge the level of complexity involved in popular music practices and to avoid

generalising statements. For example, romanticised readings of rock culture in China's 1980s and 1990s has attributed rock with rebellious characteristics, suggesting that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) controls society and it is in rock's aspirations to question it (De Kloet 2001). The 1990s have been perceived as a period of crisis for Chinese rock due to a change in lifestyle, in which commercialism and personal aspirations began to guide life choices. Such a reading is simplistic and overlooks the nuances of rock culture in China and its relationship to the CCP and the West. Despite China's market liberalisation, which has led to a reduction in the role of the state in public spaces, politics has not left the public sphere entirely. De Kloet points at the danger of overpoliticising the reading of certain rock events when placed against episodes with a significant political connotation. For example, he points at how the increasing activity in rock in the 1990s has been explained as a direct effect of the protester killings of June 1989. De Kloet sees the rise in rock activity during the 1990s as a more complex set of relationships. For example, forming a rock band should not be immediately read as an overt sign of rebelliousness against the CCP. As de Kloet discovered, forming a band is at times linked to a more superficial decision of starting up a band "for fun", or the notion that the party did not hold a particularly negative relationship to rock culture and therefore forming a band is not necessarily considered as an extraordinary act. This is not to lessen the importance of the constant negotiations that have taken place between the modern Chinese state and rock culture, but rather to provide a more nuanced reading of rock culture in China.

Like De Kloet, the danger of overpoliticising the reading of popular music in the context of non-democracy is an issue which I have tried to avoid in my work. Looking at popular music practices during the Chilean dictatorship through the optics of political developments misses out on a myriad of aspects which shape popular

music culture beyond the political system in place. Furthermore, the Chilean dictatorship was not a monolithic force, like other non-democratic systems researched by the aforementioned authors. For instance, when Moore presents the Cuban revolution, he recognises in its origins a variety of ideological influences besides Marxism (p. 1), pointing at the complex nature of the revolution's socio-political force. For example, those in charge of regulating artistic practices have varied backgrounds and can include individuals with vast education and training as well as others that know little about arts but who base their policing decisions on their loyalty to Fidel Castro. Furthermore, socialist leadership in Cuba has not adopted a single and unchanged approach to culture. Throughout time, different cultural policies have been adopted. The implementation of cultural policies has not necessarily meant that musicians have always followed the rules imposed by the authorities. In revolutionary Cuba, cultural 'guidelines [have been] frequently disputed or ignored' (p. 11). Since Marx did not discuss the role of the arts at length in his writings, it has been up to socialist leaders to interpret and devise policies based on Marx's overall ideas. How these ideas are interpreted and implemented has varied within socialist societies from context to context.

A further intention of this thesis has been to address the complexities of the various groups involved in popular music practices (musicians, audiences, music industries communities, and authorities). These groups have fluid boundaries and are conformed by a diverse range of individuals. In a similar way, Drewett points at the idea that musicians in South Africa during apartheid should not be conceived as a homogenous community. Similarly, those who carried out censoring practices and those who opposed them did not conform two homogenous groups. Neither the controlling nor the resisting aspect of censorship should be seen as a clearly defined

feature. Individuals who contested censorship in South Africa acted for a number of reasons (e.g. political activism, wanting to fulfil musical aims, etc). Hence, it can be suggested that the challenging of popular music censorship in 1980s South Africa was a fragmented practice which had no bearing on the wider process of overthrowing the apartheid system. Usually, successful defeat of censorship was achieved individually and in isolation. By the same token, Drewett suggests that the ruling administration should also be regarded as a complex entity embracing a variety of individuals and sub-institutions. Censors and musicians should be conceived as ‘individuals within a context of counter-hegemony, as multi-dimensional and changing individuals, often acting from points of temporary attachment’ (p. 59).

The perception of Chinese politics as a homogenous impenetrable block has led to the assumption that, as a consequence, rock is immersed in an all-encompassing political context (de Kloet 2001, 2010). Politicised readings of rock become more apparent in the case of China because academic and journalistic attention to modern China tends to focus on political aspects, deeming rock as incompatible with communism (Chen and Song in de Kloet 2001: p. 31). Western discourses on Chinese politics tend to overlook the internal struggles within the Chinese Communist Party. Within this context, rock does not necessarily directly rebel against communism but rather defies a wider set of norms in society. De Kloet presents rock culture in China as a fragmented community with fluid boundaries, holding a varied and complex set of relationships between those involved in rock’s production and reception. Rock styles, and the degree to which musicians and audiences are committed to the music, tend to vary greatly. In De Kloet’s view, rock culture is rooted in several paradoxes which the ‘rock mythology’ seeks to ‘deparadoxicalise’, producing ‘rigid binaries and inform[ing] univocal readings’

(2001: p. 244). As such, the 'rock mythology' presents rock culture as rebellious, non-commercial, authentic, political, and subcultural; ignoring its inherent contradictions.

Dictatorships and non-democratic regimes are often linked to censorship and placed in contrast to democratic freedom of expression. However, the relationship between the state, political system, and censorship is more complex than the binary of democracy v/s non-democracy. Moore (2006) makes an interesting remark when highlighting a critique to capitalist societies and censorship. According to Moore, the manipulation of art in socialist societies comes from the leadership. In capitalist societies, the manipulation of art comes from multinationals and economic interest groups.

'Socialist critics argue that these dynamics constitute a de facto form of capitalist censorship that is at least as widespread and effective as that of the Communist Party apparatus. North American playlists are restricted but not primarily for ideological reasons; rather, they are controlled by the drive for profit. The obsession in the United States with laissez-faire dynamics and the government's unwillingness to take a more active role in the promotion of cultural education mean that many ideas and voices are never heard.' (p. 20)

Furthermore, censorship does not only emerge from those in authority. Drewett draws attention to religious groups or even anti-apartheid movements which placed constrictions on popular music expression. For example, songs were banned in South Africa for their sexual content or drug related themes. This was in line with the Christian morals on which the regime claimed to be based. In addition, the anti-apartheid boycott on South African popular music also placed severe restrictions on freedom of expression. Despite having a different cause in mind (the termination of apartheid rule), at times, anti-apartheid groups resorted to actions similar to the ones used by those they were seeking to defeat.

When considering censorship, it is important to locate the study period within the specificities of development. Due to the time frame of Drewett's research and the technological particularities of the 1980s, the censorship policies described in the study were easy to regulate and enforce. During that time, records were pressed in the only two plants existing in South Africa, and cassettes were used to copy music at home. Drewett places this environment in contrast to the technological developments started in the 1990s, in which copyright laws have been more easily trespassed. In 1980s South Africa the censorship policies applied to the broadcast of popular music were easily implemented due to the nature of technological developments at the time. This points at the importance of focussing research on non-democracies not only within the context of the political system but also on the circumstances in which the political system unfolds. Drewett emphasises therefore that his 'is a study of a form of censorship control of popular music which is no longer possible' (p. 22).

Consequently, the present study of popular music practices under the Chilean dictatorship (1973-1990) wishes to contribute to the field of Popular Music studies by providing a nuanced account of how popular music was actually used during Pinochet's regime. This approach can be placed within the field of PMS with those works previously discussed (De Kloet 2001, Moore 2006, Drewett 2004), as it addresses popular music within the context of repressive political systems by looking beyond commonly held binaries of control and dissent. This approximation also helps to demystify the monolithic qualities of the regime, and looks at the complexities of daily life under authoritarianism.

Methodology

The research that has informed this thesis has been conducted using an interdisciplinary approach based on substantial qualitative data obtained through interviews, archive research, and complementary secondary sources. This interdisciplinary approach was chosen in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the musical practices that developed during the Chilean dictatorship. A case study technique was considered appropriate because it helps to emphasise the contextual aspects of the studied object and allows for an extensive examination of this particular example of popular music practices under a non-democratic regime.

Qualitative research is not characterised by a strict and regular approach. Indeed, 'there are few standard rules or common methodological conventions in qualitative research' (Kvlate 1996: p. 13). However, qualitative data was favoured because it is rich in detail and facilitates a nuanced approach to popular music practices during the Pinochet dictatorship.

The research process was organised in various stages. The first period was used to engage with a wide range of literature on popular music and politics, popular music in non-democratic contexts, political science, and Latin American politics and social developments.⁷ This period was followed with fieldwork in Chile between February and July 2007.⁸ The main aim during this period was to generate and gather on site qualitative data and also to develop a feel for the period and its music through

⁷ This list is intended as a guide. The range of sources consulted outgrow the number which directly influenced the writing of this thesis. Where relevant to the arguments throughout, specific bibliography has been cited within the thesis.

⁸ Special thanks to Juan Pablo González for welcoming me as an exchange research student at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

consulting old magazines, newspapers, television footage, and relevant publications. To complement my understanding of the period researched, I attended a number of live performances of Chilean musicians who were active during the dictatorship period. As a fundamental part of the fieldwork period, I conducted several interviews with musicians, academics, cultural producers, current and former media workers, and people who lived in Chile during the dictatorship period - but whose main occupations were not related to the musical sphere. Qualitative interviews were used as the main method of 'generating' data through personal interaction (Kvale 1996, Mason 2002)⁹. After leaving Chile, I spent six weeks at the Ibero-American Institute (IAI) in Berlin.¹⁰ During my time at the IAI, I immersed myself in a wide range of secondary literature. The Institute's impressive collection allowed me to explore the period through contextual publications on a number of specific issues relevant to the military dictatorship in Chile: human rights, historical approaches, literature, journalism, and socio-political analysis. Between October 2007 and September 2009, I transcribed the interviews, reviewed my field notes, read many of the books I brought back from Chile, and went through the process of writing up the thesis. Two further visits to Chile during this period (for personal reasons), allowed me to consult further sources when needed.

⁹ Mason says that in the case of qualitative research it is better to talk about *generating* rather than *collecting* data. This is because in the nature of qualitative approach it would be misleading to think that data is readily available and waiting to be collected in a neutral process. 'The researcher is seen as actively constructing knowledge about the world according to certain principles and using certain methods derived from, or which express, their epistemological position' (2002: p.52).

¹⁰ I would like to thank the IAI and Peter Birle for the scholarship that supported my stay in Berlin and for their warm welcome.

Interviews are a commonly used method to obtain information (Fontana and Frey 2003, Pole and Lampard 2002). In line with Kvale's observations (1996), qualitative research interviews allowed me to explore the interviewee's life experiences with a special emphasis on the dictatorship period. Not only was I able to discuss details of their life, but also gain an understanding of how they relate to their experiences during the period. During the interview, data was generated through accounts of past events embedded in active and ongoing reflection. Depending on each individual's experiences and opinions, the use of qualitative interviews generated a range of statements to particular topics. This characteristic added depth to my understanding of the multiplicity and complexity of daily experiences and popular music uses under military authoritarianism. As Mason (2002) points out, the process of the qualitative interview is not the mere unearthing of scattered facts. Meaning is actively constructed through dialog exchange. Understandings are reached through the mutual interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee(s).

Before conducting the interviews, my knowledge of most participants was limited. This factor is in line with descriptions of qualitative or ethnographic interviews which highlight how this type of method does not seek to impose pre-conceived categories that 'may limit the field of inquiry' (Fontana and Frey 2003, p.75). Limited prior knowledge specific to the participant's circumstances reduced my level of preconception and allowed me to explore experiences and meaning more freely. My conversations with participants were loosely structured around their experience during the dictatorship period and their connection to popular music. Through engaging in the exercise of providing an account of their experiences, participants sometimes gained insights and awareness which were new to them. This

phenomenon links to the analogy of the qualitative interview ‘as a construction site of knowledge’ (Kvale 1996: p. 2).

Qualitative interviews have been criticised for generating biased information and for failing to produce generalisable data (Kvale 1996). However, in the context of this thesis, the type of information generated by the qualitative interview brings out aspects specific to the research approach, which seeks to address the complexity and multiplicity of experiences people went through during the dictatorship. Such an approach generated data that demystified generalising views on personal experience under a non-democratic system. Furthermore, rather than seeking quantifiable and generalisable information, my interest lies in the nuanced understanding of experience under the authoritarian dictatorship. This kind of understanding does not necessarily limit research to the analysis of isolated occurrences, but allows the exploration of common themes that interconnect experience and meaning. Qualitative interviews also face the limitations encountered when extracting the individual from social interaction and constricting body movements by being permanently sat down. Moreover, the interview’s cognitive emphasis centres dialogue around ‘thoughts and experiences at the expense of action’ (Kvale 1996).

I carried out thirty formal face-to-face interviews with a number of Chilean participants who lived in Chile at the time of the dictatorship and who were involved in any of the three aspects of musical practices identified in this thesis: production, mediation, and reception. Participants were not restricted to any one aspect in particular, but often engaged in at least two or all three aspects.¹¹ The selection of participants was determined by my ability to network and apply a ‘snowballing’

¹¹ A list of interviewees can be found in Appendix I.

technique (Mason 2002). The idea behind the selection process was to obtain a range of life experiences and relationships to popular music. When selecting popular musicians, I aimed to contact songwriters and/or performers of different genres and ages. In their majority, musicians had a recording career during the period. Most of them are still actively involved in popular music performance, though with far less mass media attention. Unfortunately, I failed to secure a reasonable amount of interviews with female musicians. I have identified this as a limitation of my research and have tried to address it through secondary literature, when possible. I also sought to interview people who, during the period, worked on television, radio, and magazines. In terms of record labels, I conducted an extended interview with a former transnational label manager. Finally, I was also keen to speak to people about their general experiences with popular music practices during the period. This type of interview was difficult to secure as it was hard to randomly approach people to simply talk about their past for no evident (to them) reason. The interviews I managed to secure in this category formed a fundamental base for chapter seven. When selecting participants, I sought to address a range of relationships to the military regime. In other words, I selected people within a spectrum that ranged from active supporters to active detractors. In addition to formal qualitative interviews, I engaged in several informal conversations with various people in my extended social circle.

Interviews took place in a variety of settings: the participant's work place, their home, a public café, and on one occasion my own house in Santiago. Before starting, participants were briefed and shown a letter which described the main theme of the interview. An example of this letter can be found in Appendix III. The letter was slightly amended to suit each interviewee. In the letter, I explained that the interview was for research purposes and communicated my intentions by discussing a

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address this imbalance by expanding the musical focus beyond the genre of *Nueva Canción*.

Many of the key texts within popular music studies and politics illustrate popular music under non-democratic regimes in the twentieth century, with examples of countries and times that differ significantly from the circumstances which surrounded Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile (Street 1986, Negus 1997, Garofalo 1992). Some of these texts are introductory to the study of popular music and therefore have a great influence at undergraduate and postgraduate academic levels. Assumptions on musical practices based on such examples do not comfortably fit the case of dictatorial Chile (and most likely other poorly documented non-democratic regimes).

The partial incompatibility between the Chilean dictatorship and some of the general assumptions on popular music under a non-democratic regime can be explained by emphasising the specificities surrounding the implementation of the political system. There are clear specific aspects that differentiate the implementation of a political system within a given nation state: historical time, geographical location, socio-cultural structures, political tradition, economic models, etc.

Popular Music and the state / Popular Music and political systems: A critique on existing literature

The following is a review of some of the scholarly work which has discussed popular music and politics. Although not the main focus of these works, they do make reference to popular music under non-democratic regimes. Placing an emphasis on the

similarities amongst non-democracies (repression, censorship, control, dissent), a number of texts have put forward generalising frameworks for the analysis of popular music practices during non-democratic periods. These frameworks are useful in helping to understand certain aspects of the relationship between popular music and political systems. However, they also omit aspects of difference amongst specific cases. Although holding similar modes of political organisation, examples of non-democratic rules usually unfold within circumstances particular to each case.

Within the works that have addressed elements of popular music and the state, I will be focusing on those that have dealt with the issues concerning popular music under non-democratic systems. To clarify, most of the work concerned with episodes of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, in their diverse variants, have generally adopted the *state* as a framing concept for the discussion of popular music under such non-democratic political systems. While reviewing these works, I will maintain the terminology in the way it was originally employed. However, I will later argue that the term *political system* seems more appropriate as a framework for this line of study.

John Street's *'Rebel Rock'* (1986) addresses many areas in which popular music and politics relate: it discusses how states, political parties, movements, and political figures have appropriated popular music to further their interests; the way in which states have sponsored or censored various kinds of music; the use of music festivals to raise awareness of pressing political issues; the internal politics within the recording industry, and the connections between certain genres and currents of thought like socialism, liberalism, or conservatism.

Most examples given in the book relate to the democratic traditions of the UK and US. The examples covering other areas in the world are mainly based on non-democratic periods in the USSR and South Africa, with a few particular points made about other places such as Chile, Nicaragua, China, and Argentina. The conclusions made certainly apply to the individual geographical areas discussed throughout the book, however, at times it seems as if those conclusions were presented as universally applicable.

Furthermore, there seems to be a division in what the work intends to exemplify by referring to issues concerning the UK and USA on the one hand, and on the other, to issues drawn from other cases such as the Soviet Union, South Africa, and other places. Popular music activity within democratic systems is only analysed with Anglo-American examples. In contrast, situations of music and politics outside the UK and US are all related to non-democratic governments, or states experiencing times of political turmoil. Therefore, every non-UK/US example given relates to popular music under authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

The use of the terms authoritarian and totalitarian is confusing. Not every dictatorship, one party rule, or non-democratic regime is totalitarian, and this aspect can be very decisive in the ways popular music practices unfold. Using the words totalitarian and authoritarian with no clear distinction to describe non-democratic oppressive regimes, results in a misleading generalisation.

In *'Rebel Rock'*, the politics of popular music production, the political meaning given to music by audiences, and the use of popular music by political parties and movements within UK and US democracy is described as a group of complex flows and relationships. In contrast, the conclusions drawn about music

under 'totalitarian' regimes seem fairly dual and straight-forward. The reader is presented with a handful of examples pointing at the complexity of relationships between music and politics in the UK and the US. However, music under 'totalitarian' regimes seems to be perceived as a constant debate between the voice of dissent on one side and state control on the other.

In *Popular Music in Theory*, Negus (1996) suggests that in order to understand the relationship between governments and popular music practices it is necessary to engage with the theoretical understanding of the state. He describes states as:

'complex, contradictory, historically varying and geographically specific entities that are difficult to understand and as a result have been conceptualized in a variety of ways. This is an important point, because how we make sense of the state theoretically will inevitably have an impact on the type of policies that we might want to promote or how we might critique the way that government and politicians are acting.'

(p. 189)

Negus does indeed recognise the specificities of individual states and how states have been understood in different theoretical frameworks. Following from this point, however, he proposes his own conceptualisation, disregarding the previously introduced importance of the specifics of the state:

'What I'm concerned with here is not the numerous particularities of and contrasts between individual states, but the theoretical ways of understanding how the state operates and the implications of this for studying how music is regulated by government.'

(ibid.)

Consequently, Negus conceptualises the state within two broad categories: the *malevolent* and the *benevolent* state. According to this conceptualisation, a benevolent state provides citizens with welfare, education, and information, while a *malevolent* state is said to ‘not represent all members of a society’ and ‘act[s] in the interest of a ruling class’ which ‘may be composed of a particular coalition of the military, the aristocracy, capitalists, [and] religious leaders, depending on where you are located in the world’ (p. 189). Unfortunately, this categorisation does little justice to the individual characteristics of each state. Furthermore, the reader can be misled to think that Negus implies that non-democratic regimes are by default classed as *malevolent* while Western democracies, despite possible oppressions, are generally classed as *benevolent*.

How we make sense of the state theoretically will indeed be fundamental to the understanding of the relationship between popular music under any given ruling system. However, ignoring the particularities of any given state fails to recognise key differences of great impact on popular music activity under any kind of regime. The particularities of different ‘malevolent’ states, or even states under authoritarian rule, can result in important differences in the way popular music unfolds under states falling under the same theoretical category.

I would like to draw attention to the distinction between the state and the political system (Easton 1953). The state can be conceptualised as a method of social organisation. On the other hand, a political system refers to the political organisation of the state. In the words of Rummel, ‘a political system consists of the formal and informal structures which manifest the state's sovereignty over a territory and people. It is the civil aspect of statehood. But a state through its lifetime may have many different political systems, as have China, Russia, and France’ (Rummel 1981).

Therefore, studying the relationship between musical practices and the Chilean state would require a more extensive analysis over time – an analysis beyond the confines of Pinochet’s dictatorship. Instead, what concerns the present study is the relationship between the military dictatorship period in Chile and musical practices. In this sense, the dictatorship is conceived as the political system which underlined the actions of the Chilean state between 1973 and 1990.

Moreover, the problem of over-emphasising the use of wide categories is based, as Heywood states, on the ‘danger of simplification’ (2002: p. 27). Categories are useful in highlighting the elements shared by those items included in them. However, a category takes no notice of aspects that may pose crucial differences between items within the same category. Related to this is ‘a possible failure to see that a phenomenon may have different meanings in different contexts’ (ibid.).

For example, most of the Latin American dictatorships in the seventies and eighties have been categorised within academic text under the concept of *bureaucratic authoritarianism* (BA) (Collier 1979a, Kaufmann 1979, Vanden 2001, Eaton 2006). Bureaucratic authoritarianism, a term first coined by O’Donnell (1973), refers to a specific type of authoritarianism of which modernisation is a central feature (Brooker 2000). Bureaucratic authoritarian states aim for ‘the restoration of “order” by means of political deactivation of the popular sector on the one hand, and the “normalization” of the economy on the other’ (O’Donnell 1988: p. 32). The popular sectors are excluded from the political and economic sectors, while capitalist measures are encouraged in favour of the existing oligopoly. Social matters are ‘depoliticised’ and left to be solved by specialised technocrats (ibid.).

Nevertheless, even if this categorisation sheds further light on the differences between previously researched non-democracies (USSR, South Africa, and China) and the dictatorship in Chile, it does not necessarily point to important differences amongst those cases classified under the BA category. Even though the Latin American dictatorships shared various similarities, their individual specificities affected the outcome of popular music practices. Furthermore, the BA theory used to understand the nature of the military dictatorships of Latin America has been criticised for being ‘inapplicable to cases of personalist rule, such as General Pinochet’s high-modernisation authoritarian regime in Chile (Rammer 1989)’ (Brooker 2000: p. 33). In addition, O’Donnell’s claims regarding the economic aspects of BA states have been discouraged by authors who suggest that the economic policies of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay had little in common with the policies described by the BA model (ibid).

Denise Milstein, in a paper given at the IASPM LA conference in 2004, suggested that there were important differences in how the dictatorships in Uruguay and Brazil dealt with popular music. Even though both regimes were linked by the Condor Plan,¹³ and they have both been included within the bureaucratic authoritarianism category, the regimes were triggered by different historical circumstances and developed in different ways. The type and strategy of repression, as well as the response of artists and social movements, were different in Brazil and Uruguay.

¹³ Condor Plan: intelligence campaign which involved assassination and repression carried out by the dictatorship governments of the Southern Cone in 1975.

A further problem encountered within existing works which deal with popular music, states, and political systems, is a lack of clarification and consistency when using terms such as authoritarianism and totalitarianism. For example, in an entry on censorship in the *Continuum Encyclopaedia of Popular Music of the World*, Cloonan notes:

‘To these could be added many more examples drawn from **authoritarian regimes** in the East. These have included restrictions of foreign music by many countries in **Eastern Europe** under **Communist** rule and strict control of domestic music (Ramet 1994). There have also been attempts to control music under **fascist regimes** in **Germany** (Dümling 1995) and **Argentina** (Vila 1992) and under the apartheid regime in South Africa (Denselow 1989)’

(Cloonan 2003: p. 169, my own emphasis)

In this quote, Cloonan makes an implicit connection between Eastern European communism and authoritarianism, as well as between Argentina’s dictatorship and fascism -similar to that of Germany in the 1930s. Likewise, Garofalo relates totalitarianism to countries whose regimes have not been classed as totalitarian.

‘Wicke also details a common theme which runs through many of the chapters – particularly those describing **totalitarian** regimes – which is the suspicion on the part of the authorities that even the most innocuous songs contain subversive political content, which is received as such by a “knowledgeable” audience. This tendency has had the effect of politicizing music which is not intentionally political and enhancing the power of music which is; this was the case in localities as diverse as **China, Argentina, and Hungary**’

(Garofalo 1992: p. 10, my own emphasis)

By looking at this quote, the reader is led to think that totalitarianism is a characteristic of particular regimes in China, Argentina, and Hungary. If Garofalo (1992) in his reference to Wicke, links Hungary to *totalitarianism*, and Cloonan links 'Eastern European countries under communism' (2003: p. 169) to *authoritarianism*, then there is a clear lack of consent within popular music literature as to what totalitarianism and authoritarianism actually means, whether there is any difference between both categories, and furthermore, which periods in which countries can be categorised as authoritarian or totalitarian.

There are important aspects that differentiate a totalitarian from an authoritarian system. Yrarrázaval (1983) is in favour of drawing a distinction between both cases. An authoritarian regime does not strongly penetrate social, cultural, and economic spaces, while a totalitarian state infiltrates all areas of life and leaves no alternative to the reigning ideology (p. 145-146). From the various meanings attributed to the term ideology, in this context ideology is 'treated ... as a 'closed' system of thought, which, by claiming a monopoly of truth, refuses to tolerate opposing ideas and rival beliefs' (p. 42). According to Yrarrázaval, while the role of ideology in a totalitarian society is fundamental, authoritarian regimes lack such an equivalent. Authoritarian regimes lack a compulsory and excluding 'ideological worldview' (p. 149) prominent to public decisions, personal lives, and mediating institutions. Authoritarianism aims for a unified and depoliticised public order that follows a set of declared principles and purposes. Instead of following a rigid ideology, the search for common objectives and definitions becomes highly important considering the more diverse nature of the authoritarian ruling elite. Therefore, within authoritarian states there is greater space for the development of cultural forms which are not necessarily tightly controlled by the state. Thus, the distinction between

authoritarianism and totalitarianism should be understood and clarified when applied to some states under non-democracies.

The importance of taking into account specific contextual factors when analysing the role and meaning of popular music has been recognised by Robin Balliger (1999). In his chapter on politics he sustains that ‘to thoroughly address the politics of music in society, one should consider the structure of cultural production *and* how music is received in particular situations and moments’ (p. 59). Although Balliger is referring to the politics of music and not particularly to the creation and use of music within a repressive regime, the relevance of his words to my argument lie in the importance of contextual factors at the time of analysis.

Binaries

The relationship between popular music and politics has been approached in a variety of ways. An important number of academic contributions have shaped the field of popular music and politics. Broadly, this work has been concerned with issues such as censorship, political parties and movements and their use of music, politics of music production, political music, music under non-democratic regimes,¹⁴ music festivals, and policy. No one category is excluded from the others, and many of these topics are simultaneously included and interrelated in articles and books.

A way in which the relationship between popular music and politics has also been configured is through music’s relationship to the state and government.

¹⁴ Usually referred to as non-democratic states.

Unfortunately, the conceptualisation of this relationship has generally been conceived in light of contextual reductionisms – as previously discussed – and binaries. The most striking binary is the one arising from the categories of liberal democracies against totalitarian, and/or authoritarian political systems. The approach taken to discuss popular music and liberal democracies is dramatically different to the one employed to analyse popular music and non-democracies.

The existing scope of approaches to the study of popular music under democracies tends to be much wider. However, when it comes to a state under a non-democratic system, the main approach is to view this relationship as a two-way flow of control from the state and dissent from the people. This section will trace some of the existing literature on popular music practices and the state, explaining and problematising existing binaries. Furthermore, in light of the previous discussion on political systems, I argue that the relationship between popular music and the state needs to include a consideration of the context – including the political system.

The use of binaries within this study area is problematic because it reduces the complexities of the relationship between popular music and the state. In addition, within existing research, the relationship between states under non-democracies and popular music practices seems to focus mostly on the instances in which both parties come into direct contact: policy, censorship, music as a controlling tool, music as the voice of dissent, and so forth. This model omits the more diffuse effects of daily life under a particular state and its political system. The lack of sufficient research in this field results in several nations not fitting within models used to understand the relationship between popular music and the state.

The few texts that analyse the state in its relationship to popular music do so by looking at those aspects in which popular music and the state come into direct contact. In the EPMOW's article on '*The State*', Wicke concentrates on the areas where the state is directly implicated with music: 'regulation and legislation; policing; and direct or indirect sponsorship' (2003). In '*Pop and the Nation State: towards a theorisation*', Cloonan (1999) seeks to raise the importance of the nation state in studying popular music. According to Cloonan, the state has been neglected in view of notions of the global and the local. He argues that state policies have an important effect upon popular music and examines those instances where the state and popular music have direct contact. Cloonan examines state intervention in popular music through the impact that broadcasting, censorship, copyright, and cultural law have on popular music. These accounts have looked in depth at the evident intersections between popular music practices and the state, providing information on the impact of the state on music production, mediation, and reception. However, they fail to consider those instances in which the relationship between popular music practices and the state is more diffuse. Life within a given nation-state will give rise to various ways in which music can be experienced on a daily basis. The implication of living within a state under a particular political system and government includes a wide range of musical experiences. These experiences do not always show visible associations to the state. However, they are shaped to different extents by state and governance rules and regulations.

The use of binaries has been taken as a regular approach to the understanding of popular music and the state. One of the most frequent binaries is contained in the way in which liberal democracies and non-democracies have been categorised and differentiated. On one side, popular music and politics under states with democratic

political systems has been depicted as a set of complex relationships. Studies on popular music and politics in democracies have looked at various issues: for example, writings on politicians who use music to further their career interests (1986, Street 1997); or music festivals which bring together people to voice their thoughts regarding current issues in a combination of musical celebration and social comment (Garofalo 1992). In contrast, music under states in non-democratic periods has mostly been described in terms of a constant struggle between the state and its controlling aims on one side, and protesting musicians and fans on the other.

For instance, in *Rebel Rock* (1986), John Street explicitly portrays the relationship of popular music in the Soviet Union in terms of control and dissent.

‘What is new is never fully understood; what is not fully understood cannot be controlled. In the case of pop, this cannot be controlled. In the case of pop, this combination of ignorance and impotence can have two, quite opposite effects. For fans, pop can come to represent an aspect of life that is beyond state control... In the same way, pop can appear as a threat to the state’s authority... when pop is seen like this, the state acts to eliminate the danger, either by crude repression or by using the music (and its popularity) to extend the state’s control. At one extreme, pop musicians find themselves imprisoned, at the other, groups are required to sing about Soviet technological triumphs. These two responses and a whole host of variations in between, are what have constituted the history of the state’s political involvement with popular music’.

(p. 30)

Street emphasises the controlling aspect of the Soviet Union. He defines the relationship held by the state towards musicians as one of strict control. Those that voice their thoughts against the state end up in jail, while individuals who manage to stay active do so by subjecting to the state’s will. Although it can be argued that under this premise other possible types of relationships between the state and popular music

have not been ruled out, these alternatives have been largely ignored. The common omission of alternatives to control and dissent are further confirmed by Street (2003). In the more general study of music and politics, Street suggests that the most prominent debates on the subject are based on control-resistance issues.

The dialectic of control and dissent also figures prominently in more specific work on music and states under non-democratic political systems. When José Roberto Zan (2003) refers to '*Popular Music and Policing in Brazil*' he does so by outlining censorship during Brazil's two twentieth century's dictatorships. In discussing popular music under these non-democratic regimes, he focuses on two main instances: firstly, on the times in which popular music was used as a voice of dissent against the state, and then on latter state attempts to control these opposing voices.

In Brazil, during the New State (1937-1945) and the military dictatorship (1964-1982), censorship towards popular music increased. Zan describes how popular music voiced the dissent of the people in relation to certain state ideas. In the New State period, the ruling administration suggested that the nation had to promote an organised workforce in order for the country to progress. The songs of this period mentioned by Zan contained lyrics that opposed the idea of work, thus voicing dissent against the state. During the military dictatorship, the music discussed in relation to policing was that belonging to the more overtly political song movement. Once again, the work of Zan fits the model of analysis of popular music under periods of non-democracy in the lines of control and dissent.

In a similar way, Yang (2003) describes the ways in which Chinese traditional performing arts have been subject to control by communist party rule. This article also approaches music within a non-democratic political system by emphasising

issues of control. Yang discusses how the level and extent of music control in China has varied throughout the different phases of the government, reaching its most critical point at the time of the cultural revolution during the ten year period between 1966 and 1976. Yang also explores the ‘indirect’ effects of economic, social, and ethnic affairs policies on Chinese traditional performing arts as well as reforms more directly aimed at this set of practices. Yang suggests that Chinese performing arts have been used as a propaganda and control tool. Despite being subject to various degrees of control over the years, Yang suggests that Chinese traditional performing arts have been resilient to state intervention, showing no significant changes.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, some recent studies have acknowledged the need for a less rigid model when studying popular music under non-democracies. Furthermore, they have approached the study field in ways that go beyond the control-dissent model (De Kloet 2001, 2010; Drewett 2004, Moore 2006). Baranovitch (2003) states in his research on popular music in China that ‘the hegemony-resistance framework has too often led scholars of popular culture to focus exclusively on conflict or struggle. This book aims to expand this focus by adhering to the idea of plurality of relationships’ (p. 9). As the authors refer to in the introduction, Baranovitch’s angle offers a more holistic view, embracing and acknowledging scattered areas in which the existence of the state, the political system, and popular music practices can have an effect on each other. The rejection of the hegemony-resistance model has also been shared by Semán and Vila (2002: pp. 70-1):

‘We believe that popular culture’s expressions are not merely reflections of the hegemonic culture, or manifestations of resistance (i.e., symbolic manoeuvres in the reduced space available in the political project of the “Other”). It is actually via such expressions that popular culture becomes the product of the creative processes that characterize any symbolic activity through which people demonstrate their capacity to construct meaning.’

When concentrating exclusively on music endorsing a state with a non-democratic system, or music proclaiming opposition to the regime, there are several types of music and themes that remain left out.

‘The ideal forms of socialist music would thus seem to be those that contain politicized messages. However, restricting art to the realm of political commentary risks downplaying a tremendous amount of the human experience – feelings of tenderness, cynicism, loneliness, impotence, melancholy, ambivalence, and so forth.’

(Moore 2006: p. 15)

Moore’s comments outline aspects of popular music practice and consumption largely ignored by most studies of popular music under non-democratic regimes. By focusing too intensely on the political – in the sense of voicing the view of a movement, coalition, party, or institution – there are other areas fundamentally dismissed. By studying Chile during the 70s and 80s, my research seeks to expand the focus beyond those types of music seen as inherently political, or with strong political associations. Within the Chilean context, popular music with a clear political message or popular music closely linked to the deposed socialist government has been widely documented. However, daily experiences of popular music during the time go far beyond the songs associated to *La Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo*. The next section of this literature review will focus on scholarly work concerning popular music during

the dictatorship. By tracing the major themes within existing texts, I will outline the main ways in which popular music during Pinochet's dictatorship has been illustrated. Finally, I will elaborate on the approach which informs the present study on popular music under the dictatorship of Pinochet. This approach is in line with Baranovitch's acknowledgment on the 'plurality of relationships' within non-democratic systems (2003: p. 9).

Chilean popular music during Pinochet's dictatorship: a literature critique

The academic study of popular music in Chile between 1973 and 1990 constitutes a field of study with several grey areas in need of further research. The period of the dictatorship has been addressed across different academic disciplines but remains patchy. For example: political, social, and economic studies of the period are abundant (Remmer 1980, Cavallo et al. 1989, French-Davis 1999, Ensalaco 2000) whilst studies on culture during the dictatorship, particularly academic studies on popular music during the period, are scarce.

Written academic accounts of the past have advantages and disadvantages. Amongst their benefits, they provide the reader and researcher with valuable information and analysis about the past. However, if not scrutinised and subject to criticism and improvement, they can contribute to the fixation of a biased construction of the past. Furthermore, reconstructions and accounts of the past are influenced in many cases by the circumstances surrounding the writer. Different points of view will most likely produce different versions of the past. The military dictatorship in Chile has triggered a range of opinions and interpretations. It is not my intention to unite all

points of view into one universal version of the past, but to acknowledge and preserve the plurality of discourses and most importantly to retrieve neglected areas within accounts of the musical practices of the dictatorship in Chile.

In terms of musical practices during the Chilean dictatorship, there are various streams worth noting. Firstly, there is a marked difference in the texts produced by Chilean authors or within Chilean research centres, and those of foreign origin. Secondly, many of the publications edited in Chile at the time were put out by a single research centre: CENECA (See Díaz 1982, Cruz 1983, Rivera 1984, Fuenzalida 1985, 1987).¹⁵

Cultural research has not been a priority for those sectors which supported the dictatorship (Antoine, personal communication, 2007). To date, most of the text on musical practices emerges from the authors who disapprove of the dictatorship. It is understandable, therefore, that writings on popular music and culture have tended to condemn the dictatorship and denounce those instances in which music was subject to repression and persecution. For example, in her article *Chilean Song Since 1973: An Overview*, Boyle focuses primarily on the faith of *Nueva Canción* since 1973. As discussed later in this thesis,¹⁶ *Nueva Canción* musicians were strongly persecuted and many were exiled. The fate of *Nueva Canción* within and outside Chile led to different uses and understandings for those who remained in Chile and those who had to live abroad. To exemplify this, Boyle concentrates on four Chilean groups: Illapu,

¹⁵ Most of the literature I have found so far on music, culture, art etc, was published in Santiago by CENECA (Centro de Indagación y Expresión Cultural y Artística - Research Centre of Cultural and Artistic Expression). CENECA texts are of limited diffusion. See further reading list for publication examples.

¹⁶ See chapter three.

Quilapayún, Los Jaivas, and Santiago del Nuevo Extremo. Each group was subject to different circumstances during the dictatorship period. Quilapayún, Los Jaivas, and Illapu all formed prior the coup and were exiled or left Chile at different times during the military regime. Quilapayún and Illapu were entirely within the *Nueva Canción* movement.

In addition, there is also a tendency to fit a variety of musical practices within these overarching frameworks. Boyle's inclusion of Los Jaivas within her account of *Nueva Canción Chilena* for instance, is perhaps somewhat imprecise. Boyle does acknowledge that the association of this band with the *Nueva Canción Chilena* was borderline (p. 48). Nevertheless, Los Jaivas' trajectory is rather related to the development of rock and not to that of *Nueva Canción*. Los Jaivas were one of the most significant and leading rock bands in the early 70s (Albornoz 1995, Salas 2003, Planet 2004). They were pioneers in developing a local rock idiom whose progress was truncated by later political events (Planet 2004). Prior to 1973, and within a highly politicised society, rockers were looked at with resentment by those concerned with political matters. Unlike *Nueva Canción*, rock as a movement did not show a clear political affiliation (although rock musicians may have had a political position individually). Whereas Boyle admits the differences between Los Jaivas and the most purist exponents of *Nueva Canción*, Los Jaivas are discussed within a *Nueva Canción* framework – a framework of leftist resistance.

In her text, Boyle also concentrates on a band which originated during authoritarian times: Santiago del Nuevo Extremo. The band belonged to a movement that took on the legacy of *Nueva Canción: Canto Nuevo*. Boyle succeeds in denoting the difference in evolution between *Nueva Canción* in exile and *Canto Nuevo* inside Chile. While *Nueva Canción* enjoyed great success in Europe, *Canto Nuevo* was a

‘marginal cultural expression’ (p. 52) within Chile. If *Canto Nuevo* was marginal within Chile, then a question arises as to what was mainstream, and what else besides *Canto Nuevo* existed in Pinochet’s Chile. Boyle does not intend to provide answers to what was sounding in dictatorial Chile. Instead, her research interest lies in addressing the different paths followed by a movement bifurcated by the dictatorship. Outside Chile, *Nueva Canción Chilena* remained attached to pre-coup ideals, posing a fierce resistance and struggle against the dictatorship. Instead, within Chile, *Canto Nuevo* evolved in a very different context of marginality, censorship, self-censorship, and the overall social, economic, and political changes of the country.

If compared with most writings originated elsewhere during the dictatorship time, Chilean scholars show a tendency to provide a wider representation of the plurality and complexity of daily life within the authoritarian regime. Chilean writings have acknowledged, though minimally, types of music outside the overt struggle against the authority (foreign, pop music, and ballad music amongst others). For example, *Culture, Art, and Literature in Chile: 1973-1985* elucidates what Manuel Alcides Jofré (1989) considers to be the main attributes of various significant cultural fields in Chile during the authoritarian years of the 1970s and early 1980s. He analyses cultural articulations developed during the dictatorship by looking at different artistic sectors. The cultural dimension and its fields are understood as a crucial component of society, outside of which no social experience exists. The text recognises the complexities of culture and its specificities by defining it as ‘the collective self of a community [and] its social identity’ (p. 75)

Despite the fact that the intricacies of cultural activities are acknowledged, Jofré nonetheless perceives most areas of cultural expression as a dual conflict between official discourses and its opponents. Therefore, he perceives culture in Chile

in light of the binary of control and dissent. For example: [1] he refers to the initial eradication of plural expressions to then stress the re-emergence and re-establishment of those world-views that had been banned – Marxism. [2] The author offers a few methods of conceptualising artistic and cultural circumstances, one of which refers to ‘macrocircuits’ and ‘microcircuits’ (p. 72) of artistic expression. Macrocircuits are described as ‘formal’ and ‘institutionalized’ (p. 72) and ‘only reproduce official discourse’ (p. 73). Microcircuits are ‘unofficial’ and ‘informal’ (p. 72), and ‘both the government and the opposition have developed projects’ (p. 73). In other words, the author conceives the conflicts between official and suppressed left-wing socialist discourse as one of the main aspects of culture under the authoritarian years.

Three classes of Chilean culture are identified: learned, mass, and popular culture. Learned culture is sophisticated and reveals the ideas of the upper classes. Mass culture is identified as transnational and maintained by the cultural industries. Popular culture’s connotation within the Chilean context is differentiated from its Anglo-American definition as mass culture. In Chile, popular culture is presented as marginal and representative of leftist ideals and the *clases populares* (workers and peasants).

Jofré deals with various fields of cultural expression. Clearly coming from a background in academic literature, more space is devoted to literary text than to any other form of artistic expression – visual arts, music, and theatre – and no mention of film. It is interesting that, even though culture and art are mostly conceived in light of the official versus the counter-official, there is mention of commercial music and Latin rock – besides *Canto Nuevo*. However, commercial music is seen as a negative and sedating influence on culture in the hands of the transnational culture industries. Interestingly, there is also mention of the ubiquitous music that took over ‘shopping

malls, radio, and TV spots' (p. 75). To what Latin rock concerns, Jofré mentions that rock groups 'convey a cosmic vision of humans and the world and propose an internal revolution and a universal harmony' (p. 76). Hence, Jofré acknowledges the existence of mass culture and commercial music, ubiquitous music, as well as Latin rock. Within the article in general, mass culture is seen in a negative way based on its commercial and capitalist appeal. Even though commercial music and mass culture are constantly linked to official hegemonic purposes, there is no detailed and referenced analysis of the role and meaning of mass culture under authoritarian rule. Most assumptions on mass culture are tightly linked to a post-Marxist perspective. Despite the lack of a deeper analysis of commercial music, mass culture, and rock, Jofré presents a plurality of music that falls outside the categories of the official and the counter-official.

In contrast, Anglo-American and European writings have tended to centre their discourses on culture and music within the context of struggle and resistance (Manuel 1988; Fairley 1989; Taffet 1997). Foreign writings on the subject have projected an image of Chilean popular music of the '70s and '80s which is mainly based on the *Nueva Canción* movement and the exiled musicians. These genres are directly linked with the dictatorship's opposition, and more particularly with a socialist perspective. Furthermore, most of these texts originated in academic circles identified with left wing politics and were motivated by the struggle against the Chilean dictatorship. In some ways, this approach is perfectly understandable when considering the circumstances in which many US Americans and Europeans came into contact with Chileans at the time of the dictatorship. Europe particularly, was an important host for many Chilean exiles who had been through extremely violent situations before leaving the country. Solidarity campaigns against the dictatorship –

of which music was a central part – attracted the attention and fraternity of many Europeans.

Writings within the last decade have declined in number. Foreign interest in the music of that period tends to be associated with protest songs, while a small number of non-academic publications by Chilean authors have embraced the subject from a greater distance and with innovatory views on musical practices and discourses (Contardo and García 2005, Ponce 2008).¹⁷

Recently, the work of US based Chilean scholar Daniel Party has taken a different angle from which to view the music which circulated in Chile during the dictatorship. *Guilty Pleasure and the Latin American balada Revival* is the third chapter of an unpublished thesis on ‘Bolero and *balada* as the Guilty Pleasure of Latin American Pop’ submitted in 2006. This chapter is relevant to my discussion for it is perhaps the only text that deals with the role of *balada* during the 1970s and 1980s in Chile. Daniel Party was born and completed his undergraduate education in Chile. Even though Party’s thesis is not devoted to the military regime but to *balada* in Latin America, his PhD dissertation shows a shift in the historiography of popular music in Chile under the dictatorship. By 2008, this thesis was one of the only pieces of academic text that – when referring to the military dictatorship – did not have the Chilean political song movements as its main focus. In later years, Party has published work on *balada* which has followed a similar vein. His later work will be addressed in chapter three.

¹⁷ I will explore these issues further in chapter three.

Balada is a well-known genre in Latin America – very reminiscent of the international pop ballad – which tends to deal with human feelings and emotions. Despite its apolitical connotation, ‘during the 1970s and 1980s in Chile [...] *balada*’s apolitical stance was read by many as a political position’ (p. 99). This conceptualisation of *balada*’s reception and political association is interesting and should be progressed. Party suggests that due to its thematic contents, *balada* was a safe bet with censors and therefore a secure option for producers. *Balada* was therefore given continuous broadcast during the dictatorship. Although very few *balada* singers were clear supporters of the military regime, the genre became, according to Party, stigmatised.

Party presents readings of *balada* and other elements of popular culture as having a generalised interpretation. For example, he mentions the TV programme *Sábados Gigantes*, a Saturday variety show which originated in 1962 in Santiago de Chile and emigrated to Miami in 1986 to reach a broader Hispanic audience. In Party’s work, like *balada*, *Sábados Gigantes* is said to be regarded as entertainment to sooth the masses. This view is not only reductionist to the extent that it unifies the opinion of a divided nation in regards to a programme, there is also no clear evidence of the extent to which *balada* and *Sábados Gigantes* – which featured various musical numbers – were received by the audience as a political message. By whom was *balada* or *Sábados Gintantes* received as a political message? By most people to a similar degree? How representative of Chilean society at the time is the idea of *balada* and *Sábados Gigantes* as conveyors of a political message? Such a question should have been addressed in order to avoid generalisations.

A common characteristic in most academic work on music during the Chilean dictatorship – including what has not been extensively covered in this text — is a

major emphasis on music production and mediation. Most analyses concentrate on the activities of musicians and the vicissitudes they were subject to in order to continue their creative output and disseminate their (Cruz 1983, Morris 1986, Taffet 1997, Díaz-Inostroza 2007) work. Furthermore, importance has been given to the mediation of music through promotion, public performance, and audiovisual and written media. Although consumers of music are sometimes mentioned to various extents, I have not yet found academic work which deals with the ways in which people in Chile used music on the receptive end of the communication process, nor on how they used music composed and recorded by others to create meaning and identity. In chapter seven I seek to address this imbalance by engaging in an exploratory discussion on music reception in daily life.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to justify the three main points of my theses in light of what has been previously written on the topic. Firstly, in order to understand the implications of the military dictatorship on the musical practices of Chile at the time, it is important to think about the particularities of the implementation of the political system. In other words, understanding the processes of popular music practices within a political system requires consideration of the specificities of context in which that process unfolds. Various scholars have tended to group various nation-state case studies into broad categories, failing to address the particularities of each case. Furthermore, there has been no distinction made between the long-living nature of the state in regards to the temporary character of certain political systems.

Secondly, in this chapter I have introduced some common binaries present in the conceptualisation of popular music practices and under times of non-democracy. Popular music under non-democratic regimes has been continuously conceived in terms of state control and counter-official dissent. This trend is slowly starting to change and should follow a direction that treats popular music practices under non-democratic circumstances as complex and case-specific.

Finally, I have addressed some aspects concerning the methods of historicising popular music in Chile between 1973 and 1990. Political music, or music linked to political movements, has been prioritised within academic debate, while other genres have been given considerably less attention. Too much focus on *Nueva Canción* has failed to tackle the variety of genres and popular music practices that took place under authoritarianism. In addition, there has been more emphasis on music production and mediation, leaving further room to research music reception during the Chilean dictatorship.

This chapter has provided the theoretical framework which informs the present study of popular music practices during Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973-1990). In an attempt to enhance the understanding and analysis of the relationship between popular music practices and political systems, the remaining chapters of this thesis will seek to position popular music practices within the contextual specificities of Pinochet's rule in Chile.

Consequently, this thesis seeks to analyse the musical practices in Chile under the military dictatorship that took place between 1973 and 1990. The next two chapters will provide contextual background on the political/social/economic particularities of the period and on the relationship between music and national

identity in Chile during the twentieth century. My interest in the dictatorial period originates from trying to understand the effect a political system has on the musical practices of a country. In this particular case, I will address how musical practices were shaped by the existence of a military administration. By musical practices I refer to the activities in the private and public spheres which involve music in some form. With such a broad definition of musical practices in mind, I have decided to focus on three areas: the activity of musicians, the role of music in the media, and the use and meaning of music in daily life. By looking at these three key areas, I want to progress the understanding of the effect that the military administration had on the characteristics and development of musical practices.

CHAPTER TWO: CHILE 1964-1990

In order to set the context within which musical practices developed during the dictatorship period, this chapter will provide a review of key social, political, and economic developments in Chile between 1964 and 1990.¹⁸ Particularly, it will concentrate on the period of military dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet between 1973 and 1990. Understanding the political, social, and economic aspects of this period is a fundamental part of the analysis of musical practices under the authoritarian system imposed in Chile. Therefore, this account will discuss significant events and address the role of key social actors. However, such an overview would be incomplete if the question of memory is left unaddressed: in other words, how do Chileans remember and make sense of the recent years of military rule? This is no easy question to answer, for there is no unanimous collective agreement within Chilean society as to how this period should be understood. The second section in this chapter will discuss the various memory frameworks according to which Chileans understand and give meaning to their remembrance of this period. Drawing from Steve J. Stern's illuminating analysis on the memory of Pinochet's Chile (2004, 2006), a reflection on the memory and meaning of these traumatic years will give further insight into the understanding of musical practices during Pinochet's military rule.

¹⁸ Due to space restrictions, this account will only discuss key issues and events. Other studies have covered this period more extensively (Cavallo, Salazar et al. 1989, Ensalaco 2000, Angell 1993, Vitale 1999, Huneeus 2002, Arellano Iturriaga 2003, Rolle 2003, Garcés, Leiva 2005, Verdugo 1999, Collier 1979b, Brunner 1981, Catalán, Munizaga 1986, Drake 1996, Barros 2002, Navia 2004).

Historical Account

In Chile, the second half of the 1960s signalled the start of a period of rapidly increasing social effervescence which culminated with an attempted transition into a socialist political regime, and ceased abruptly with the *coup d'état* of September 1973. During this time, previously absent social sectors entered the political arena, where social justice and equality were at the centre of the political debate. The social organisation of working class sectors developed continuously through the creation of social base cells such as neighbours' associations, women's associations, and parents' school associations. These associations were encouraged and/or sponsored by various social institutions, political parties, and the Catholic Church. Consequently, along with strong and rapid development, the expectations of these social sectors increased considerably. Demands were voiced out loud with strikes and unrest. Social disorder was fuelled by growing economic insecurity epitomised by a rise in inflation and economic stagnation (Angell 1993, Correa, Figueroa et al. 2001). Inflation figures rose from 19% in 1967 to 34% in 1970. Industrial growth figures decreased from 7,3% at the start of the 1960s to 3,5% at the end the decade (Correa et al 2001: p. 254).

Some social sectors became radicalised and began to adopt measures of direct action by taking over land, estates, and factories. Constant uprising led to the use of repressive measures to control social unrest, which in some cases ended up in injury and death.¹⁹ This unrest, in addition to the take over of land, fuelled hatred towards

¹⁹ *Toma Pampa Irigoyen* 8 dead and over 50 injured. Lately Edmundo Perez Zujovic, Interior Minister was killed by *Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo*, a marginal group which blamed him for the *Pampa Irigoyen* incident.

some working class sectors and reformist politicians. Confrontation gradually replaced earlier methods of negotiation in political as well as social life. Political parties became more and more rigid in their ideas and objectives while the parliament saw a decline in its capacity to settle conflict (Correa et al 2001).

During the presidency of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964 - 1970), the government was surrounded by a right which wanted to put a stop to the revolutionary process, and a left which wanted to accelerate it. Meanwhile, the Christian Democrats were absorbed in internal ideological divisions which culminated with the partition of young members into the *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* (MAPU), which later joined the *Unidad Popular* (UP) (Angell 1993, Correa et al 2001, Vitale 1999).

The UP was the political coalition which supported the presidency of Salvador Allende in Chile. This alliance was composed of six parties which shared the purpose of leading the country into a socialist political order, albeit with dissimilar views on how to accomplish such objective (Angell 1993). What united the parties within UP was not a unanimous ideological agreement, but rather a shared desire for social change and the achievement of social fairness and equality. Furthermore, UP parties had a joint aversion to the Christian Democrats and the right. Hence, forming a coalition was essential in order to stand a chance in the presidential elections of 1970. Salvador Allende was key to the coalition, for he had the ability to band together and lead all UP parties despite their differences (Correa, Figueroa et al. 2001)²⁰.

²⁰ *Unidad Popular* parties: Socialist Party, Communist Party, MAPU, Radical party, Left Radical Party, and Popular Independent Action (API).

Within the UP, the main discrepancies were held between the Socialist Party (endorsed by extreme groups within and outside the UP) and the Communist Party (endorsed by the Radical Party and MAPU). These discrepancies were based on the speed and extent of the changes necessary to achieve a socialist society. On the one hand, the Communist Party sought to accelerate the process of capitalism, so as to count –in theory– with the conditions necessary for the setting up of a socialist order. If required, the communists would have considered an alliance with other reformist parties, such as the Christian Democrats, in order to achieve their purpose. The socialists, on the other hand, rejected outright any association with *bourgeois* parties, and – inspired by the Cuban revolution – were in favour of immediate and drastic changes to achieve socialism. Certain extreme factions – some within and some outside the UP – disfavoured democratic elections in support of what they saw as a legitimate armed revolution (Angell 1993, Correa et al 2001).

Partido Nacional (PN) was a right-wing party formed in 1966 after the dissolution of the Conservative and Liberal party. The PN was confrontational and included anti-Marxist members. The right also had an extreme group –*Movimiento Nacionalista Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Liberty) (Fuentes Wendling 1999) – which engaged in violent and illegal actions. The PN opposed the agrarian reform, which undermined those traditional hierarchical structures which empowered the ruling elite. The party was also supported by certain sectors of Chile's middle class (entrepreneurs, employees, professionals, retailers) who distrusted existing and upcoming social reforms (Correa et al 2001).

In 1970, Salvador Allende won the presidential election with 36,3% of the vote. Right-wing candidate Arturo Alessandri obtained 34,9% and Christian Democrat Radomiro Tomic 27,8%. Because none of the candidates obtained the

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DINA began its operations in November 1973 as an army intelligence division. In June 1974 the organism was officially established as an independent administrative unit. It was directed by Manuel Contreras, who at the time held the rank of colonel.²⁶ DINA's mission was to 'neutralise' at any cost all opposition to the government, especially political organisations identified with Marxist thought. Contreras reported directly to Pinochet, thereby strengthening the dictator's personal power. Furthermore, this direct relationship to Pinochet gave the intelligence organism attributions beyond the institutional order of the Armed Forces. Hence, DINA personnel interfered with military hierarchical powers as well as with the operations of other military and police departments (Cavallo et al 1989, Arellano Iturriaga 2003, Stern 2006, Arce 1993).

DINA was responsible for the detention, torture, and disappearance of thousands of Chileans. DINA officials circulated in un-plated trucks used to arrest and take prisoners to a destination unknown to them. The intelligence organism made use of several clandestine detention centres where they took prisoners for interrogations and torture. Furthermore, Pinochet also used DINA to control high government and military officers in order to avoid the emergence of dissidence_(Cavallo et al 1989, Huneeus 2002, Valdés c1974, Vargas 1991).

DINA personnel also analysed and deciphered political and Marxist material – of a theoretical level beyond the understanding of DINA workers – in order to make it comprehensible to those who lacked the knowledge to understand it. At the same

²⁶ He was not a general and that caused hierarchical problems within the institution.

time, they drew conclusions in regard to the projects of political parties (Merino Vega 1993).

At times, music was used as part of repressive operations. For example, music was played through loud speakers to muffle the sounds of sorrow and pain. After the coup, many were arrested and taken to Santiago's National Stadium for imprisonment and interrogation. In order to prevent neighbours from hearing screams, English language rock music was played at loud volume (Ponce 2008). In addition, prisoner testimonies have reported the use of music in torture sessions. Marcia Merino Vega identifies an officer who carried a music player with which he forced prisoners to listen to rock at a very high volume (Merino Vega 1993: p. 40).

Many soldiers complied with DINA orders because of the sense of obedience characteristic of military hierarchical structures. There were soldiers who refused to carry out certain orders, or who helped prisoners in certain ways. When caught, dissident soldiers were severely punished and sometimes even murdered (Arce 1993, Echeverría 2008)

Between 1973 and 1976, DINA engaged in a horrific mission which sought to disempower – and if necessary, eliminate – the leaderships of the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* (MIR),²⁷ the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party. DINA carried out several operations which ended in the death or disappearance of leftist activists. At times, these actions were reported in the media in highly distorted ways. Left-wing activists were presented as terrorists who either attacked officers for

²⁷ MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) was a Marxist Leninist party which, inspired by the Cuban experience, supported the idea of a revolution to establish a working-class dictatorship.

no reason, or who engaged in internal disputes which ended in lethal armed confrontations (Cavallo et al 1989, Huneeus 2002, Arce 1993, Vargas 1991).

Early in the military period, the Junta publicly declared that the country was going to be subject to collaborative rule between the three branches of the Armed Forces and the Police. In addition, they expressed their intention to remain in power temporarily until their aims of bringing back social and political order were achieved. However, military intentions quickly changed. Shortly after the coup, the military came to the conclusion that more time was needed to restore society. They inferred that the country had reached a state of chaos, not only due to the UP administration but also because of years of civilian rule. 'As the saviours of the nation, Chile's professional soldiers came to see themselves as a special breed, rising above competing and parochial interests and maintaining the front line against foreign totalitarian doctrines' (Valenzuela 1995).

Augusto Pinochet consolidated his personal power in little time. Pinochet cunningly manipulated power relationships in a manner which allowed him to attain a considerable amount of authority and rise above other Junta members. Only nine months after the coup, Pinochet was named 'Supreme Chief of the Nation' (a euphemistic denomination which five months later was amended to the title of 'President of the Republic') (Cavallo et al. 1989, Valenzuela 1995).²⁸ By holding the title of President, the Junta ceased to have executive attributions. Hence, Pinochet

²⁸At the time of the coup, the majority of laws referred to instances in which the action of the President of the Republic was needed. For this reason, Pinochet asked Monica Madariaga (Minister of Justice) to write a new regulation which re-titled his public office, from Supreme Chief to President (Valenzuela 1995).

received *all* executive attributions. To crystallise this important change, Pinochet had a symbolic ceremony very similar to those held by former presidents. Despite the fact that the Junta had legislative authority, its power was in fact weak and did not equal the power held traditionally by parliament. Moreover, Pinochet was the President *and* a Junta member. Because the Junta vote had to be unanimous, Pinochet could vote against the other members of the Junta to avoid resolutions which contradicted his intentions. Furthermore, Pinochet soon and conveniently ‘forgot’ about an initial agreement which stated that all Junta members were going to, at some point, hold the presidency of the Junta (ibid).

Soon after 1973, the aims of the military government went from being transitional to foundational (Gazmuri 1999). In 1974, the Junta released an official document which set their aims and principles without any defined timeframe (Militar 1974a). The government also released a document on Cultural Policy, which rather than exposing a set of regulations, manifested a conception of Chilean culture rooted in tradition, the land, and patriotic symbols (Militar 1974b).

According to Gazmuri (1999), the takeover soon turned into a form of government in which civilian technocrats assumed the administration of the government while the military was used by Pinochet to exert control. Military officers appointed to public office served the purpose of maintaining loyalty to a government they considered *their own*. This military-technocrat alliance formed the basis of Pinochet’s authoritarian dictatorship.

On the 9th of July 1977, Pinochet addressed the nation in a ceremony which took place on the Chacarillas hill.²⁹ During the speech, Pinochet presented a ‘constitutional itinerary’ which established aims and timeframes for the development of his politico-institutional project. The plan was divided into three periods. During the first period, the military was to be responsible for the administration of the country. The second period was referred to as the transitional stage – current at the time of the speech –, during which the military would share power with civilians who carried out key socio-economic duties. The third period was known as the stage of ‘normality’, in which civilians would hold power while the military acted as constitutional guarantor (Angell 1993, Huneeus 2002, Gazmuri 1999).

A perceived atmosphere of military control and successful governance was challenged by the consequences of DINA operations. In 1976, DINA coordinated the assassination of former UP Foreign Affairs Minister in Washington DC. Letelier and his secretary (US citizen Ronni Moffit) were killed with a car bomb. The United States did not tolerate this episode and opened an investigation which attributed responsibility for the crime to DINA. The US demanded the extradition of the material authors of the crime and the director and sub-director of DINA, Manuel Contreras and Pedro Espinoza. In light of the situation, Pinochet dissolved DINA in 1977 and created a new intelligence organism under the name of CNI [*Central Nacional de Informaciones* – National Information Centre]. Contreras was released from his duties, although he later ascended to the rank of general. By 1978 however, after long negotiations, the Chilean government decided to hand over the crime

²⁹ The Chacarillas speech received great contribution from Jaime Guzmán, leader of the *gremialismo* movement. See footnote 25.

perpetrator, US citizen Michael Townley. In addition, Manuel Contreras was sent into early retirement (Cavallo et al 1989, Huneus 2002, Stern 2006).

The outcome of this scandal saw a slight political liberalisation. On the 11th of March 1978, the state of siege was lifted and exchanged for a 'state of emergency' which was slightly less restrictive.³⁰ Furthermore, in order to avoid future legal action, Pinochet dictated an amnesty for all crimes committed since September 1973 (Gazmuri 1999).

Pinochet faced the DINA scandal by claiming that the Chilean government was the victim of an international smear campaign (Gasmuri). Adding to the DINA scandal, the Chilean government was condemned by the United Nations for human right abuses at the end of 1977. As a result, Pinochet held a National Consultation in January 1978. This tactic has been described as a mechanism to increase Pinochet's personal power (Arellano Iturriaga 2003). The consultation asked people whether they would 'endorse President Pinochet in his defence of the dignity of Chile, and reaffirm the legitimacy of the Government of the Republic to head in a sovereign way the country's institutional process' (quoted in Valenzuela 1995: p. 38). Mendoza and Leigh opposed this as they considered it to be a move by Pinochet to further his quest for power and 'political legitimacy'. Based on Junta Members' disagreement, Pinochet released the Consultation order as a presidential decree. The official comptroller refused to approve the order, considering it to fall outside the constitution. Pinochet removed the comptroller and substituted him with someone who obeyed his orders (ibid).

³⁰ This included the termination of the curfew.

Due to constant internal discrepancies, in 1978 Pinochet managed to destitute Air Force Chief Commander Gustavo Leigh from the Junta . In May 1978, Leigh expressed in correspondence with Pinochet that the military government should end within five years and that civilians should be allowed to contribute in the drafting and output of policy. General Leigh also wanted to modify Law DL 527 to exclude the President from voting in the Junta, allowing the president to exert his veto only if the Junta vote was not unanimous. Leigh also considered a new constitution unnecessary; to him, only certain modifications needed to be made to the 1925 constitution in order to adjust to present circumstances. Pinochet used the interview Leigh had given to an Italian newspaper, expressing his differences with Pinochet, as an excuse to justify Leigh's departure (Valenzuela 1995: p. 37).

In 1978, Pinochet announced seven important steps within the economic programme. These measures – known as the ‘Seven Modernisations’ – were presented as a form of progress and as the introduction of freedom of choice. The modernisation of the labour market sought to limit the right to strike, abolish collective negotiations, and make the market more flexible. The pension reform transferred pension funds from the state to the private sector. The administrative configuration of the national territory was altered and the country was divided into regions. The educational reform transferred the administration of schools to city councils, allowed the formation of private schools, and abolished union and political intrusion in school matters. The health system was restructured through partial privatisation and the establishment of health insurance institutions. The programme also announced a legal and agrarian reform. Neoliberal policy significantly reduced social spending. Per-habitant spending dropped 20% between 1974 and 1982. Public

investment in social sectors dropped 80% between 1974 and 1982 (Correa et al 2001, Huneeus 2002).

To continue with the aim of state administrative reforms, a commission to draft a new constitution was formed.³¹ Pinochet agreed to present the commission's draft to the state's advisory council, after which a national referendum would be summoned. In 1980, a new constitution was approved with 67,04% of the vote according to official figures.³² The 1980's constitution's main non-democratic element was based on its restriction of the freedom to choose representatives and negotiate changes. By preventing Marxist parties from accessing office, political power remained within the Armed Forces and right-wing elites. High rank officials were to form part of the National Security Board and the senate, as designated members. The Armed Forces were conceived as the institutional guarantors and the Chief Commanders could not be removed from their roles. The 1980 constitution sought to perpetuate the dictatorship's institutional project. It established a transitional phase of eight years, in which Pinochet would hold presidency and the Junta the Legislative power. At the end of the period there would be a referendum where one candidate, nominated by the Junta, would be up for public acceptance. The constitution was put into practice on the 11th of March 1981, a date which marked the start of Pinochet's eight-year presidential term (Cavallo et al 1989, Angell 1993, Stern 2006).

³¹ Comisión Ortuzar.

³² The organisation of the 1980 constitution referendum is well known for its irregularities. There was no Electoral Court, and the campaign was carried out under a context in which the government had extreme freedom to relegate, arrest, and exile individuals.

For the military regime, the acceptance of the constitution took place within a positive environment of successful economic results. However, in 1982 the worst economic crisis since the 1930s hit the country. The neoliberal model proved to be vulnerable to external factors. The economic reforms had allowed for excessive credit and financial speculation based on unreasonable foreign loans, substantial and cheap foreign imports, discouragement of national export activity, a national industry which had been dismantled, and significant lack of protection for workers (Correa et al 2001). The crisis was worsened by world oil prices, compounded with a reduction of foreign investment, low demand for Chilean products, and rising interest rates. In 1982, GDP dropped significantly, inflation doubled compared to the previous year, and many businesses faced bankruptcy (a total of 1191 between 1982 and 1983). The state had to bail private businesses, in a major contradiction to the neoliberal model (Correa et al 2001, Huneeus 2002).

The economic crisis was followed by major public protests in Santiago. These were strikingly surprising as they signalled the first open manifestation of discontent against the dictatorship. Several public strikes took place between 1983 and 1984. Other forms of subversive manifestations occurred in the period after the protests. In August 1986, a stash of arms was found in Carrizal (in the north of the country). In September of the same year, an assassination attempt almost killed Pinochet. This increased radicalisation was responded to with more oppression. The strikes were combated with police repression, and were followed by hundreds of arrests and several house raids in Santiago. Human rights violations and arrests increased. There were 1789 arrests reported in 1982. The figure went up to 15,977 arrests in 1983, 39,449 in 1984, 9,116 in 1985, and 33,665 in 1986. Furthermore, some of the most horrid dictatorship crimes took place during these years: the assassination of union

leader Tucapel Jiménez (1983); the ‘slit throat’ assassination, the burning alive of two young activists, the assassination of four left wing militants –seen as a revenge to Pinochet’s attempted murder–, and Albania Operation, in which twelve members of the armed group *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* were killed but reported to have died in a confrontation (Cavallo et al 1989, Correa et al 2001, Stern 2006).

The strikes, the international aid, the boycott of Chilean products, plus the reactivation of union movements, pressured the military government into accepting a growing political opposition. During the first period of the dictatorship – approximately until the early 80s – the Catholic Church was seen as the main oppositional bastion. The Church, under the rule of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, was the only institution which could question – not without difficulty – Pinochet’s power. In a way, the Church fulfilled a role ignored by the judiciary: to watch out for the rights of the victims of violence and abuse. The Catholic Church, with the support of the Vatican, formed a special Vicarship named “Vicaría de la Solidaridad”. Its main role was to protect the victims of the dictatorship. With the rise of political opposition and the retirement of Silva Henríquez – who was replaced by Cardinal Fresno – the Church adopted an intermediary role between the dictatorship and the growing political opposition (Cavallo et al 1989, Correa et al 2001, Huneeus 2002).

The political negotiations mediated by Cardinal Fresno did not thrive. The opposition, in the form of *Alianza Democrática* [Democratic Alliance] (formed by the Christian Democrats, and a reformed Socialist Party), demanded a constituent assembly, a new constitution, Pinochet’s resignation, and a provisional transitional government. The government rejected most demands, however, *some* negotiations were achieved: the return of a selected number of exiles (Gazmuri 1999).

The climate of social unrest and the economic crisis led Pinochet to put a stop to the political opening. In 1985, the government brought back the state of siege. In this context, Pinochet continued with the 'constitutional itinerary' and neoliberal policy. The economic crisis and protest waves gave rise to the political coalition that has governed Chile since the end of the dictatorship – a coalition which brought together sectors of reciprocal opposition prior to 1973. However, this coalition had to negotiate with the military government and subscribe to their rules and conditions. Military power had been established in such a way as to maintain structures and institutions in the way conceived by them, even after their potential stepping down (Correa et al 2001, Huneus 2002, Gazmuri 1999).

By 1988, the economy, in the hands of Treasury Minister Hernán Büchi, had shown clear signs of improvement. The opposition had realised that they could not confront the government in an insurrectional way and therefore negotiations and agreements needed to be reached. The constitutional itinerary had reached the point of the plebiscite. On the 2nd of February 1988, the *Concertación por el No*, which grouped 16 political organisations, was formed. This coalition excluded extreme left parties including the Communist Party. The Communist Party was against constitutional negotiations with the government and in favour of insurrectional confrontation (Correa et al 2001, Huneus 2002, Gazmuri 1999).

In August 1988, the Junta elected Pinochet as the candidate to the presidency for the plebiscite agreed within the 'constitutional itinerary'. Chilean people had the choice to choose between SI (yes) and NO (no). YES was the option which represented those who wanted Pinochet to continue in the Presidency. NO was the option for those who wanted the return of governmental power to civilians, as well as

general elections. On the 5th of October, the plebiscite took place under unprecedented transparency. The opposition had the chance – though limited – to access television to promote their option. The NO's party political broadcast was an important element for the coalition's success. The NO option obtained 54,71% of the vote against 43,01% for YES. The 1988 plebiscite attracted the highest participation in Chilean history with 92% of registered voters. In 1989, presidential elections were held and Patricio Aylwin was elected as the first post-authoritarian president. In addition, 1989 saw significant constitutional changes which signalled the beginning of the transition to democracy (Angell 1993, Huneeus 2002, Drake and Jaksić 1995).

The military government did not attribute much importance to culture. Despite attributing *cueca* an official status as Chile's national dance in 1979 (Donoso 2006),³³ the government's concern with art and culture was minimal. Cultural expression and national identity was based on essentialist principles and ideas of land and heritage. The restrictions which affected musical practices were more a result of wider repressive measures which pointed at exerting control and eradicating Marxism from the country. Repression was strong and generalised during the first weeks after the coup and it subsequently became more selective. However, coercive measures lasted until the very end of the dictatorship.

Memory

In this chapter, I have engaged in an account of a number of political, social, and economic events and processes which took place during the dictatorship years in Chile. This chronological overview has been generally agreed on in writings on the

³³ More on *cueca* in chapter three.

subject (Cavallo et al 1989, Angell 1993, Correa, Figueroa et al 2001, Stern 2006, Drake and Jaksić 1995). However, there is as yet no collective agreement or consented text on the meaning of the dictatorial past. This disagreement is based on differences in personal experiences and political perceptions. Chile's military regime is still part of the living memory of most Chileans and present social, economic and political structures are part of the dictatorship's legacy.

Most memory work on Chile's military regime has addressed issues directly and intimately related to human rights violations and the systematic official denial of their existence during the military regime (Padilla Ballesteros 1995, Garcés et al. 2000, Garcés and Leiva 2005, Lazzara and Poblete 2008). The term '*olvido*' [forgetting/oblivion] is frequently used in these accounts to express tensions within Chilean society, where horrific acts of violence appear to be forgotten. Forgetting seems to provide a comfortable zone which avoids divisive issues of the past and encourages society to look to the future and move forward. Addressing *olvido* seeks to encourage remembrance and claims the denied legitimacy for the disappearance and torture of people by state agents. Therefore, most writings on memory attempt to encourage the recovery of a forgotten memory – an event of loss – whose existence was denied for seventeen years.

According to this line of thought the memory of human rights violations must be recovered and preserved in the collective. This approach to memory seeks to give deserving importance to the atrocities committed by the dictatorship's national security institutions and secret police (DINA and CNI). The victims and their families were denied official credibility and acknowledgment for many years. The families of the disappeared have grouped together in organisations that aim at recovering and preserving the memory of those who were abused and assassinated.

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The memory debate is not only concerned with the remembrance of the victims but also with the search for truth and justice. An important reason for preserving the memory of violence and injustice within collective memory is to avoid a future slip into the errors of the past. It is not only those with missing relatives who share this interest, there are many others who also identify with this stance.

Stern's model is a departure from two existing trends within the memory debate in Chile (2004). The first, according to Stern, is a tendency to perceive memory as a dichotomy of 'memory against forgetting (olvido)' (p. xxci), which positions the notion of memory as a quest against 'oblivion'. In situations where the governing body of a country denies the reality of a portion of the population, memory struggles become a fundamental part in the effort for justice and redemption. For many years in Chile, government and law officials denied any involvement or knowledge of the whereabouts of people who had been arrested by alleged security services, or who had simply disappeared without leaving a trace. This denial by state officials put the individuals whose friends and/or family members were missing in a position of emotional and civic deprivation. Hence, this way of perceiving memory is central to human rights groups who demand truth and information regarding the fate of disappeared victims, and trials for those responsible for human rights abuses. The second of these trends is associated with the first and focuses on the moral attitude towards state violence developed by the upper and middle classes. For many, and especially for those rewarded by the economic changes imposed by the military government, state violence becomes an uncomfortable issue which tends to be put aside and overlooked in the acceptance of economic affluence.

Stern's proposed framework is not a complete dismissal of those two existing trends, but rather a departure which acknowledges both instances but greatly expands

the understanding of the social memory process of Chile's controversial past. This departure responds to the need to unveil and understand the collective frameworks which guide people in how they narrate their past experiences and views in identifiable ways.

'What I am arguing *for* is study of contentious memory as a process of competing selective remembrances, ways of giving meaning to and drawing legitimacy from human experience. The memory-against-forgetting dichotomy is too narrow and restrictive; it tends to align one set of actors with memory and another with forgetting. In the approach I have taken, the social actors behind distinct frameworks are seeking to define that which is truthful and meaningful about a great collective trauma. They are necessarily selective as they give shape to memory and they may all see themselves as struggling, at one point or another, against the oblivion propagated by their antagonists'

(Stern 2004: p. xxvii, original emphasis)

Memory of a traumatic episode contains a number of contending recollections in the quest for significance and validity. To illustrate how such memory forms and operates, Stern (2003, 2006) uses the allegory of a memory box. The box has a central place and role in society and holds a number of different unfinished and continuously evolving versions of a decisive moment in the past. These competing versions co-exist in the box in addition to 'lore' and 'loose memories', valuable elements which do not comfortably adapt to any particular version. Stern's memory box illustration provides a simple but clear description of the methodological tools he proposes to deal with the difficulties of conceptualising the contradicting nature of the memory of Chile's recent past.

The different versions or 'scripted albums' (2003: p. xxvii) of the past within Chile's memory box are what Stern calls '**emblematic memories**', which are in continuous relation to 'loose memory' (p. 104). Emblematic memories should not be

confused with the content of recollection or with any specific remembrance. Instead, emblematic memories should be understood as the structure which organises ‘meaning, selectivity, and counter-memory’ (p. 105).

‘As a framework for collective remembrance rather than its specific content, emblematic memory imparts broad interpretive meaning and criteria of selection to personal memory, based on experiences directly lived by an individual, or on lore told by relatives, friends, comrades, or other acquaintances. The specific contents and stories that energize and provide raw material for emblematic memory, and the specific layering with caveats or qualifications, vary from one person to another. Specific emphases and layering effects also vary from one historical moment to another. In the absence of a bridge between personal memory and the emblematic memory of larger social groups, however, individual remembrances remain somewhat “loose”’.

(2003 p. 105)

Applied to the Chilean experience, Stern identifies four ‘emblematic memories’: memory of salvation, memory of unresolved rupture, memory of persecution and awakening, and memory as a closed box. Memory of salvation includes those individuals who perceived the *coup d'état* as a moment of liberation. The idea of a socialist government and a potential Marxist dictatorship led many to welcome the coup with open arms. People within the memory of salvation framework conceive Pinochet as the true saviour of the country, and the military regime as a period of history which people should be proud of. Human rights violations are usually described as unfortunate ‘excesses’, necessary for the greater good. By contrast, memory of unresolved rupture includes those people who were directly or closely affected by situations of extreme violence. For this group, the dictatorship signalled a significant shift in their lives. Many in this framework were arrested, tortured or exiled. In addition, this classification also includes those people whose relatives were affected by extreme events, or who disappeared or were killed.

Memory of persecution and awakening includes those who remember the dictatorship years as times of repression. People in this group felt disturbed by the developments of the regime. However, many in this category also discovered fraternity and solidarity through social groups and networks. Memory as a closed box includes those individuals who see the dictatorship as a period which should be left in the past. People in this category feel the country needs to move on and look to the future. Most of those in this category believe forgetting is advisable in Chile's quest for social and political reconciliation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of some of the political, social, and economic processes in Chile between 1964 and 1990, with a special emphasis on the dictatorship period. This account has provided basic knowledge on the contextual specificities within which popular music practices unfolded under non-democratic authoritarianism. Furthermore, based on Stern's memory framework (2003, 2006), I have engaged in a short discussion on the ways in which Chileans currently remember and make sense of the dictatorial past. This discussion on remembrance helps to frame the oral individual accounts used as an information source in the present thesis.

CHAPTER THREE: MUSICAL GENRES IN CHILE UNDER AUTHORITARIANISM

With a particular emphasis on the dictatorship years, this chapter examines the relationship between popular music and national identity in Chile during most of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it seeks to expand focus within the discussion of musical genres during the dictatorship. During the military regime, the way popular music related to national identity notions was substantially influenced by how this relationship had unfolded during the first three quarters of the century. Moreover, academic research on popular music during the Chilean dictatorship has arguably addressed a narrow music selection.³⁴ In spite of this, Chile under Pinochet was exposed to a wide range of musical sounds, which prompted complex modes of interaction within and amongst musical worlds. This chapter therefore, provides an account of a wider selection of popular music genres that existed during the dictatorship, and examines their diverse relationships to notions of Chilean national identity.

The conception of a shared and unifying national identification represents a contested field of different and, at times, contrasting interpretations. Since its origins, there has been no unique notion of *Chilean-ness* in Chile, nor a unanimously agreed notion of what constitutes Chilean national identity (Ortega 2002: p. 48). Popular music has also had an intricate relationship with the notion of nation and identity. Music in Chile was (and still is) intimately linked with a variety of ‘cultural identities’ (Larraín 2000), where notions and elements of the rural and the urban; the local and

³⁴ Fairley 1985, Morris 1986, Taffet 1997, Tumas-Serna 1992.

the global are in constant tension and interplay in the ‘articulation’ (Negus 1997) of the nation.

This chapter reinforces the two central ideas in this thesis. Firstly, that contextual specificities play a central role in the relationship between the political system and musical practices. The political system imposed in Chile by the military takeover in September 1973, in conjunction with various other factors specific to place and time, had an important effect on the country’s musical developments during that particular period. Factors associated with musical genre traditions, international trends of the music industries, technological developments, economic specificities, and aspects embedded in Chilean idiosyncrasy all created a distinctive context which helped to shape musical expression and participation. The context in which musical practices unfolded however, should not be understood as a fixed and clearly definable arrangement, but as an environment which involved a fluid and interacting group of factors.

Secondly, by providing a broader representation of the music available in Chile during the dictatorship, this chapter draws further evidence to support the idea that musical practices under a non-democratic political system can be understood beyond the binary of control and dissent. This is a departure from previous studies within the Anglo academic tradition, which have examined the music of Chile during the dictatorship by strongly focusing on the revolutionary song movement of *Nueva Canción Chilena*, and to a lesser extent on the oppositional song movement of *Canto Nuevo* (Fairley 1984, Moreno 1986, Morris 1986, Taffet 1997, 1989; Tumas-Serna

1992).³⁵ This departure can be placed within a recent trend of interest – in Chile – of recovering and accounting for issues of popular culture and music during the dictatorship (Bravo and González-Farfán 2009, Contardo and García 2005, Díaz-Inostroza 2007, Ponce 2008). It seems that this recently developed interest in documenting and constructing versions of the popular culture of the dictatorship has originated mostly in a generation of Chilean authors born between the 1960s and 1980s. So far, this tendency has only permeated into English language scholarship through the work of Chilean scholars working within Anglo-American academia. For example, the work of Chilean US-based scholar Daniel Party, whose 2006 PhD thesis and derived articles on *bolero* and *balada* touch upon the period of the Chilean dictatorship shifting the musical focus away from the *Nueva Canción-Canto Nuevo* duplex (Party 2006, 2008, 2009a).³⁶ Notwithstanding, after the return to democracy, music in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship has generated little interest amongst foreign scholars, leaving the works on *Nueva Canción* as the main account of musical activity during the period.

This chapter will firstly engage in a discussion on music and national identity, followed by an overview and examination of a selection of twentieth century popular

³⁵ *Nueva Canción Chilena* translates as Chilean New Song. *Canto Nuevo* translates as New Singing/Chant/Song. More information regarding these musical movements is given later in this chapter.

³⁶ *Bolero*: Latin American slow melancholic song. *Balada*: Latin American version of English power ballads. *Balada* has also been influenced by *bolero*. More on *bolero* and *balada* below in this chapter.

music genres existing in Chile before and during military rule, and their relationship to constructions of national identity.³⁷

Music and National Identity

After 1973 the official notion of the nation was drastically reshaped in Chile. These changes discussed in chapter two had a strong element of departure and exclusion of the previous *Unidad Popular* national project. In 1980, a newly drafted constitution officially crystallised the national imaginary conceived by Pinochet and his government. The various genres and music worlds existing in Chile in 1973 were reconfigured according to the changes imposed by the military take over and the subsequent dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet. The musical developments from 1973 onwards were significantly influenced by the social changes caused by Pinochet's rule. However, popular music experience was not only shaped by the new political system, but also by additional forces such as previous musical developments within the country; Chile's domestic music industries' infrastructure, musical acts and trends imposed by the international and regional music industries, economic policy; and technological developments of the 1970s and 1980s, to name a few.

The idea of the nation is a contested sphere of meaning in constant tension, negotiation, and transformation. The processes of representation of national identity have been previously addressed within scholarship. Particularly, I would like to focus on the space occupied by music in signifying the nation. In their book *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel*, Regev and Seroussi (2004) employ the concept of

³⁷ My use of the term genre is intended as a guiding remark which helps to group musical expressions, and not as a fixed category. For a discussion about the term 'genre' see (Fabbri 1999, Fabbri 2004).

‘national fields of popular music’ to carefully craft a theoretical framework to analyse the processes of negotiation through which music signifies the nation.

Regev and Seroussi’s (2004) argument identifies three variations in the invention of a national culture: ‘traditional’, ‘globalised’, and ‘sub-national’ (pp. 1-11). To construct the image of the nation, all three variants draw from a common mixture of elements, many of which derive from the nation’s ‘formative period’. In light of this distinction, music has been used to signify the nation in different ways. This signification is not rooted in particular musical elements but rather the ‘non-sound’ ideas attached to certain musical sounds and held by specific social conventions. Therefore, sounds are not essentially fixed with meaning, but rather signification is acquired through experience and time.

Music as a signifier of national identity is in constant struggle within and beyond the confines of the nation state. Within the ‘national fields of popular music’ Regev and Seroussi recognise three spheres of music signification, each of which make particular ideological claims in regards to the national in the context of a globalised sound. These spheres are folk/traditional, pop/rock, and ethnic. [1] The folk/traditional music sphere seeks to represent the nation through elements vested with notions of authenticity and linked to the nation’s origins. [2] The pop/rock music sphere maintains a less obvious claim to national identity, which seeks a departure from tradition and positions the nation within a globalised and modern international context. Despite external assertions of a perceived imitation of Anglo-American forms, ‘speakers of national rock cultures in many countries insist on the local authentic nature of their specific form of rock music’ (p.9). Mainly, they justify national identity by emphasising characteristics such as the use of the local language,

and rock/pop hybridisations with folk forms. [3] The ethnic musical sphere is embedded in associations to sub national or minority groups defined by class, religion, politics, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. These groups adopt different stances in relation to the idea of national identity, sometimes seeking inclusion into the nation, other times trying to obtain separation and independence from it.

For the purpose of the current discussion on Chilean music and national identity, I would like to clarify that the ‘ethnic musical sphere’ was not determined by racial commonalities. In this sense, despite the flexibility of the definition offered by Regev and Seroussi (2004) – in which the ‘ethnic musical sphere’ can refer to minority groups which may be defined by factors such as class, religion, politics, ethnicity, sexuality, etc –, the term ‘ethnic’ carries a strong sense of race in its semantic connotation. Therefore, I wish to clarify that within Chile the ‘ethnic musical sphere’ addressed in this chapter can be linked to a type of music which was performed and received by minority groups defined by their leftist and anti-dictatorship political views.

As Wade (1998) has noticed, attributing fundamental homogenising characteristics to the elite, posing it in direct opposition to a diversified and dissenting counter-official resistance has resulted in reductionist interpretational models for the relationship between music and national identity. Furthermore, Wade calls for a reconsideration of the configuration of likeness and difference within official and counter-official national discourses. Generally, there has been a tendency to emphasise the homogenising characteristics of nationalist discourses (Wade 2001). However, in Wade’s words ‘diversity is part and parcel of nation-building, whether or not multiculturalism is an official stance, and that diversity is itself (re)constituted

through nation-building and not just tamed or battered into submission'(Wade 1998: p.4). In other words, diversity is a crucial element within official constructions of national identity, even if, at first glance, government policy can be deemed as promoting a singular version of the national. In order to advocate a particular version of the nation, certain elements are included while others are excluded. Therefore, this type of identification works as a process of differentiation set against the excluded *other* – a process which in itself contains an element of diversity.

Wade links his observations to Middleton's critiques to the theory of homology attributed to music and social structures (Middleton 1990). The theory of homology shows a tendency to overemphasise the compatibility between the musical and social element. This tendency 'may understate conflict over musical meaning within the social group whose identity is supposedly being reflected and, in the case of those studies which posit a countercultural music reflecting a subcultural group, may overstate the element of subversion' (Wade 1998). That is to say that, for example, if the stress is mainly placed on how a type of music and a social movement reflect each other, there is a danger of overlooking more complex tensions that arise from disputes over musical meaning within the movement. By the same token, a homological approach may intensify the degree of rebelliousness present in the musical practice of subcultures.

Wade's approach follows Frith and Stokes' call for a fluid perception of identity and music (Stokes 1994, Frith 1996), and Middleton's call for 'a Gramscian view of hegemony, in which disparate cultural and ideological elements are nevertheless held together by an articulating principle or set of central values [which] is also useful as it brings in the notion of a diversity which is subject to, and

hierarchical by, a structuring hegemonic principle that is oriented by the values of the dominant class' (Middleton 1990 referred to in Wade 1998: pp. 4-5) .

The next section in this chapter contains a discussion of the musical genres existing before and during the dictatorship. The genres will be examined in terms of their place within the 'national fields of popular music' (Regev, Seroussi 2004) and how their example illustrates the complex existence of sameness and difference within official and counter official discourses of the national.

Musical Genres

A closer look at the music available in Chile during the 1970s and 1980s reveals that the country's musical universe was a complex field of co-existing genres, styles, traditions, origins, and projections. Music produced outside Chile had a strong presence in the musical map of the dictatorship years: mainly coming from the USA and Europe, as well as Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula.³⁸ Even though I will account for the presence of foreign music, the discussion on national identity in relationship to music will focus mainly on music made in Chile. Domestic production, though less present in the media and with a much smaller place in the market, developed within the increasingly globalised transnational music industries and the complexities of the socio-political context. Domestic popular music was influenced by various musical traditions, e.g. Chilean folk, Afro-Latin dance, Anglo-American popular music, and European art music (González in Godoy and González 1995).

³⁸ Please note that this point does not refer to the music produced by Chileans in exile. The music of the Chilean diaspora had a marginal presence inside the country during the dictatorship period.

In general, Chilean popular music has attracted little scholarly attention outside Chile, especially in the genres derived from rock and pop. Within Chile, most of the written material which covers popular music has been written by journalists, critics, folklorists, and musicians. Therefore, despite the existence of a fair amount of publications, many of these tend to concentrate on biographical information and/or biased accounts. Notwithstanding, due to the lack of academic research, these works have been an important source for the present study. Some of these works have looked at the trajectory of a particular band (Guerra 1999, Stock 1999, Varios Autores 2008), genre (Ponce 2008, Menanteau 2003), or stylistic movement (Díaz-Inostroza 2007). Other works have compared two genres such as Chilean Rock and *Nueva Canción chilena* (Salas 2003), examined popular culture in the 1980s (Contardo and García 2005), or accounted for Chilean music during a particular time period (Godoy and González 1995, González and Varas 2005). The book *Música Popular Chilena 20 años* (Godoy and González 1995) is particularly useful to this section because it covers and organises the widest variety of musical genres in Chile during the dictatorship period.³⁹ Most of these popular music publications are based on participant interviews and primary sources. However, many of these written works contain inadequate references to relevant or related previous publications; if any are given at all, they are minimal or too generalized. Hence, the body of work which has looked at music in Chile during the 1970s and 1980s is vastly disjointed. In other words, newer publications rarely refer to previous ones, thus hindering the progress of an ongoing debate on popular music. Furthermore, because most of these works are written in Spanish, they are difficult to access for non-Spanish readers within the Anglo academic tradition. Therefore, I will use this chapter to bring together existing

³⁹ Translation: Chilean Popular Music 20 years 1970-1990

research on music within Chile during the dictatorship, and position certain musical genres in relationship to notions of national identity.⁴⁰ However, in order to examine the variety of musical practices under the dictatorship it is firstly necessary to place them in relation to pre-existing musical practices. The following section examines some of the musical traditions present in Chile before 1973.

Earlier Popular Music

Various types of musical folk practices had been anonymously practiced in Chile for years before their wider dissemination as a result of the emergence of the mass media in the 1920s.⁴¹ The urbanisation of rural musical forms saw a quest for the ‘modernisation’ or ‘renovation’ of folk practices as well as an urge to preserve Chilean traditions despite the changes the culture industries introduced to the musical map. How folk music was (and still is) to be preserved and performed has generated dissimilar views amongst different social groups. The process of urbanisation gave way to a stylistic diversification in the shape of four main folk music trends: *música típica*, *música de proyección folklórica* (MPF), *neofolclore*, and *Nueva Canción Chilena* (NCCh) (González in Godoy and González 1995).⁴² These folk trends

⁴⁰ This chapter does not intend to be an exhaustive compilation of the music available during the dictatorship; rather, it seeks to expand the musical focus beyond resistance music.

⁴¹ Further sources on musical folk practices before the 1920s: to find out more about the *bailes de la tierra* [earth dances] such as the *zamacueca*, and to read further on the marginal presence of folk musical practices in the salon see (Pereira Salas 1941, Dannemann and Barros 1960, Dannemann 1961, González and Rolle 2004, Spencer Espinosa 2007). For further information on improvised music such as *paya* or *repentinismo* see (Lenz 2003 [1894]). For a discussion of the music industries and the mass mediation of popular music see chapter six.

⁴² *Música típica* translates as traditional or typical music.
Música de proyección folklórica translates as music of folk projection.

showed varying approaches to the articulation of national identity. Due to space limitations, I will limit this discussion to *música típica*, MPF, and NCCCh.

Influenced by Spanish traditions, *música típica* was the main genre within Chilean popular music until the 1950s (Godoy and Gonzáles 1995). *Música típica* often took the form of *huaso* groups such as *Los Cuatro Huasos* (Rengifo and Rengifo 2008).⁴³ *Los Cuatro Huasos* were formed in Santiago in 1927 by four upper-class university students who interpreted rural songs with Spanish guitars. At that time, this type of repertoire was normally performed by rural female *cantoras*.⁴⁴ Hence, *Los Cuatro Huasos* are said to have lead the way for men singing *tonadas* and *cuecas* self-accompanied by guitars (p. 28).⁴⁵

Música típica ties into the concept of the ‘folk/traditional musical sphere’ within Chile’s ‘national fields of popular music’ (Regev & Seroussi 2004). Embracing symbols of tradition vested with notions of authenticity, *Música típica* is

⁴³*Huaso*: ‘horseman of the plains’ (Tonada 2005: p. 353)

⁴⁴*Cantora*: (fem. pl.) Someone who sings, particularly as an occupation.

Tonadas: (pl.) In Chile and Argentina the *tonada* is a love song, which may be sung either as a solo or as a duet in parallel 3rds; *tonadas* are usually in the major mode, often modulating to the dominant or to a key a minor 3rd away. Stanzas are usually set off from each other by guitar interludes (Tonada. 2005). *Tonadas* are not meant to be danced.

Cueca: National folk dance of Chile. It has been used to commemorate the independence from Spain (Tonada. 2005), and was officially nationalised by the military government on the 18th of September 1979, through decree number 23.

⁴⁵Rengifo and Rengifo provide an account of the origins, development, culmination and legacy of *Los Cuatro Huasos*, and also engage in a narrative of Chilean popular music during the first half of the twentieth century. However, the text provides a chronicle of the band’s trajectory which does not engage in much critical reflection. For example, the two authors often refer to *música típica* as ‘our music’ (i.e. the music of Chileans), implying notions of national identity and authenticity which are barely discussed, if at all. Furthermore, the authors only make a superficial allusion to the music’s class associations and its value within national representations (see pages 24-25).

inspired by rural life perceptions and the figure of the *huaso*. These representations of the countryside and its central human figure are rooted in a romanticised depiction of rural life as experienced in the nineteenth century, post-emancipation. The struggle for independence in the early 1800s signalled the origin of Chile as a republic. As suggested by Regev and Seroussi (2004), the music of the ‘folk/traditional musical sphere’ shows a prominent use of ‘traditional’ elements linked to the times of origin of the nation.

The idealisation of the countryside and the adoption of the *huaso* figure as the true representative of the national values in the early twentieth century were also present within literature in the southern cone (Barr Melej 1997). This idea was based on the romanticised notion that ‘authentic’ cultural elements and traditions were more likely to be found in the countryside as opposed to the city. Despite the geographical transversality of this idealising trend, there were differences in the process of countryside representation according to national contexts. As specified by Barr Melej (1997), in Chile this appropriation was exercised as a reaction against the early twentieth century phenomenon of urban globalisation (perceived as erosive of local cultural identity) and as a departure from the use of elements and representations of the elite’s modes of living as signifiers of national identity within literature. In an increasingly globalised urban context, a group of city Chileans perceived the rural as the authentic holder of Chilean culture. In nineteenth century literature, the main portrayals of daily life had been based on the lifestyles of the upper classes, in which *huasos* were portrayed as uncultured and comic characters.⁴⁶ At the start of the twentieth century, these representations were replaced by a move towards a

⁴⁶ *Huasos* is the plural of *huaso*. See footnote 43.

concentration upon the ‘authenticity’ and ‘tradition’ of rural life, embodied in the myth of the *huaso*. Initially, this appropriation was counter-hegemonic – a reaction against elite cultural domination. However, it was later appropriated by elites to maintain and reproduce existing social hierarchies – in which the conventional power relationship between the landlord and the land-worker was preserved and perpetuated. The representation of the *huaso* as a figure with particular characteristics – rectitude, respect, and honour – sought to construct a particular *huaso* stereotype, far removed from discourses relating to social revolution and class struggle (Barr Melej 1997). In this way, the elite’s appropriation of *huaso* representations sought to instill values intended to prevent social uprising.

The representation of the *huaso* went through an initial period of reactionary re-articulation – elevated from an uneducated character into the symbolic embodiment of authentic rural tradition. When the ruling sector of society appropriated the representation of the newly articulated ‘honourable’ *huaso* as a way of maintaining existing social hierarchies, the notion of difference was embedded in establishing a distinction between the ruling class and the working class – as well as a desirable working class against an undesired one. As suggested by Wade (1998), elite representations of national identity should not be perceived as an overtly homogenising processes. The ways in which elites construct portrayals of national identity contain an inherent element of difference in their process. In order to perpetuate the social position of elites, the figure of a *different* member of society was included as an element of contrast. The *huaso* was appropriated and portrayed with characteristics of honesty, respect and obedience; characteristics which did not undermine existing social hierarchies.

Despite *música típica*'s popularity and acceptance, this music was eventually criticised by those social groups identified with class struggle. For those inclined towards Marxist ideology, *música típica* was perceived as being associated with the rural dominant class; as reinforcing existing landlord-worker relationships; and as lacking in the representation of native indigenous people. For this reason, Marxist sectors contested *música típica* as a possible sign of national identity. During the second half of the twentieth century, *música típica* lost prominence and was replaced in popularity by other folk derived forms (Godoy & González 1995).

Folk traditions also fed into a movement which sought to broaden Chile's musical geography – groups of *Música de Proyección Folclórica* (MPF). *Música típica* performed by *huaso* groups bore two striking limitations in the representation of Chilean folk traditions. Firstly, *música típica* altered the tradition of female rural *cantoras*, and secondly, it linked Chilean oral tradition solely to the practices of the Central Valley and the estate social hierarchies (Rolle 2004).⁴⁷ During the second quarter of the twentieth century, academics and folklorists began to collect various types of folk music. In the 1950s this tendency was progressed by the emergence of artistic groups which developed an interest in recreating and cultivating those traditional practices. The groups also participated in ethnographic activity which took them to expand their research further north, as well as to the south, and to islands such as Chiloé and Easter Island. The staging of MPF expanded the musical geography of

⁴⁷ The Central Valley 'stretches from the basin of the Aconcagua River [...], to the Bío-Bío region. This is the country's historical heartland; it is also where most of its economic development has been concentrated, and it has the highest population density (80% of the national population on 2.7 percent of the country's total area. It's centres are the national capital, Santiago, and the two other major urban areas of Valparaíso and Concepción' (Bizzarro 2005: pp.132-133).

Chile and helped to disseminate folk practices to a greater scale (ibid.). MPF was (and still is) practiced through stage representations of the music and dance traditions of Chile.⁴⁸ The performance of these traditions is grouped in the form of *cuadros* (scenes), each of which is embodied by a group of dancers and musicians in representation of different Chilean localities. MPF is usually practiced by an established group, which meets regularly to rehearse a variety of dances and music. MPF groups experienced significant development from the 1970s onwards. However, the development of this tradition can be traced back to the 1930s through music and dance company shows, where a variety of regions and peoples of Chile were represented on stage (González in Godoy and González 1995). These shows contained the songs, music, and dances of various areas in the country; thus, representing existing and extinct cultural manifestations of diverse ethnic groups and regions.

Música de proyección folklórica groups create stage performances of the music and dance collected by ethnographic work within rural settings. The staging of originally “spontaneous” cultural expressions is not exempt from problems (Hellier-Tinoco 2005). From when it is collected in the field until the moment of public showcase, the music –in conjunction with its respective dance and costumes – suffers a number of transformations and re-articulations. During the mid twentieth century, researchers observed and archived “spontaneous” forms of folklore. Folklorists such as Violeta Parra, Margot Loyola, and Lautaro Manquilef generally had the intention of rescuing and preserving folk forms existing in Chile.⁴⁹ However, the information

⁴⁸ See footnote 42.

⁴⁹ Their occupations ranged from performers, composers, and even teachers.

they gathered was later used by various *proyección folclórica* groups to stage versions of “spontaneous” music and dance. Often, MPF music directors needed to compromise and/or adapt the forms collected on the field to meet the demands of the entertainment industry. As a result, many basic aspects in the music, costumes, and dance have been modified, polished, and refined, in order to successfully adjust to industry demands (Godoy and Gonzáles 1995).

A different approach to folk was taken by what became known as *Nueva Canción Chilena*, which should be understood within the Pan-American *Nueva Canción* movement (Fairley 1984). *Nueva Canción* performers placed emphasis on the life of the peasant and worker, denouncing exploitation and injustice. This music was firstly performed in small *peñas* (Bravo and González-Farfán 2009) during the 1960s.⁵⁰ With the advent of the Unidad Popular, *Nueva Canción* was adopted as part of the government’s cultural project, serving as a tool for the education in and propagation of *Unidad Popular* ideology. Some of the most prominent names in *Nueva Canción* became cultural advisors to the *Unidad Popular*. Despite its prominence during the UP period it is important to note that *Nueva Canción* did not have a strong presence in the record market in comparison to other more commercially popular music (Jaime Román in Fuenzalida 1987).

Despite its folk music elements, *Nueva Canción* had a remarkably different approach to the representation of national identity when compared to that of *música típica*. During the 1960s, previously marginalised social groups began to have a more significant social and political participation. *Nueva Canción* became central to the

⁵⁰ *Peña* is a small musical gathering with the purpose of listening to a folk singer. More about *peñas* (pl.) in chapter seven.

leftist political movement as it promoted the social role of peasants and the working class. This musical genre can be associated with what Regev and Seroussi identify as the 'ethnic music sphere' within Chile's 'national fields of popular music' (2004). *Nueva Canción* represented the National with elements which had been marginalised and/or excluded from past official notions of national identity. With the advent of the *Unidad Popular*, the leftist construction of national identity promoted by *Nueva Canción's* achieved an official status which was brought to an end by the military coup in 1973.

Despite its peripheral position within the official notion on national identity, *Nueva Canción* should be conceived as a simultaneous holder of sameness and difference. The importance of the role of the working class, as well as the inclusion of a historically marginalised social sector, were central themes to *Nueva Canción*. Arguably, *Nueva Canción* could be associated with the concept of difference; of advocating for the inclusion of a discriminated sector into an official and homogenising representation of the nation. Following Wade's argument on sameness and difference (1998), *Nueva Canción's* promotion of national identity should not be understood solely as a struggle to advocate for difference within discourses of the national. This music's representation of the nation presented a particular mode of Chilean-ness which contained marked components of exclusion towards elements perceived as imperialistic and/or alienating.

It is important to understand that any representation of the Chilean notion of national identity sits within a wider Latin American context. Aside from the Chilean folk forms already discussed, there was a range of pan-Latin American music which had a relevant presence in Chile throughout the twentieth century. The development

of the music industries in Latin America and their influence on the US American market, led Latin American music (mainly from Cuba, Argentina and Mexico) to become a staple of Radio, TV and film within the Chilean market (González in Godoy and González 1995: p. 27). For example, the presence of rural Mexican music through records and movies in the 1930s popularised and consolidated Mexico as a leading country within the Spanish speaking music industries. *Ranchera* Mexican music was highly popular in Chilean rural areas and as a result, domestic performers of the *ranchera* genre emerged. Latin American genres were an important influence on the development of *Nueva Canción* because their themes and close relationship to the people of Latin America tied in with the emergence of social movements in the 1960s (Godoy and González 1995).

Since the early twentieth century, tango has held an important presence in Chile. Originally from Argentina, tango has managed to maintain its place in Chile's musical world regardless of the changes that occurred in the music industries. Tango has enjoyed steady radio airplay and has also been created and danced to by Chileans. Furthermore, the existence of tango clubs, particularly those in the central part of Chile, can be regarded as a sign of tango's consolidation within the musical panorama (González in Godoy and González 1995).

Bolero has also been an important part of Chile's musical map. Since the mid 1930s *bolero* was greatly disseminated through Mexican cinema and records.⁵¹ Since the 1940s Chilean *bolero* singers and composers have gained international

⁵¹ Bolero is a pan-Latin American musical form, of a sentimental kind, in which the lyrics deal with the pain of unwelcomed love, suffering, and longing. Writings on bolero include (Party 2006, Fernández 1992, Knights 2002, Torres 2002)

prominence (González in Godoy and González 1995). Lucho Gatica has been the most successful Chilean bolero singer and possibly the musician who has achieved the highest international popularity and acclaim within Chilean popular music (González and Varas 2005).

Bolero was popularised across social sectors. Its performance developed in different ways according to class contexts. In working class sectors, *bolero* trios performed in markets, *fondas*, and restaurants. In a more elitist and expensive fashion, orchestra-accompanied bolero was performed in concert halls, radio studios, and theatres (Godoy and González 1995: pp. 33-34).

The absence of black people in Chile led to the importation of Afro-Latin music, often considered sensual and exotic. Between the 1930s and 1950s this music was disseminated through musical tours and movies distributed by the US American cinema industries. *Rumba*, *conga*, *mambo*, *guaracha* and *chachachá* reached Chile in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Chilean musicians learned how to perform tropical music by listening to records, watching films, and attending the tour performances of Cuban groups. Some prominent tropical orchestras in Chile were the *Cubanacán*, *Humbalay*, *Ritmo y Juventud*, *Los Peniques* and *Los Caribe*. Out of these musical dances, *guaracha* particularly influenced the rural music of Chile, it being incorporated into folk peasant music and even into the performances of MPF groups (González in Godoy and González 1995).

Chile has also been subject to the influence of international music industries, dominated by US American popular culture. In its early arrival, US popular music was enjoyed by the upper and middle classes in Latin America. Dances like the charleston, one-step, shimmy, foxtrot and boogie woogie were popularised through

touring dance instructors as well as the international cinema and press industries (González in Godoy and González 1995).

Jazz belonged to the mainstream of popular music between the 1920s and 1940s, coexisting in this category with other genres (*tonada, canción, vals, corrido*, and *bolero*) (Menanteau 2003). Many dance jazz orchestras were formed during the 1940s and 1950s (González in Godoy and González 1995: pp. 42-43). After the 1940s jazz was preserved and developed by a small elite of amateur professionals, away from its commercial associations. In the mid 1960s, and due to its gradual increase in performance complexity, jazz became the music of specialists and professional musicians. Jazz in Chile closely followed US American patterns; musicians in Chile were attentive to the latest jazz developments in the US. Between the end of the 1930s and the mid 1970s approximately, there were two strong and contrasting trends: traditional and modern jazz. During the last quarter of the twentieth century, 'modern' jazz in Chile used elements of Chilean folk music. This situation led to the peaceful coexistence of traditional and modern jazz forms, and a more localised way of jazz performance (Menanteau 2006: p. 20-21).

During the first half of the twentieth century, foxtrot enjoyed high popularity as a dance and music, and was even hybridised with Latin-American musical forms (González in Godoy and González 1995: p. 39). The advent of rock and roll took over foxtrot's popularity, and was welcomed by the youth as a sign of rebelliousness against family traditions and established social norms. Between 1956 and 1957, the cinema exposed Chilean audiences to acts like Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, Little Richard, and Elvis Presley. This mediated presence triggered frantic audience reactions.

The arrival of rock and roll, its dissemination, and domestic practice in Chile has inspired written work by serious journalists, students, and some academics. To date, there are two thoroughly researched publications – written by journalists – which discuss rock in Chile during the 1950s and 1960s (Planet 2004, Ponce 2008). Ponce's book *Prueba de Sonido* accounts for rock in Chile between 1956 and 1984, with a strong focus on bands and their biographical information, as well as background details that help to contextualise the practice of rock throughout various time periods. Planet's book (2005) narrates the chronicle of Chilean rock's origins and developments until 1973. Tito Escárate and Fabio Salas, starting with their undergraduate dissertations, have published books about the international developments of rock and its practice within Chile (Escárate 1993, 1999; Salas 1998, 2003). Despite being biased in its approach, Sala's *La Primavera Terrestre*, engages in a thoughtful counterpoint analysis of the developments of *Nueva Canción Chilena* and Chilean rock. In her PhD thesis, Cornell (2001) tangentially refers to rock in Chile in her study on female musicians in Santiago. César Albornoz has also written and published scholarly work on rock and popular music in Chile. Finally, Oscar Ohlsen, Juan Pablo González and Claudio Rolle have continued their social history on Chilean popular music. *Historia social de la música popular chilena 1950-1970* is due for publication in 2009 (González, personal communication, 2009). This book will be a crucial addition to the scholarly study of popular music, since its predecessor is of a solid and consistent academic standard.

During its early developments, the insurgent phenomenon of rock and roll was adopted and adapted to the local context. Soon after their arrival onto Chilean airwaves, rock and roll songs were translated and arranged for local singers. Furthermore, these musicians changed their appearance and adopted English sounding

names in accordance with the novel musical trend. Covers were either sung in their original language or in translated Spanish versions. The performance of domestic rock and roll was named *nueva ola* and featured bands such as ‘The Carr Twins, Los Ramblers, The Red Juniors, Alan y sus Bates’ as well as solo acts like ‘Cecilia, Gloria Benavides, Danny Chilean, [...] and Pat Henry’ (González in Godoy and González 1995: p. 40-41).⁵² During the 1960s, rock bands covered songs by The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, Jimi Hendrix, The Animals and other influential rock bands of the time. Even though in an earlier period most songs were sung in English, bands began to gradually adopt Spanish names and lyrics (Ponce 2008).

In the late 1960s, more experimental domestic bands were still creating rock with English lyrics. With the advent of psychedelic rock, a debate emerged amongst musicians as to what the real language of rock was.⁵³ For those following a purist line, rock needed to remain faithful to its original form, instrumentation, and English language (Planet 2004). However, with time, some musicians started to develop an interest in music collected in rural settings and/or inspired by Chilean folk forms. Hence, by the early 1970s, domestic rock experienced an unprecedented development in the form of a hybridised sound and rock aesthetic. Bands such as *Los Jaivas* and *Los Blops* began using folk instruments, rhythms, and melodies in the performance of rock music.

⁵² *Nueva ola* translates as ‘new wave’. However, it should not be confused with what was known as *new wave* in the 1980s.

⁵³ It seems like the debate over what language rock should be sang in has caused debate amongst rock musicians around the world. In a recent research presentation at the University of Liverpool’s School of Music, Hiroshi Ogawa referred to a similar debate about the language of rock in Japan (29 May 2009).

In Chile, the rock/pop music sphere gradually changed its relationship with the national. Initially, rock and roll singers and rock bands went through an imitative phase, in which they adopted English names and covered songs in their original versions. With time, rock music went through a gradual process of localisation. Acts adopted Spanish or Latin American indigenous names, and bands began to compose songs in Spanish. Despite the localisation of rock, musicians maintained their association with a globalised rock aesthetic. The globalised aspect can be recognised in the sound and in the lyrics – which referred to love, sorrow, drugs, psychedelia, and peace, amongst others. The localised aspect began initially with the use of Spanish and indigenous names. However, in the 1970s rock bands like Congreso, Los Jaivas and Los Blops began to experiment with local instruments in their music. This shift signalled a localisation of rock which went beyond the national to signify the regional. Through their music, these bands conceived the idea of the nation as positioned within a wider Pan American map.

Popular Music During the Dictatorship

As discussed above, by 1973 Chile's musical landscape consisted of a range of popular music genres, each with a distinct relationship to the notion of national identity. As González (in Godoy & González 1995) notes, Chilean popular music has constantly experienced bipolar tensions: between the global and the local, tradition and modernity, and what is considered to be Chile's own and what is seen to belong to others. These strains continued to exist during the years of military rule and continue to exist in the present day.

The sudden military takeover in Chile imposed a drastic turn in the country's political and economic situation. These events led to an immediate change of

circumstances for musical practices. As discussed in chapter two, the new order was received with mixed views. Some welcomed it with passion, while others turned a blind eye to controversy and carried on with their lives; many opposed it. Nonetheless, levels of acceptance and opposition were intricate and moderately fluctuant. Broad descriptions only serve as a mere introduction to understanding the situation. Despite an environment of division, life continued in ways which could greatly differ amongst individuals. In a similar way, musical practices carried on their development with a complex relationship to political perceptions, hence having to co-exist in an environment of multiple convictions.

During the military regime, the main categories of domestic popular music production were *Canto Nuevo*, underground rock, pop rock, and mainstream music, mainly in the form of pop ballads and romantic music. Like in the case of *Canto Nuevo* and pop rock in the 1980s, popular music normally marginalised from the mainstream managed, at times, to penetrate the mass media. Other genres that continued to develop during the period were Chilean folk in its various trends, jazz, and tropical music. Music from the European art tradition was also present in the media and active in live performance. In addition, *Nueva Canción Chilena* musicians continued to develop this genre in exile. Their work became central to the international solidarity campaigns against the dictatorship abroad. However, it is outside the scope of my thesis to discuss the developments of European art music in Chile, or the musical diaspora resulting from the post-coup exodus (Fairley 1985, 1989). The music made by exiled Chileans had a very limited impact inside Chile during the dictatorship. This music reached people mainly by hand – through others who travelled abroad – and later in the period by home copied cassette tapes.

However, *Nueva Canción*'s presence and awareness was marginal and mainly limited to particular groups of resistance (Jordán 2007).

In addition to nationally produced music, Chile was exposed to a large amount of foreign music. The percentage of Chilean music present in the mass media, especially on the radio, has been historically low. Unfortunately, there are no official figures to account for Chilean music's consistently moderate presence in the media. A generous estimation shows that the presence of domestic music on the radio was in the order of 20% –with perhaps a slight but limited increase during the years of the *Unidad Popular* (Juan Pablo González, interview 16 April 2007). Foreign music included tracks marketed into the Hispano-American market as well as those set by the US dominated international music industries.

The coup and subsequent military government rearticulated the value and meaning of *música típica*. This music was promoted and encouraged in the educational curriculum and achieved strong presence in festivals of Chilean music and television programmes. There were a number of factors which explain the dictatorship's approval of *música típica*: [1] it portrayed earlier modes of landlord-worker relationship, which represented the state of affairs prior to the permeation of Marxist thought in socio-political affairs; [2] it placed great emphasis on highlighting patriotic values held in rural symbols such as the *huaso*, the countryside, the horse, clothing, landscape, the *copihue* (flower), and the flag – symbols which tied in with the essentialist view of national identity held by Pinochet; [3] it was optimistic and its lyrics did not contain any allusion to social conflict. Despite the aforementioned factors, *música típica* also suffered the consequences of the restrictions imposed by

the curfew, and of the deep changes undergone by the domestic record industry with the closure of local pressing plants (Godoy and González 1995).

In the early 1980s, at the moment of an incipient re-emergence of nightlife in Chile, *proyección folclórica* shows began to be staged for tourists in restaurants across the country (Godoy and González 1995). In this way, the education and re-affirmation of historic-national values – rooted in a perception of authenticity and tradition – was commercialised in Chile's newly developed open market economy.

Música típica and *huaso* groups were regarded as a symbol of Chilean-ness by the authorities. During the dictatorship, the 'traditional music sphere' (Regev and Seroussi 2004) was officially incorporated into the official notion of national identity. In 1979, the General Government Secretariat issued a decree which declared *cueca* Chile's national dance. *Cueca* is a folk song and dance which is part of the repertoire of *huaso* groups. The reasons given for declaring *cueca* the national dance alluded to its 'genuine' qualities. Furthermore, the decree stated that *cueca* was an 'expression of authentic unity' and that the Chilean people had identified with the dance since the times of independence (Donoso 2006: p. 116).

The coup of 1973 had devastating effects for *Nueva Canción* musicians. Bands *Inti Illimani* and *Quilapayún* were abroad on tour in Europe during the takeover, where they had to stay in exile. Other musicians sought asylum in foreign embassies, whilst a handful were arrested by the secret police. Victor Jara was arrested and murdered a few days after the coup.

Because of its connection to the *Unidad Popular* government, *Nueva Canción* was deemed to be undesirable by the Junta. Several master records were destroyed and many people decided to eliminate or hide their *Nueva Canción* records. During

house raids, having *Nueva Canción* records could potentially arouse suspicion of association with left wing politics. The music of *Nueva Canción* initially survived in *peñas* in the voice of singers and the sounds of guitars. As the most oppressive dictatorship in years began to fade, many people regained the courage to listen to *Nueva Canción* in the private sphere.

During the early years of the dictatorship, a new and marginal movement emerged in the hands of a group of musicians younger than those of the *Nueva Canción* generation. These musicians took on the musical legacy of *Nueva Canción* as a means to express what they felt they were not allowed to voice out loud. *Canto Nuevo* made use of intricate metaphors in order to communicate ideas and emotions without raising the suspicions of those in authority.

Through the provision of venues and facilities, the development of *Canto Nuevo* was importantly assisted by the Catholic church. *Canto Nuevo* concerts were organised in university parishes and *peñas*. After years of underground development, *Canto Nuevo* bands and solo artists began to be featured on radio, television, and the written press. Acts such as *Santiago del Nuevo Extremo*, and Oscar Andrade, managed to perform in the Viña Festival, Chile's main musical stage. By the mid 1980s *Canto Nuevo* lost prominence, giving way in popularity to Latin and Chilean rock. Nevertheless, some *Canto Nuevo* acts continued to play and are active even at present.

Nueva Canción went through a short period of official appropriation during the *Unidad Popular*. However, during the military regime *Nueva Canción* was deemed to be contrary to national values. Leftist culture not only lost official acceptance, but was regarded as an undesirable foe by the regime. Despite the hostile

environment, the ‘ethnic sphere of music’ (Regev and Seroussi 2004) – understood as a sub national group with particular political characteristics – continued to exist during the dictatorship. While *Nueva Canción* migrated abroad with the exiled diaspora, those who stayed in Chile preserved the music in *peñas* (see chapter seven). The legacy of *Nueva Canción* was taken on by those involved in *Canto Nuevo*. *Canto Nuevo* played an important role in providing a musical sphere to an officially unwelcomed culture. Furthermore, *Canto Nuevo* culture hosted a younger generation which did not necessarily identify with pre-1973 left-wing politics. Many of those which felt uneasy about the military regime – and who were not particularly involved in Marxist ideology – found in the *peña* and *Canto Nuevo* circuit a space of identification.

The ‘ethnic/subnational music sphere’ (Regev and Seroussi 2004) contained coexisting elements of sameness and difference within its conformation (Wade 1998). As a counter official movement *Canto Nuevo* represented difference to official culture. Although less rigid in its aesthetics and conventions if compared to *Nueva Canción*, the difference offered by *Canto Nuevo* also contained an element of sameness. *Canto Nuevo* portrayed a way of feeling and expression which also criticised and excluded a culture considered undesirable.

Balada became a staple element within television variety and music shows. Influenced by European and Anglo rock’n’roll ballads, as well as Mexican bolero, *balada* had emerged across the Spanish-speaking world in the 1960s (Party 2009a). During the dictatorship, *balada* featured prominently in TV shows such as *Sábado Gigante* and *Cuculina Show*. The songs were mainly written by local composers and

performed by local singers.⁵⁴ *Balada* singers had a high audience reception because of the extremely prominent place of television within social entertainment (Albornoz, personal communication, 2007). *Balada* singers were perceived by many – particularly those in opposition to the government– as supporters of the dictatorship, despite only a minority of singers clearly expressing their support for Pinochet (Party 2009a). As Party suggests, romantic music has been associated with the support of other dictatorships. However, in many cases, the association of singers of ‘apolitical’ songs with the support of dictatorship governments relies on a mythical perception rather than on factual evidence (Party 2009b). For most singers, performing on television was a good way of furthering their musical careers and not necessarily a sign of advocating the dictatorship.

During the early 1970s, and after years of emulation and experimentation, Chilean rock finally found a refreshing localised idiom. Bands such as Congreso, Los Blops, and Los Jaivas, began to mix rock forms with Chilean folk songs and instruments. Rock bands and fans linked their identity to globalised themes of sorrow, love, drugs, rebelliousness, war, and so forth. Generally, the link between the rock community and the politicised youth was not apparent. Therefore, during the *Unidad Popular* years, rock musicians and fans were criticised by those on both the left and the right on the assumption of their indifference to the political debate.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Balada* singers: Andrea Tessa, María Inés Navellán, José Luis Arce, and others.

⁵⁵ Furthermore, rock bands were covered in the written media more for their eccentric behaviour than for their music. Los Jaivas firstly appeared on the newspapers under headlines such as: “Batalla campal entre hippies y carabineros” [Pitched Battle between hippies and police] “Todos Juntos y en Pelota” [Everyone together and

The coup of 1973 truncated the evolution of rock made in Chile. Los Jaivas, one of the leading bands within rock's hybridising movement, decided to extend their 1973 tour of Argentina once they realised the situation in Chile was turning violent and restrictive. During their time in Argentina, Los Jaivas returned to Chile a few times. However, obtaining permission to organise music concerts proved difficult. In 1977, they moved to France where they stayed until the early 1980s. In 1981 they returned to Santiago and organised a number of massive live concerts in *Teatro Caupolicán*.

During the dictatorship, Los Jaivas were not forbidden entry to the country. Rock's reputation linked to the hippy movement was not perceived as a threat to the newly imposed order. Furthermore, rock music was not associated with *Unidad Popular* culture. Rock musicians had suffered harassment during the socialist years because their music and lifestyle was considered alienating and imperialist (Gatti, personal communication, 2007).

Los Jaivas' extended stay abroad and their implied disagreement with the military regime has led certain scholars (Cornell 2001, Boyle 1985) to link this band to the movement of *Nueva Canción* – whose members were heavily persecuted and repressed. Despite certain collaborations with some *Nueva Canción* musicians, rock musicians suffered less repression than those deemed to be active supporters of Salvador Allende's government.

During the 1960s, rock music was played by the middle class youth (mainly men) who had access to instruments and music when travelling abroad, or through

naked; *Todos Juntos* was also the title of a popular song by the band] (Escárte 1999: p. 205).

friends and family. In the early 1970s however, rock bands began to emerge in underground working class circuits. During the dictatorship, the working class underground circuit remained active. After the coup, and for almost a decade, domestic rock was once again imitative of Anglo American bands (Led Zeppelin, Deep Purple, Black Sabbath, Grand Funk). The strong repression and curfew secluded rock to the underground (Ponce 2008). 70s underground rock maintained a low profile stance in relationship to the military government, which may seem strange considering rock's universally perceived rebelliousness. A reference to an interview with a rock musician by Ponce (2008), suggests that certain Chilean rock musicians were not fully aware of rock's defiant characteristics due to not being able to understand English.

We never adopted an aggressive posture. Perhaps because we never got to know the lyrics [...]. If one is going to play music in English, one needs to know what it is about. But we didn't know. We didn't know, for example, that Woodstock was a political event of protest. Who would imagine that [the] *Who would stop the rain?* Of Creedence Clearwater Revival, was talking about the bombs being dropped in Vietnam?⁵⁶

Jorge Soto, Sol y Medianoche in (Ponce 2008: p. 231) (My own translation)

The restrictions imposed by the curfew posed difficulties for the development of most musical genres, including rock. For those musicians who stayed in Chile it was difficult to find steady work, particularly during the first five years after the coup. The 1980s brought about social opening and increasing room for expression. The

⁵⁶ Original in Spanish: Nunca tomamos una postura combativa. Tal vez porque nunca conocimos las letras [...]. Si uno va a tocar música en inglés tiene que saber lo que dice. Pero nosotros no sabíamos. No sabíamos, por ejemplo, que Woodstock fue un evento político de protesta. ¿Quién iba a imaginar que *Quien parará la lluvia* de Creedence Clearwater Revival, estaba hablando de las bombas que caían en Vietnam? Jorge Soto, Sol y Medianoche in (Ponce 2008: p. 231)

return of the band Los Jaivas, and their grand welcome show followed by a series of further presentations, paved the way for music concerts in general, particularly larger ones.

In the early 1980s, a new youth generation continued the development of rock's sound in accordance to Anglo-American innovations. These bands were influenced by punk, post-punk, and new wave music from the US and the UK. Their emergence and popularity was boosted by further rock developments in the Southern Cone. The ban on British music imposed in Argentina after the Falkland war boosted the exposure and dissemination of Argentinean rock domestically and across national borders (Vila in Garofalo 1992). As a result, the sudden boom of nationally produced rock in Argentina had an impact on the music industries in Chile, by generating an opportunity for Chilean rock bands to be promoted nationally. Nonetheless, the situation brought about to Chile's domestic industry by the Argentinean rock boom acted on a particular set of circumstances. Here, I am referring to the existence of the band Los Prisioneros and the agency of their manager Carlos Fonseca.

Los Prisioneros was a trio that originated in San Miguel (a working class suburb in Santiago).⁵⁷ Led by Jorge González, the band was characterised by its dissident lyrics and acid criticism towards official culture. González's lyrics were direct and accusatory towards a number of issues, groups, and institutions – Including *Canto Nuevo* musicians, blamed for being too metaphorical and 'soft' in their protest.⁵⁸ Los Prisionero's lyrical wit and catchy music met the entrepreneurial skill of Carlos Fonseca. It seems Fonseca had been to Argentina and wanted to emulate the

⁵⁷ For biographical information see (Stock 1999, Narea 2009, Aguayo 2005).

⁵⁸ See '*Nunca queda mal con nadie*' by Los Prisioneros

phenomenon of the Argentinean rock explosion in Chile (Piga, personal communication, 2007). Fonseca had a record shop and created a record label where he signed Los Prisioneros. The band attained considerable popularity, filling large venues in sports halls and gaining regular air play and the attention of the written press. However, they hardly appeared on television; they were seen as problematic and TV producers were sometimes afraid of bringing them on their shows. The fear was not directly related to the music and lyrics – since the songs to be played on air could be selected beforehand – but to what González could possibly say on live television and the repercussions that this could have (Hernández, personal communication, 2007). In general, Los Prisioneros were able to perform, tour, and sell their music without direct interference from government agencies. Pinochet's government, as well as current world affairs provided Los Prisioneros with a powerful source of inspiration. However, when the band publicly declared their intention to vote NO in the 1988 referendum, the tour they had planned across Chile was cancelled. Los Prisioneros were due to play in a number of venues across the country, many of which belonged to city councils throughout Chile. The ban was not explicit – rather the authorities alluded to health and safety regulations as cause for the cancellation of gigs (Rodriguez 2008).

The lyrical content of music is influenced by local events and circumstances. These events and circumstances are related to, or in turn can be influenced by, global trends. Escárte (1993) suggests that the lyrical content of songs like 'Se oyen los pasos' by Los Vidrios Quebrados and Los Prisionero's 'La voz de los '80' was in direct relation with the historical processes Chile was experiencing at the time. These processes responded to a globalising trend in which utopian aspirations of collective agency were shifting towards a model which privileges the individual over the mass.

During the military dictatorship, jazz continued its development. Like all types of music performance, jazz practice was affected in the initial period of the dictatorship by the curfew and civil restrictions that dramatically reduced nightlife. By the time of the coup, jazz was going through a period of local hybridisation in which performers were developing a localised jazz language. The imminent and imposed exclusion of Marxist elements from society meant that any association with leftist music was to be avoided. In other words, and especially during the first period of the dictatorship, musicians engaged in self censorship and avoided jazz fusion with genres associated to the *Unidad Popular* – the music of Violeta Parra, *Chilean New Song*, and Altiplano Music (Menanteau 2003).

The first half of the 1970s saw the emergence of electric jazz ('Jazz fusión') with bands such as *Fusión*, *Tiempo de Swing* and *Aquila*. *Tiempo de Swing* was an eight-piece band which played a TV show in *Televisión Nacional* in the early years of the dictatorship in prime time after the evening news. *Tiempo de Swing* also performed at the Viña Festival and recorded an LP for the Alba label in 1974. The period which followed the coup did not provide a suitable environment for the production of complex jazz music. Therefore, the trend of jazz fusion faded away shortly after (Menanteau 2003: pp. 107 - 112).

Due to the restrictions imposed by the military government, only a handful of venues held regular jazz performances. As a result, commercial jazz was prioritised over more complex and experimental forms, and played in venues aimed at upper-middle class audiences (Menanteau 2003). The Goethe Institute provided a space for more experimental forms of jazz in the 1980s. In addition, jazz festivals were organised in the likes of Tongoy and Santiago (pp. 116-117).

Despite the difficulties posed by civil restrictions, the dictatorship period saw important developments for The Jazz Club. Beneficial changes were brought about by a matter of personal agency. The Club de Jazz de Santiago could overcome straining financial circumstances thanks to the direction of Gustavo Ferreiro between 1976 and 1984. By the time Ferreiro stepped in, the Club was going through a difficult financial period. During Ferreiro's time there were a number of reforms which aided the coexistence of modern and traditional jazz. For example, the clause stating that no modern jazz could be played inside the *Club de Jazz* was lifted during Ferreiro's administration. In spite of this reform, electric or fusion jazz remained excluded from the Club (ibid.).

Jazz tuition became institutionalised in Chile – mainly in Santiago – during the military regime. Arguably, these developments paved the way for other kinds of popular music tuition in the 1990s. During its early development in Chile, jazz was performed by professional bands and musicians who were proficient in a variety of popular music genres. Eventually, jazz lost its prominence as a music of wide popularity, and was carried on and cultivated by a small group. Most jazz performers were amateurs, with the odd exception of some professional musicians who enjoyed playing jazz occasionally. It was in the 1960s when amateur jazz musicians began to pursue formal music training. However, the institutionalisation of jazz tuition only began during the military period. In 1978 Roberto Lecaros, a prominent jazz musician, held jazz and popular music workshops in his house where people convened to learn music and exchange ideas (ibid: p. 102). The workshops by Lecaros were a precedent of future music schools where jazz performance formed part of the curriculum. In the 1980s, formal jazz tuition became available in Santiago: in Projazz since 1985 and *Escuela Moderna de Música* since 1990. However, it was only in the

mid 90s that jazz was taught at University in the form of classical saxophone at Universidad de Chile's Art Faculty (pp. 115-116).

Despite the circumstances of repression and night life limitations, and due to the perseverance of jazz musicians and audiences, domestic Jazz managed to survive. Jazz was able to continue its development without targeted repression. Despite this, the cultivation of jazz music continued in a world of its own: excluded from the mainstream channels of popular music, with the exception of a few isolated tv and radio appearances.

The 'rock/pop music sphere' was arguably the widest and most diverse sphere within Chile's 'national fields of popular music' (Regev & Seroussi 2004). *Balada*, rock, and jazz coexisted in a sphere which claimed its place within a globalised sound and visual aesthetic. Not all music within this sphere prioritised the notion of the national. In the rock/pop music sphere, Chilean-ness was expressed through language and place. The musical idioms and visual aspect continued to fit into a wider globalised trend. As a result, the nation was positioned within a globalised musical context.

Conclusion

Between 1973 and 1990, popular music was expressed in a variety of genres in Chile. Despite a strong predominance of foreign music, Chilean production evolved under circumstances particular to the dictatorial regime and the music industries infrastructure.

Regev and Serioussi's (2004) framework sheds light on the configuration of domestic musical genres during the Chilean dictatorship. The official appropriation of

música típica as a signifier of the nation can be seen as an adoption of the traditional/folk musical field by Pinochet's nation project.⁵⁹ However, this appropriation was not strongly enforced and imposed as a model of domestic music production, mediation, and consumption. The music used for Allende's national project (*Nueva Canción*), and the *Canto Nuevo* movement which took on the legacy of *Nueva Canción* within Chile, could be seen as representative of the 'ethnic field' in accordance to the dictatorship's official discourses on national identity. After 1973, the social conceptions connected to the *Unidad Popular's* Chilean way to socialism were officially excluded. However, their official exclusion only marginalised this movement until the early 80s. As time passed, *Canto Nuevo* became a strong source for opposition to the dictatorship, empowering the democratic movement which led to the return of democracy. The rock/pop field can be found in the genres of rock, ballad, jazz, and other genres not covered in this chapter. These genres have held a range of relationships to national identity, as well as a variety of perceptions of the political system and government. While some were actively involved in claims of national identity, others had stronger identifications with other 'cultural identities' (Larraín 2000).

Pinochet's government, while favouring forms rooted in the traditional/folk field of national music, had no deliberate plan, nor any clear intention of homogenising musical output. Furthermore, drawing from Wade's ideas, sameness and difference coexisted within official national discourses in complex ways. For example, the music of choice to represent the nation in official acts was linked to rural landscapes and romantic representations of a glorious tradition. However, the

⁵⁹The term *música típica* is used to refer to a type of folk music; more on this category later on in this chapter.

economic policy promoted by the government promoted the free marketisation of music across national borders, which meant a high influx of a range of music and musical influences from abroad. Diversity did not just come from outside official discourses, in the same way that sameness also co-existed within counter-official practices. The cultural notions associated with *Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo* represented a diversity excluded from official culture, but also proposed a national representation which left out elements with characteristics and practices perceived as alienating and lying outside their values and beliefs.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEMES

This chapter will introduce three important areas which underlined musical practices during the Chilean military dictatorship. The introduction of these thematic areas sets the scene for the remaining three chapters of this thesis. As illustrated later in this thesis, popular music practices within the context of the bureaucratic authoritarian dictatorship in Chile were affected by a number of interconnected factors which interacted through complex processes in the political system. Therefore, musical practices in the fields of production, mediation, and reception were shaped, influenced, and at times determined by a number of factors which I have chosen to organise into three categories: Firstly, musical practices were shaped by aspects directly related to the political system in place. In this case, I want to refer specifically to the authoritarian nature of the regime and its measures of exerting and maintaining power through control, restriction, and violence.⁶⁰ Secondly, musical practices were exercised within the structure of Chile's domestic music industries. Understanding the configuration of the music industries before and within the context of the dictatorship will help to build a fuller picture of the conditions in which musical practices took place during the dictatorship.⁶¹ Finally, musical practices in Chile during Pinochet's government can also be conceived in terms of wider notions on popular music culture. The production, mediation, and consumption of popular music is and has been shaped

⁶⁰ The changes implemented by the government in the economy certainly affected musical practices. However, I would like to conceive economic matters apart from ,although in relation to, the political system. The neoliberal economic policies implemented in Chile are not necessarily an intrinsic characteristic of a bureaucratic authoritarian regime. The impact of economic policy on musical practices will be addressed in the next point on the music industries' infrastructure.

⁶¹ The complexity of the music industries justifies a lengthier discussion compared to the other two categories.

by a wide range of issues, such as identity, creativity, industry, the arts versus commerce dichotomy, cultural globalization, technology, subculture, youth, authenticity, and many others (Frith and Goodwin 1990, Horner and Swiss 1999, Negus 1999, Wall 2003, Laughey 2006). Although wide in definition, I have chosen *popular music culture* as a theme, in order to suggest that the complex processes involved in popular music practices continue to be relevant to the discussion of popular music during the Chilean dictatorship.

Direct Effects of the Political System on Musical practices

The day of the coup was a pivotal moment for Chilean society. Chile's 11th of September remains a symbol of dramatic change, rupture, and the start of a different socio-political path (Stern 2004). The repercussions of the military takeover had a strong impact on various aspects of musical practices. For example, the initial uprising had an immediate effect on the sounds aired on the radio. The aeriels of *Unidad Popular* supporting radio stations were bombed and military marches were broadcast on the 11th of September (Bresnahan 2002, Albornoz 2003). During house raids, officials not only searched for dissident individuals, but also hunted for subversive material in the form of posters, leaflets, books, and music records (Cavallo et al 1989, Stern 2006, Bosmajian 2006). Anything reminiscent of the *Unidad Popular* years was banned.

The military Junta imposed important restrictions on civil liberties by placing the country under curfew and constraining the rights to reunions and gatherings. The imposed curfew saw the end of nightlife, which in turn became an important problem for the entertainment industry generally. The need to seek permission to meet up put limitations on band practices, celebrations, family reunions, and live performances.

With time, nightlife adapted to the new circumstances. Furthermore, curfew regulations varied according to the location – regional cities were generally under a less strict curfew than Santiago. The curfew’s length gradually decreased with time – it became shorter as years went by and sometimes was only applied during weekends. Adapting to this new situation gave rise to new social practices, like the ‘*fiestas de toque a toque*’ – all-night lock-in parties.

The mass departure of the supporters of the deposed government included an important sector of artists, intellectuals, and musicians. Those who stayed in Chile and opposed Pinochet’s dictatorship were subject to various degrees of violence, ranging from mild restraint to severe torture and murder.

The military government did not impose a particular rule with regard to the way in which music needed to be composed. Nonetheless, during the early period there was a clear (at times explicit and at times implicit) exclusion of music linked to the *Nueva Canción* movement. The use of Andean instruments by various *Nueva Canción* acts had led to the aesthetic association of this type of instrument with left wing politics. An official ban on Andean instruments has been referenced in several publications (Rivera 1984, Manuel 1988, see ‘Charango’ in Shepherd 2003). However, I have been unable to find an official document or proclamation to support this claim. In conversation with Juan Pablo González, he suggested that the ban on Andean instruments remains in the memory of many. Nevertheless, no one has been able to produce concrete evidence of the existence of this norm: ‘yes, there is an edict

that no one has been able to document which we all believe we heard' (personal communication, 2007).⁶²

The ideological exclusion of Marxism imposed by the military government had a significant impact on music. As suggested above, folk music related to – and inspired by – *Nueva Canción* was viewed with major suspicion. Active musicians such as Isabel Parra, Patricio Manns, and bands like Quilapayún and Inti Illimani, were exiled. Victor Jara, a talented musician and theatre director, was arrested, tortured, and violently murdered a few days after the military takeover (Rivera 1984).

The exact rules of music exclusion remain blurry. As well as music with strong links to left wing political activities, this exclusion affected a 'kind' of Chilean music which was rooted in folk traditions and was of a critical social tone. Moreover, foreign music which was seen as containing social criticism was also deemed suspicious.⁶³ According to Rivera, rather than the existence of an explicit ban on this kind of foreign music, its presence on radio broadcasts and records declined (ibid). It is to be implied, therefore, that the increasing public absence of this music responded to mechanisms of self-censorship.

The initial exclusion of the music associated with *Nueva Canción* and left-wing politics reached a stage of contradiction as a result of the economic crisis of the early 1980s. At an early stage during the dictatorship, many international musicians and performers were hired for television appearances. With time, audiences became used to the presence of foreign artists and therefore their tastes and demands were

⁶² Original in Spanish: 'Sí, hay un bando que nadie ha logrado documentar que todos creemos haber escuchado'.

⁶³ For example: Paco Ibanez, Victor Manuel, Joan Manuel Serrat, Joan Baez.

harder to satisfy. Channels reacted by investing even more funds in bringing international stars to shows. However, the economic crisis of 1982 had an impact on media and television budgets. To reduce costs, TV stations began to hire a higher number of Chilean musicians (Rivera 1984). Amongst these musicians were those related to *Canto Nuevo*, a movement which took on the legacy of *Nueva Canción*.

The military government implemented a negative cultural policy. In other words, rather than promoting specific forms of cultural expression, the government sought to silence and subdue those individuals and institutions with an idea of social and cultural organisation that was not in line with theirs (Fuenzalida 2001). Fuenzalida identifies specific elements which characterised this form of negative cultural policy. Universities were controlled through the appointment of government approved Deans, as well as the dismissal of 'problematic' academics. In addition, there was an enhancement of traditional historical and cultural Chilean symbols: for example, large national history collections were published (Rivera 1984). Along with the approval of certain forms of national music (as discussed in chapter three), there was a strong tendency to support expressions of the European art tradition. With the help of the private sector and the arrival of well-known international singers, the opera was re-launched in the *Teatro Municipal*.⁶⁴ Moreover, the Viña del Mar Festival received significant support from the government, which encouraged the participation of international popular music artists (ibid).

According to Rivera (1984), the restriction on civil liberties imposed by the authoritarian dictatorship posed strong limitations on social communication and

⁶⁴ *Teatro Municipal*: Municipal Theatre.

organisation. Political organisations, labour and student unions, community centres, and other forms of social organisation which existed in Chile until 1973 were affected dramatically. As a result, Chilean society became a highly fragmented realm where musical practices took place in disconnected sectorial spaces. Rivera recognises the existence of diverse sectorial musical expressions. However, the restrictions imposed by the military regime made it difficult for those practices to transcend their localised characteristics into a highly controlled and reduced public space.

Despite varying amounts of tension and constraint, censorship was in place throughout the whole duration of the dictatorship. Popular music censorship can occur on the grounds of a number of different issues related to commercial, moralistic, nationalistic, and political elements, amongst others (Cloonan 2003, Cloonan and Garofalo 2003, Cloonan and Drewett 2006). In Chile, the main form of censorship was based on political grounds. Nevertheless, censorship on the basis of indecency was also applied on some occasions (personal communication, 2007).

It is hard to circumscribe the extent and characteristics of censorship during Pinochet's government. The rules of censorship were not clearly defined or consistently implemented. Censorship was ambiguous and at times contradictory, and manifested in the form of prior restraint and restriction (Cloonan and Garofalo 2003). Self-censorship was a significant part of censorship. People were very careful of their actions and what they said, for fear of falling into dangerous situations. Therefore, this mixture of censorship and self-censorship was effective in showing that, despite its ambiguity, the government had the last and unquestionable word. Censorship affecting music was mainly influenced by a desire to suppress Marxist thought during the first half of the dictatorship. Once Marxist networks were seen to be eradicated,

and a decade had passed, the censoring approach sought to preserve and impose respect for the authorities.

The ambiguity of censorship can be seen as a reflection of the coexistence of two major – and at times conflicting – elements within Chile’s government: an authoritarian, conservative faction, and a sector in favour of economic liberalism. As discussed in chapter two, the authoritarian sector was inclined towards a more protectionist economic model and viewed liberal economic reforms with suspicion. In addition, this sector was in favour of strict controlling mechanisms that involved repressive measures. At the same time, the liberal faction focused on promoting neoliberal changes in the economy while curtailing political freedom. This sector was more concerned with economic matters and saw authoritarian measures as a necessary price for the implementation of neo-liberalism. Censorship was therefore a reflection of this ambiguous complexity. Disciplinary measures were adopted if a person or a situation ‘crossed the line’ of what was ‘acceptable’ to the regime. However, the ‘line’ was never clearly drawn and at times changed its position and intensity.

Music Industries Infrastructures

Musical practices under the dictatorship were influenced by factors closely related to the infrastructure of the music industries. Williamson and Cloonan (2007) have convincingly argued in favour of the use of the term ‘music industries’ in its plural form as opposed to its commonly misleading singular version –music industry. The use of the singular term ‘music industry’ is confusing as it leads to the belief in a shared interest across sectors of the industry. Furthermore, the acknowledgement of plurality within the music industries contravenes the interchangeable use of music industry and recording industry. The term ‘music industries’, therefore, accounts for

the heterogeneity and diversity within the music businesses, which includes various areas such as the live sector, retail sector, recording sector, and so forth. Thus, in this section, 'music industries infrastructures' is used to refer to the business and industrial particularities which had an impact on music making in Chile during the military government.

The structures and networks in which musicians operated are fundamental to the understanding of their activity during the period in question. In turn, the music industries' infrastructure affected the way music was mediated and consumed. Such a configuration however, was not only shaped by the socio-political and economic climate of the time, but was also rooted in preceding developments in industrial music activity. In other words, an understanding of the developments of the music industries in Chile up until 1973 sheds light on the industrial structures and networks available at the moment of the coup – structures which had to accommodate a new order. The following is a brief account of the developments in the music industries in Chile during the twentieth century prior to the dictatorship.

The music industries originated in Chile during the early twentieth century as a result of the arrival of new audio recording and reproduction technologies from the USA and Europe. Initially, ownership of radio receptors was the privilege of few. However, this technology soon spread across social sectors and geographical locations, radically changing the range of music that people had access to. In addition, the development of the music industries was influenced by global socio-political and economic changes, such as the great depression of 1929 and both world wars. In its origins and throughout more than half a century, the music industries followed US and

European patterns, and were mainly based on the grounds of the recording and cinema industries, as well as the radio and star system (González and Rolle 2004).

With the arrival of new communication technologies in Chile at the start of the twentieth century, the two main existing musical spheres – the European art tradition and local popular music – had to accommodate the rapidly growing phenomenon of popular music. At first, radio stations broadcast mainly classical music, but soon began favouring a wider range of music produced locally and abroad. European art music was adopted by the state through the universities and a number of initiatives which sought to protect the work of musicians.⁶⁵ As a result, music of the European art tradition no longer developed according to the tastes of the oligarchy and was not just used for entertainment purposes. Instead, it began to adopt stronger educational and experimental tendencies (Catalán et al 1987). Local popular music continued to originate and develop in urban and rural sectors. Folk music also found its place on radio shows and locally produced records.

With the advent of radio and cinema in the 1920s, Chileans became increasingly exposed to customs and cultural forms that originated in developed countries. In the 1930s for example, foxtrot reached a wide level of popularity and its diffusion was greater than that of Latin American forms such as tango and *tonada* (Menanteau 2003). For most of the first half of the twentieth century, German and Italian music occupied an important place in Chile's musical scene. However, Chile's alignment with the allies in 1943 had an impact on music imports into Chile, which became dominated by US products (Catalán et al 1987).

⁶⁵ For example, the government encouraged the creation of a symphonic orchestra. These initiatives were mostly directed towards the music of the European art tradition.

Locally produced music in records and films had to constantly compete with foreign productions. The influence of foreign music did not only come from the USA and Europe, but also from Mexico and Argentina. Mexican films became very popular in the first half of the twentieth century, helping to popularise Mexican songs like the *ranchera* (González and Rolle 2004) and provide a sense of Latin American identity (Varas and González 2005). Mexican films had an advantage over English films. Spanish language films were preferred by a considerable part of the population because, without the need for subtitles, they required less effort. It was from the late 1950s onwards that US films gained predominance amongst imported films (Catalán et al 1987, González and Rolle 2004). During the early stages of cinema in Chile, music and other acts were used as in-between-films entertainment (Rengifo and Rengifo 2008: p. 19-21).⁶⁶

Rapid technological development meant that musicians in Chile had to face the challenges posed by the advent of new technology. Particularly, the employment situation of musicians became uncertain. On the radio, recorded music soon replaced live music and radio orchestras. In the cinema, sound-films replaced the role of live music accompanying silent films, while in-between-films variety entertainment was soon substituted by music records (Gonzales and Rolle 2004).

The state adopted a regulating role in regards to the music industries with the establishment of departments assigned to oversee the functioning of radio and cinema. In regard to music making, the state saw music as a matter of education, protecting its creation and study through the universities. However, the type of music privileged

⁶⁶ 45% illiteracy rate.

within educational institutions was European art music. This idea was reinforced by a prominent expansion in Art faculties in the first half of the twentieth century (Catalán et al 1987).⁶⁷

Popular music and the cultural industries had expanded considerably by the 1960s and the market had become much more diversified. A new consumer sector represented by the youth emerged as an important sector to cater for. In popular music, closely inspired by rock and roll as well as by US crooners, the *Nueva Ola* movement in Chile reached wide popularity within the youth market. Magazines adopted an important role in the exposure and marketing of new idols. The inclusion of a previously excluded social sector with newly acquired consumption power into the market saw a rise in the variety and quantity of goods. A newly developed commodity production for the working class, in which *cumbia*, *ranchera* and bolero were commonly listened to, emerged as a response to this sector's increased spending capacity.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, considerable migration into the cities saw the emergence of urban folk (Catalán et al 1987).

The decline of former agrarian structures put an end to countryside and peasant isolation. However, as well as radio reaching many sectors previously unexposed to popular music, these changes also prompted a decline in rural folk practices. Especially noticeable amongst younger peasant generations, folk music

⁶⁷ In 1929 the Faculty of Fine Arts was established at the Universidad de Chile. In 1940, it was followed by the Cultural Extension Institute and Ballet School. 1941 Symphonic Orchestra, Experimental Theatre. 1943 Universitaria Publisher house, Institute of folk Research, 1945 National Chilean Ballet and Univesridad de Chile Choir. 1948 Musical Arts and Science Faculty.

⁶⁸ Cumbia, ranchera, and bolero are Latin- and Hispano-American genres. Cumbia originated in Colombia, ranchera in Mexico, and bolero in Spain and Mexico.

practices decreased and were increasingly replaced by popular music disseminated through the radio and recording industry (Catalán et al 1987).

Throughout a large part of the twentieth century, radio held its position as the main disseminator of music. However, in the late 1960s, television took over this role and became the leading promulgator of music. During the 1960s, RCA and EMI Odeon were the main record labels in Chile, relying on their own pressing plants. Other existing labels included Phillips, Arena, Caracol, Orpal, and DICAP (Catalán et al 1987).

Allende's *Unidad Popular* government placed great importance on the production and consumption of culture. The left-wing party coalition saw in music, literature, theatre, and other cultural manifestations an important element to be included in politico-ideological education (Catalán et al 1987).

During the socialist years, the role of the state in society became increasingly more active and prominent. Within the group of reforms implemented by the socialist government, import substitution and state sponsorship for industrial development became central to the political agenda. In 1971, the label RCA was nationalised and renamed IRT (Rivera 1984). The main record labels before the coup were EMI and IRT. There were a number of transnational subsidiaries which distributed music through EMI. In addition, the Chilean communist-youth-formed label Dicap (1968) was fundamental in the dissemination of Nueva Canción.

By 1973 there were two record pressing plants. One belonged to IRT and the other to EMI. According to the authors Wallis and Malm (1984), recording industry documents and statistics from the *Unidad Popular* years were lost and so it is hard to

establish concrete figures. Wallis and Malm (1984) state that EMI personnel expressed that the UP period was unprecedented in terms of the high volume of record sales. During those years, music records were sold at a fixed price established by the government. This policy influenced a considerable increase in sales volume, despite a low profit margin. Between 1970 and 1973 there was a marked expansion in the national recording industry. Record imports dropped significantly from US\$ 35.900 in 1970 to US\$ 2,200 in 1972. National record production nearly doubled between 1971 (2,859,000) and 1973 (5,934,000). However, after the coup record production experienced a steady decline (Catalán et al 1987).

With the coup, fixed prices were dismissed and the obstacles imposed on foreign imports were lifted. The military regime confiscated IRT's plant. Eventually, the label was given back to RCA. A few years after the coup, the military regime offered RCA the return of their pressing plant. RCA rejected the offer and so EMI was left with the only pressing plant in the country. Wallis and Malm referred to EMI's post-coup circumstances as a 'manufacturing monopoly' (p. 134). By the 1990s, the recording industry landscape changed. Local labels Alerce and Fusión were created during the dictatorship in 1976 and 1985 respectively. These labels played an important part in the development of Canto Nuevo and Rock Latino (discussed in chapter three). Other transnational record labels established in Chile were BMG (1985), CBS (1981-1988), and Sony (1988).

Rivera (1984) reported the existence of 117 AM radio stations and 20 FM radios in 1973, whilst Brunner, Barrios and Catalán (1989) estimated the number of radio stations at 158, of which 49 were in Santiago. There are no exact reports on the content of music on radio stations. However, Albornoz (2003) suggests that radio

stations played predominantly foreign popular music, in line with international and regional charts. The number of radio stations saw a steady rise during the dictatorship. Brunner, Barrios and Catalán estimate the existence of over 300 radio stations in 1985, of which half were AM radio stations.

The period preceding the coup also saw the start of the decline of content variety in radio stations. Programmes which included radio-theatre, humour, and readings became less common and gave way to an increasing majority of recorded music played on air. Eventually, and with the closure of music studios, radio stations stopped being part of the process of star formation. For a long time, radio stations had played an important role in the introduction and development of new performers, especially singers; a role which was significantly modified with the decline of live radio studios (Fuenzalida 1985).

By 1973, all television channels were directly or indirectly controlled by the state. There were three main university channels (UC, UCV, UCH), all of which reached the areas of Santiago and Valparaíso. Only in 1968, when the National State Channel was inaugurated did it reach the whole nation (Catalán et al 1987). Television continued to be predominantly controlled by the state until 1987, when privately owned television stations were allowed. Before the coup, a significant part of the programming was based on foreign productions. One of them main music shows of the period was *Música Libre*, a TV programme which featured chart music danced to by young people who were regularly on the show.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ More on *Música Libre* in chapter six.

The music industries underwent significant changes during the period of military rule. Right after the coup, the military began the mass destruction of master records, particularly those linked to Nueva Canción. With time, the recording industry worked in a similar fashion to its counterparts elsewhere (driven by profit making principles), its functioning was critically shaped by the context in which it operated. During this period, the industry was influenced by the operations of the transnational recording industry and by Chile's socio-political context (Rivera 1984).

Perhaps the most significant changes to the industries occurred as a result of the economic transformations promoted by the military regime with the recommendation of civilian advisors. The noticeable reduction of the role of the state in the regulation of trade gave way to a free market economy with an increased import activity. In other words, regulation was left to the market (Rivera 1984). For Chilean music and performance, many protectionist laws were dropped and those maintained were not always strictly observed. For example, the regulation norm which exempted live performances by Chilean individuals from tax was dropped and replaced by regulation norm DL 827 in 1974. After this modification, and according to the new regulation law, all performances were subject to a 22% tax. Exempted from this charge were those performances sponsored by the government, universities, city councils, and charities. Earlier, and according to 1972's DFL 9 regulation norm, imported records were liable for a 22% tax. In 1979, a unique tax of 10% was established for the import of cultural products (Rivera 1984, Fuenzalida 1985). This reduction in import tax had negative effects on the recording industry; however, it had a positive impact on the price and availability of musical equipment for new radio stations, musicians, and recording studios (Fuenzalida 1985).

Because of the state's reduced participation in media regulations, content decisions began to be based on commercial principles. Furthermore, as will be discussed in chapter six, there were important cuts to television state sponsorship. As a result, by 1980, 88.6% of television's income was produced by advertising (Fuenzalida 1983). In turn, TV channels sought to act cost-effectively by trying to maintain low costs while reaching large audiences. To cut costs, television channels relied on foreign content, which required a smaller investment compared to national productions. Foreign content on TV programmes rose from 55% in 1972, to 84% in 1976 (Fuenzalida 1983 in Rivera 1984).

The dictatorship period also saw a growth in the structures of mediation and reception of popular music. There was a significant rise in the number of TV sets and radio players (Rivera 1984). By 1981, there was on average at least one radio, tape recorder, or record player in each house in Santiago. Between 1971 and 1981 the importation of radio players increased by 8254.7% (Fuenzalida 1985).⁷⁰ This growth in the number of radio players occurred despite an important decrease in domestic record production. The number of radio stations however, rose accordingly: 45.2 % of the radio stations existing in 1982 had been founded after 1973 (Rivera 1984). Furthermore, FM radio stations multiplied rapidly during the dictatorship. In the first decade of military rule, FM stations accounted for 80% of all new stations established (Fuenzalida 1985). These changes in the electronics market and the rapid proliferation of radio stations occurred as a result of the economic model implemented by the dictatorship.

⁷⁰ This figure was obtained by Fuenzalida 1985 based on the information provided by Rivera 1984, drawn from Banco Central records.

An incremental increase in advertising revenue generated extended TV hours. Proportionally, there was an increase in the hours devoted to music television. However, this significant increment in music programming time on TV and radio did not mean this space was filled with music made in Chile. Chilean record labels were not able to cater for this increased demand for music because of low domestic record production (Rivera 1984). Therefore, the large flow of incoming music records – available as a result of the changes to import regulations – inevitably supplied the demand for more music on radio stations and television.

Chilean music was hit by a low record production and an increasing presence of foreign content in the media. Quotas for the amount of Chilean music on radio and television had been established during the first half of the twentieth century. However, these regulations were confusing and never worked effectively. There was no real infrastructure to supervise the compliance of these norms, and there was no penalty for infringement (Fuenzalida 1985).

The lack of sources with data on radio airplay and market percentages of music sales led Fuenzalida (1985) to generate an estimated chart based on interviews and compared it to the set of figures published by another institution.⁷¹ The figures in Fuenzalida's chart serve as a guideline to envisage the radio and market presence of a variety of different music genres. International music occupied 90% of radio airplay and European art music (labelled as 'classical music') occupied 2%. The remaining

⁷¹ During my interviews with radio personnel – most of which took place within radio stations – I was unable to find logs and archives with reliable information on the music broadcast by radio stations between 1973 and 1990. Most radio stations simply did not archive that type of information. Radio Cooperativa only began to log music aired in the 1990s (personal communication, 2007).

percentage was shared by Chilean rock, *Canto Nuevo*, folk, and mainstream.⁷² In terms of music sales, international music accounted for 60% of the sales and ‘*popular masiva*’ music for 20%. Therefore, Fuenzalida concluded that taste, according to a typification based on record sales, was not solidly represented in radio musical content.

Why was foreign music prioritised within media content and why was there not enough music being produced in Chile? Some of the answers provided for this question point at the lower cost of imported material, which in most cases proved successful with audiences (Rivera 1984: p. 14). Furthermore, it was cheaper to import records than to record Chilean artists (Cruz 1983). As seen in the table below, record imports rose significantly after 1975.

Imports of records and tapes (In US\$ million):

Year	Records	Base % variation: 1970	Recorded Tapes	Base % variation: 1970
1970	36,5	0,0	76,2	0,0
1975	9,0	-75,3	126,1	65,5
1981	1.493,0	+3.990,4	2761,0	3.523,4

Source: Registro de Importaciones, Banco Central de Chile (Rivera 1984: p. 14)

Soon after the coup, and due to a significant decrease in the number of records manufactured, the two pressing plants owned by RCA and Odeon closed down and their equipment was sold (Fuenzalida 1985). Figures provided by Fuenzalida show

⁷² Mainstream is my own translation of ‘*música popular masiva*’.

that record manufacture fell from 6.3 million in 1972 to only 986 thousand records in 1980.⁷³

A decline in nationally manufactured recorded music meant that there was less national material available for radio broadcast. FM radios increasingly looked for music abroad because of its superior sound quality. Hence, some radio programmers imported directly from abroad. Moreover, some of these radio stations wanted to have the 'latest' trends, for which they ordered music from international catalogues (Rivera 1984).

According to Rivera, music sales in Chile dropped due to a decrease in real income and an increase in the availability of blank cassette tapes which allowed people to create their own music compilations. The importation of blank tapes increased steadily: 1970 - US\$142.245; 1978 - US\$ 2.350.000; 1981- US\$ 5million approximately (Rivera 1984).

Furthermore, one of the most important changes undergone by the recording industry was the change in format: from record to cassette tape. At the time of publication, Fuenzalida (1985) stated that record sales only accounted for 10% of the recording industry's sales. This transformation also had a major effect on the music player market (Fuenzalida 1985).

Despite the recording industry's adoption of the cassette tape format, radio stations continued to play records. The explanation given by radio controllers was that the quality of the cassette tape was lower than that of the vinyl record. Instead, record

⁷³ It is important to consider that these figures most likely did not account for the full amount of recorded music produces. By 1980 cassette tapes were already being used by the industry as a format in which to sell music.

label music editors considered that a good cassette tape was of equal or superior quality to a record. Therefore, the domestic recording industry began to release their music on cassette tapes, while radio stations continued to play records. Moreover, radio stations lacked tape player facilities. The recording format difference between record labels and radio stations generated significant tensions and difficulties for the domestic recording industry (Fuenzalida 1985) and local musicians.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in Chile, the presence of locally produced music on the radio has been historically low. José Alfredo Fuentes, a crooner who reached immense popularity in the 1960s and who then held a long career as a TV presenter, expressed his views in regard to getting radio airplay as a Chilean artist. He suggested that it has been continuously difficult to gain radio airplay for Chilean musicians. According to Fuentes, the situation was not as bad in the 60s and 70s but became worse later on (personal communication, 2007).

During the dictatorship, the music scene continued to be mainly based around Chile's capital city, Santiago. For those musicians working regionally, career progression implied a necessary relocation to the capital. For example, Andean music band Illapu moved to Santiago from Antofagasta, Huara re-united in Santiago after working in Antofagasta, and Schwenke y Nilo – part of the *Canto Nuevo* movement – moved from Valdivia to Santiago (Cruz 1983).

The music industries' infrastructure during the dictatorship was subject to processes of censorship and self-censorship. The particularities and effects of the political system, which I have discussed earlier in this chapter, also affected the functioning of the music industries. Those musicians or types of music considered oppositional to or defiant of the established order were minimally visible in the media.

This situation was especially notorious on television, where a small number of musicians continuously rotated across TV programmes. An excessive TV presence caused the musicians' appeal to wear off somewhat and, as a result, records and live performances did not sell proportionally to the amount of TV exposure (Fuenzalida 1985: p. 8).⁷⁴ Based on this, Fuenzalida argues that the music circuits based on TV appearances on the one hand, and live performances on the other, were robust but rather parallel. These parallel music circuits denoted the existence of two distinct forms of music dissemination: through TV and radio, and through live performance in 'peñas, café concerts, gigs, local festivals, etc',⁷⁵ as well as home use and personal dissemination through records and cassette tapes (Fuenzalida 1985).

Throughout the dictatorship, music performance found an important showcase space in the many summer music festivals that proliferated during the period. The trend of summer festivals in cities, towns, and small localities continues to the present day. The largest and most famous summer festival is the *Festival Internacional de La Canción de Viña del Mar* [International Song Festival of Viña del Mar], which was broadcast internationally and received significant coverage from the national media. Unfortunately, the information on smaller local and rural festivals is difficult to access. During the dictatorship, these events were mostly covered by the local press and found little room in the national media. Despite this lack of information, it is necessary to stress that summer festivals served as a fundamental stage for many kinds

⁷⁴ Mainly ballad singers. More on Fuentes in chapter five.

⁷⁵ Original in Spanish: 'peñas, café concert, conciertos, festivales locales, etc'. Peñas are small musical gatherings.

of music performances during the military dictatorship. Mentioning this type of event is important because there will be references to summer festivals in further chapters.⁷⁶

By 1985, royalties for the commercial use of music were mostly non-existent. This situation was crystallised by a number of factors: the misinformation of law enforcement personnel, the lack of awareness on the part of the authors regarding their own rights, and the population's general unfamiliarity with copyright law. Law 17.336 on intellectual property was passed in 1970. This law substantially modernised the earlier regulating norm DFL 345 of 1925. President Frei presented this law project because he considered it important for the country to align itself with international intellectual rights' standards. Law 17.336 is largely unknown and under-studied. At the time of its promulgation it was not well promoted. Law 18.443 introduced slight changes to Law 17.336, which referred to intellectual property. According to Silva, these changes were minor, and do not account for significant innovation of the previous law (Silva in Fuenzalida 1987).

In regard to authors' rights, it was during dictatorship that composers achieved the most influential developments in the protection of their intellectual rights. In 1987, the administration of music royalties was attributed to authors themselves through the creation of the Authors' Right Society. Prior to that, royalties had been collected and administrated by the Universidad de Chile's *Departamento del Pequeño Derecho de Autor* (Schuster, personal communication, 2007).

The music industries suffered several changes as a result of government policy, which was effectively implemented through controlling and repressive

⁷⁶ See appendix for a list of summer music festivals.

measures guaranteed by the political system. The neoliberal economic transformations brought about a number of changes in the music industries which severely altered their configuration. National record production decreased, whilst imported music rose significantly, in line with import tax modifications. Import support also allowed a wider and cheaper range of technological goods to be imported. In turn, the number of radio stations rose accordingly. As explained above, with more radio stations and extended TV programming hours, the media was in demand for more music. However, a shocking low in record production meant that the domestic music industry was unable to supply that demand. Therefore, radio stations and television channels filled their airing time with foreign imports. In addition, the change of recording format adopted by the domestic record industry led to a divorce between domestic radio stations and record labels. Record labels produced cassette tapes while radio stations carried on playing vinyl.

Popular Music Culture

Popular music practices touch upon a wide range of issues apart from those aspects directly linked to the political context. The field of popular music studies has addressed a various number of issues relevant to popular music culture. For example, popular music has been studied in regards to identity formation (Frith 1996, Richards 1998), as part of subcultures (Hebdige 1979, Hodkinson 2002), or as used by people in everyday life (Finnegan 2007, Cohen 1991). Popular music also is also linked to issues of gender (Whiteley 1997), race (Rose 1994), and place (Bennett 2000, Stokes 1994). Popular music has been organised in genres ((Fabbri 1999, Fabbri 2004), and attributed with specific and differing meanings (Negus 1997). Furthermore, popular

music can be understood in terms of the implications of industrial structures in the process of creativity (Toynbee 2006), production (Negus 1999), and consumption. The issues exposed above cover some of the characteristics of popular music culture. The complexities associated with popular music saw no significant simplifications during the period of dictatorship in Chile.

The musical panorama in dictatorial Chile, with its individuals, communities, and institutions, was subject to issues and divergences common to popular music culture around the world. These issues were insightfully reflected on in a seminar on Chilean popular music organised by CED-CENECA in 1985, of which the corresponding proceedings were published in 1987 (Fuenzalida 1987). Here, a vast array of actors within the musical world convened to discuss the problems within Chilean popular music.⁷⁷ The attendees represented various sectors such as the recording industry (major and independent labels), media personnel, academics, performers, and composers of various genre streams. The seminar raised some key issues which were affecting the configuration of musical practices in Chile at the time. Amongst others, composers expressed their concerns in regard to the protection of their rights; academics pointed at the small amount of serious popular music scholarship and the difficulties faced incorporating with university curricula; performers complained about the difficulties of gaining radio airplay and the unfavourable conditions they faced with the recording industry and the government's economic policy; record labels insisted their nature was sometimes misinterpreted and

⁷⁷ Unfortunately, music consumers were not represented within this debate.

that their decisions had to be based on choices deemed to have the potential for financial success. These are only a few examples of some of the issues raised during this seminar. Consequently, they illustrate that the understanding of popular music culture in Chile during the dictatorship is a complex endeavour which would benefit from a receptive scholarly approach.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced three thematic discussions which underpin the following discussion on music production, mediation, and reception. I have identified three aspects which influenced musical practices during the dictatorship. Firstly, the elements of control and repression which were characteristic of the political system. Secondly, the transformations in the recording industry caused by economic, political, and social changes affected the processes of music-making, dissemination, and reception. Finally, during the dictatorial regime, popular music continued to be a complex practice shaped by a wide range of issues such as identity, creativity, gender, genre, and technology, amongst others.

CHAPTER FIVE: MUSIC MAKING

By focusing on the role and activities of a selection of musicians throughout the dictatorship, this chapter addresses the complexities and contextual factors that shaped the process and outcome of music making during Chile's authoritarian period. The chapter provides further evidence to support the idea that musical practices during the dictatorship in Chile can be conceived beyond the binary of control and dissent. As stated previously in this thesis, the use of music within a non-democratic system responds to orders far more complex than the categories of control and dissent. However, this premise does not intend to ignore issues belonging to these two categories. Instead, musical practices under non-democratic contexts should be thought of in terms of a larger, multi-layered framework in which the categories of control and dissent co-exist with a greater number of elements and factors specific to each particular context.

In Pinochet's Chile, the activities of musicians were certainly influenced by the political system in place. However, in order to understand the implications of the relationship between music making practices and the dictatorship, our understanding of the scope of interplaying factors in the career of musicians needs to be widened. The way in which a musician's career can be shaped by the political system in place needs to be addressed in light of the contextual circumstances: the specificities of the period – the past, politics, economy, society, and international relations;⁷⁸ as well as the specificities of the musician or band in question – personal circumstances, genre,

⁷⁸ The contextual specificities of Pinochet's military dictatorship have been addressed extensively in chapter two. The particularities of musical genres/musical traditions in Chile have been discussed in chapter three.

perception of the period, the musician's relationship to music, and so forth. The activities of music makers under a particular political system – in this case bureaucratic authoritarianism in Chile – are affected not only by those particular factors concerning the political system, but also by elements which lie beyond, and act in conjunction with, the political system.

In this chapter, I will focus on the activities of music makers throughout the era of the military government by concentrating on the accounts of musicians in bands or solo performers who developed an important part of their careers during this period.⁷⁹ I will illustrate the complexities of music making practices under the dictatorship mainly by drawing examples from the accounts of Fernando Ubierno, Eduardo Gatti, José Alfredo Fuentes, Eduardo Peralta, Carlos Acevedo (Arena Movediza), Rafael Puentes and Patricia Intriago (Conjunto Malibú), Luis LeBert (Santiago del Nuevo Extremo), Sebastián Piga (UPA!), and José Cid.⁸⁰

Using in-depth unstructured interviews as the main source for addressing these questions facilitates the documentation of musicians' experiences as perceived and interpreted by themselves. Although journalistic sources of the time could have been analysed in order to understand music making during the dictatorship, their access is

⁷⁹ Due to time and space limitations, this chapter discusses music making by focusing solely on the experiences of musicians. Hence, it does not cover the experiences of other key actors involved in the music production process (recording industry personnel, recording studio workers, etc). Furthermore, there is an unfortunate gender imbalance across the sample of musicians – interviewees were in their majority male. The reason for this is mainly due to the availability of interviewees during my field work. Amongst those musicians interviewed there was only one woman.

⁸⁰ Arena Movediza [Quicksand], Conjunto Malibú [Malibú band], and Santiago del Nuevo Extremo [name with which Pedro de Valdivia founded Santiago, capital of Chile], and UPA! are band names.

limited and problematic. Furthermore, these sources are tainted by the restrictions within which the media had to operate under the military regime – in which previous censorship and self-censorship were commonplace.⁸¹ Using interviews as a primary source of information provides a sense of continuity and perspective to the description and understanding of music making in Chile. This method has allowed for an understanding of individuals' music making experiences over an extended period, not just during the time when their work was covered by the media – if covered at all.

Based on the analysis of the information gathered from interviews, I have identified nine factors which were recurrently raised by the participants. These elements were influential to their musical activities during the dictatorship. I have grouped these factors under the three thematic categories introduced in chapter four: [1] Material Effects of the Political System, [2] Music Industries Infrastructure, and [3] Popular Music Culture.

Material Effects of the Political Systems

Censorship and repression

Political stances

Comparison of music making under dictatorship/democracy

Music Industries Infrastructure

Income

Access to music news, records, and equipment

Key individuals/Gatekeepers

⁸¹ See chapter six for a discussion of music in the media, and chapter four for a discussion on censorship.

Popular Music Culture

Genre

Musicians' identity

Arts versus commerce

Firstly, this chapter will contribute to a contextual approach to understanding musical practices under a dictatorial political system. It will begin with a discussion of general contextual elements relevant to the activities of music makers during Pinochet's dictatorship. Thereafter, it will unpack the aforementioned themes and factors by discussing them in light of particular accounts of the life and work of the musicians interviewed.

Musicians in Chile

Between September 1973 and March 1990, music making in Chile was certainly influenced by the political system in place: a military dictatorship supported by a strong network of civilian advisors, technocrats, and intelligence. However, music making was also shaped by a number of additional factors. These factors concerned the specificities of context of the Chilean dictatorship in conjunction and interaction with the artist's own life, personality, and their notion of self-identity.⁸² Music making embraced a wide and complex array of experiences, represented and shaped by the interaction of general and personal circumstances. Mapping musicians in their musical activities and careers during the military government would result in the production of a complex diagram with blurry boundaries, containing elements common to some individuals and exclusive to others.

⁸² For a discussion of the context see chapter two. Additional contextual information can be found in chapters three and four.

The way the dictatorship period is currently remembered by Chileans has been represented by a number of competing, alternative versions (Stern 2004).⁸³ These methods of making sense of the past cast a light on the understanding of the different ways musicians remember living during the period and how they currently make sense of the dictatorial phase. The dictatorship was for some musicians a period of difficult circumstances, where their artistic and personal freedom was restricted. Various musicians, like many other people at the time, had to constrain their actions – and artistic choices – to safeguard their integrity. However, the dictatorship accommodated the career of musicians in different ways: sometimes as an obstructing element – posing difficulties and uncertainty for musicians; while in other cases facilitating work or simply having a less overt impact on a musician’s musical and personal activity.

The main discussion of this chapter will draw on the experiences and accounts of the following ten musicians – working in nine musical acts (solo and bands) – active during the dictatorship period. Additionally, a number of examples have been taken from the study on rock music by David Ponce (2008). Based on over one hundred in-depth interviews with, amongst others, musicians, promoters, and record producers, Ponce’s work ties in methodologically with the approach used in this chapter.

José Alfredo Fuentes is a crooner who reached the peak of his musical popularity between 1966 and 1972. During the first years of the military government his musical career continued as a central feature of his public persona. However, in

⁸³ See chapter two for an extended discussion of Stern’s memory framework.

1979 he began a career as a TV presenter which led to him hosting shows such as *Nuestra Hora*, *Exito*, and *Venga Conmigo*. At the time of interview, Fuentes actively sang at private events and summer festivals. Additionally, he used to make occasional guest appearances in some television shows (personal communication, 2007).

Strongly influenced by Anglo-American rock, **Eduardo Gatti** was involved in the rock band Los Blops from 1970. Gatti's musical training included periods at the conservatoire and times of individual exploration. Before the coup, Gatti lived in a hippy commune with some friends and colleagues. Shortly after the coup Gatti's band Los Blops split. Later, in the 1970s, he spent some time working in Europe as a musician. Upon his return, Los Blops reunited for a short period. In the 1980s, Gatti developed a distinctive solo career as a well-known singer-songwriter. At the time of interview, Gatti actively performed in small venues in Santiago (personal communication, 2007).

Fernando Ubierno is a singer-songwriter who attained significant popularity after winning the song contests at the Spring Festival (1977) and the Viña Festival (1978). Ubierno encountered difficulties with the government when in 1979 one of his albums was subject to censorship.⁸⁴ In the early 1980s Ubierno was signed to a Spanish label. During this time he won the Benidorm festival in 1982 and the OTI song contest in Mexico in 1984. At the time of interview, Ubierno was the director of the Chilean Authors' Society. In addition, he was actively singing and touring across Chile. From 2007 to the present, Ubierno embarked on a small music tour in Europe (personal communication, 2007).

⁸⁴ See Chapter four.

Influenced by Chilean folklore and the works of French singer-songwriter George Brassens, **Eduardo Peralta** is a singer-songwriter who was an important figure in the *Canto Nuevo* movement. Peralta started his musical career whilst studying journalism at University in Santiago. Before finishing his degree, he dropped out of university and travelled around Europe where he performed in a number of countries. Furthermore, whilst in Europe he came in close contact with *Nueva Canción* musicians.⁸⁵ At the time of the interview, Peralta actively performed as a singer-songwriter. He was a residence artist at Santiago's restaurant El Mesón Nerudiano (personal communication, 2007).

Luis Le-Bert was the singer and guitarist of *Santiago del Nuevo Extremo*, a band which was also associated with *Canto Nuevo*. Le-Bert's band was formed in 1978 Santiago at Universidad de Chile and split in 1986 with a reunion between 1999 and 2003. After the band's first split, Le-Bert developed a musical career characterised by a strong element of self-management and production. During the 1980s Le-Bert graduated as an architect, a profession he has continued to pursue. At the time of the interview, Le-Bert was about to release a self-produced album of *cueca-blues* (personal communication, 2007).⁸⁶

Rafael Puentes and **Patricia Intriago** were the leader and singer of Conjunto Malibú, a band active between 1974 and 1984. Conjunto Malibú was a vocal and instrumental band that performed mainstream covers and music written for them by a duo of composers. The members of Conjunto Malibú met through their full-time

⁸⁵ For more information on *Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo* see chapter three.

⁸⁶ *Cueca-blues*, as Le-Bert calls it, is a mixture between the traditional form of *cueca* and blues. To find out more about *cueca* see chapter three.

positions at Banco Central.⁸⁷ The band was often on television, and used to perform at summer festivals. Malibú was part of the show – as opposed to the song contest – in the Viña Festival on three occasions. The band split in 1984. At the time of interview, Conjunto Malibú had recently reformed with the absence of some of its original members. Puentes and Intriago no longer worked at the bank (personal communication, 2007).

Carlos Acevedo is the leader and drummer of the hard rock band Arena Movediza. The band formed in 1970 and actively toured and performed during the military period. During the dictatorship, Arena Movediza was an active number in the Santiago neighbourhood-clubs' and sports halls' live performance circuit. In the 1980s Acevedo left the band to pursue the Christian faith. At the time of interview, Acevedo had reformed Arena Movediza with younger members. They had recently released an album. At the same time, Acevedo worked in the car trading business (personal communication 2007).

In the 1980s, **Sebastián Piga** played the saxophone (amongst other instruments) in two New Wave bands: *Generaciones* and UPA! The latter band was signed to EMI and gained considerable airplay on national radio. UPA! also recorded music videos and participated as a guest in Viña del Mar's international show. At the time of interview, Piga was still actively involved in music – though less visibly. He worked as a record producer, as well as a composer of electronic music (personal communication, 2007).

⁸⁷ Banco Central: Central Bank.

José Cid was a performer and music education student at the *Instituto Pedagógico* in the 1980s, where he was actively involved in the student movement against the dictatorship. Cid regularly performed in *peñas* and university performances.⁸⁸ Additionally, he sang on Santiago's public buses for extra income. Amongst all the musicians interviewed, Cid was the only one who did not have a recording career. At the time of interview, Cid was a music school teacher in Santiago and a cultural administration Master's student (personal communication 2007).⁸⁹

In the following section, I will discuss music making in Chile by looking at how factors related to the political system, the infrastructure of the music industries, and elements rooted in popular music culture, affected the life and work of the musicians previously introduced.

Material Effects of the Political System

The political system and its particularities affected the experiences of musicians throughout the military government in a number of ways. Civil restrictions and censorship curtailed freedom of expression, gathering, and movement. Furthermore, many of the musicians interviewed experienced – to different extents – a level of mistrust or insecurity which influenced their actions. Musicians confessed to being cautious with regard to whom they talked to and what they said, as there was a

⁸⁸ *Peña*: small musical gathering. See chapter seven for a discussion on *peñas*.

⁸⁹ Unless referenced otherwise, all information on José Alfredo Fuentes, Fernando Ubierno, Eduardo Gatti, Eduardo Peralta, Luis Le-Bert, Conjunto Malibú, Carlos Acevedo, Sebastián Piga, and José Cid has been obtained from personal interviews carried out in 2007.

sense that certain subjects were better left unspoken. However, the way matters of insecurity and censorship were perceived was largely determined by the opinion towards the political system. Those artists who opposed the dictatorship found themselves more affected by civil restrictions and the actions of the military government. By contrast, those artists who consented with the government showed significantly less concern in regards to the restrictions imposed. In this respect, visions were varied and a result of the interplay between the characteristics of the political system and other contextual elements: personal, technological, economic, and international. Furthermore, the interviewees' reflections in regard to their activities during the dictatorship, compared to their activities during the subsequent democracy, alluded to a variety of issues which are not directly linked to the political system. When they compared their activities under dictatorship and under democracy, the subject of freedom of action and thought did emerge recurrently. However, musicians' accounts were predominantly concerned with two aspects in particular: technological matters and musicians' identity.

Most importantly, in my own analysis I would like to emphasise that music was not particularly treated as a cultural form that needed to be repressed. Instead, music was affected by the overarching controlling measures in line with the national security doctrine followed by the military.⁹⁰ According to the accounts given by musicians in this study and elsewhere (Bravo and González-Farfán 2009), when they were harassed it was mainly as a result of their alleged connection with, or participation in, prescribed political activities, or for contravening general norms imposed by the military.

⁹⁰ See chapter two.

Censorship and Repression

The coup is remembered by many in Chile as an instance of family rupture (Stern 2004). On the 11th of September 1973, many books, records, and posters associated with the deposed *Unidad Popular* government were burnt in bonfires across the country (Cavallo, Salazar et al. 1989, Stern 2006, Bosmajian 2006). In many cases, this was a measure adopted by military house raiders. In others, disposing of material and objects which could raise suspicion was a self-imposed measure of security. The burning of records, books, and artefacts associated with the deposed *Unidad Popular* signalled landmarks in the lives of many musicians at the time, and also of those who were to become active musicians during the dictatorship. The burning of books and records was part of the quest to dismantle and eradicate the social foundations of the former *Unidad Popular* government.

Amongst the musicians interviewed for this chapter, the coup had particularly negative effects for the families of Sebastián Piga and Luis Le Bert. Before 1973, Piga's father was a well-known academic at the Universidad de Chile's department of theatre. After the coup, the lives of the Piga family changed in many ways. They had to change their manners, hide things away, and split – Sebastian's father had to leave the country and settle in Peru.⁹¹ Amongst the objects the family hid were books and records which could be associated with Marxism and the *Unidad Popular*.⁹² Sebastián's parents were under the impression that the house could be raided at any

⁹¹ At the time of interview, Sebastian Piga's father was still living in Peru.

⁹² In our interview, Sebastián briefly mentioned 'cubism' as an example of a book which could be deemed as suspicious by the military. Books on 'cubism' were sometimes mistaken by officers as related to Cuba and therefore considered subversive (Cavallo et al. 1989: p. 178).

minute, and therefore they had to clear the place of suspicious evidence. The records spent years hidden underneath Sebastián's grandmother's refrigerator. Sebastián recovered those records from underneath the refrigerator at least three to four years after the coup (personal communication, 2007).

For Luis Le Bert also, the coup also brought about important transformations in his family. What could be considered subversive material – including instruments like the *charango* and posters linked to *Unidad Popular* – had to disappear.⁹³ Furthermore, the military takeover affected Le Bert's mother deeply. She had been actively involved in the socialist party during Allende's government. For security reasons, she spent several months in Argentina after the coup. Unfortunately, many of her former comrades had suffered severe consequences after the military takeover. According to Le Bert, his family never went back to being the same after the coup (personal communication, 2007).

Arguably, the military imposition which had the most notorious effect on the activities of musicians was the implementation of a curfew, put into practice on the 11th of September 1973. Initially the curfew took place every night between 10 pm and 6 am. With time, the duration of the curfew gradually decreased. The curfew was finally lifted in March 1978 (Loveman, Lira 2000). However, after several public protests in 1983 and 1984, Pinochet brought back martial law across the nation, including a weekday curfew in Santiago. It has to be noted that the curfew was a general controlling measure imposed by the military Junta which was not directly aimed at restricting music. The implications it had on Chile's musical activity can be

⁹³ *Charango* is an Andean stringed instrument which was closely associated with *Nueva Canción*, and therefore also with *Unidad Popular*.

perceived as a secondary effect. Repression levels and restrictions to civil liberties fell into gradual decline, although they never disappeared completely.

Particularly during the first curfew period, the measure severely curtailed the activities of musicians. This restriction put an end to nightlife. As a result, there were considerably fewer options for finding performance work in venues, restaurants, and nightclubs. For those who performed mainstream genres and styles – ballads, romantic songs, tropical music, and others –, television provided an alternative space for showcase and promotion. For musicians such as José Alfredo Fuentes, performing on television became a necessity in light of existing civil restrictions. Since he sang pop songs and ballads, Fuentes' style was easily accommodated within various television programmes (personal communication, 2007). However, for musicians who enjoyed a smaller level of popularity, or whose music was not in line with what television producers were looking for, the effects of the curfew became a serious problem. For example, after seeing his work chances severely reduced, and due to the unpromising environment existing in Chile, Eduardo Gatti left for Germany in 1976 in search of career opportunities (personal communication, 2007).⁹⁴

Musicians active in the mid and late 1980s were also subject to the restrictions of the curfew. Despite it only affecting Santiago during the weekends, activities had to be cut short and the anticipation of being stopped by the police was commonplace. On certain occasions, people were taken to the police station where they had to be identified and picked up by friends or family (Piga, personal communication, 2007).

⁹⁴ More on Gatti and his 1976 Europe period under 'income' section.

After 1973, popular music performance had to adapt to the restrictions imposed by the military Junta. In the summer of 1974, parties and live performances began approximately between 3 and 4 pm and lasted until 11 at night at the latest (Ponce 2008: p. 207). During this time, a number of suburban nightclubs emerged in Santiago. These venues worked around the restrictions imposed by the military regime. Suburban nightclubs in conjunction with sports halls facilitated the survival of underground working class rock performance which developed during the period.

The overall effect of the restrictions of civil liberties was not remembered as an obstacle by all interviewees. Patricia Intriago and Rafael Puentes from Conjunto Malibú did not recall having any particular problems due to the measures of control adopted by the regime. Generally, Puentes and Intriago remembered living a calm life without noticing a particularly bad atmosphere. During the day, their lives carried on as usual and only at night did they need to be careful to comply with curfew regulations (personal communication, 2007).

As discussed above, the measures of control imposed by the military regime were felt, and faced differently by different musicians. Whilst most musicians agreed that the curfew posed an irritating restriction to their musical activity, the ways in which the effects of this measure were confronted differed. Musicians like Fuentes, Intriago, and Puentes were able to remain in the public eye because their styles matched the requirements of television programmes. However, for musicians like Gatti, the restrictions posed a dramatic shift in his musical practice – which eventually led him to seek opportunities abroad.

In addition to the norms intended to safeguard national security, there were more specific aspects which affected the musicians' freedom to engage in musical

activities. As discussed in chapter four, censorship was an ambiguous practice which relied on a great degree of self-censorship.

Many of the musicians interviewed remembered instances in which the content of their music was controlled. This measure was mainly directed towards lyrics. According to Gatti, in some instances he had to send the lyrics of the songs he intended to sing in advance. However, despite the efforts of those pre-censoring mechanisms, Gatti felt he could always find a way to sidestep such instances. The lyrics he sent for scrutiny were not necessarily those which he ended up performing. Gatti would usually send his 'softer' songs and later sing whatever he felt like singing (personal communication, 2007).

The memories of Eduardo Peralta seemed less benevolent. In his account, he remembered having songs crossed out from his playlist and seeing officers standing outside venues as a measure of control. In connection with this point, the anticipation of being harassed was also a concern for some musicians. Peralta mentioned receiving death threats over the telephone; an angry voice would tell him to stop singing. However, such incidents did not happen very often and threats were never carried out (personal communication, 2007).

Fernando Ubierno had a particularly bad experience of harassment and threat. On a number of occasions he received home visits from officers who were searching for information on any possible political connection Ubierno or his close family may have had. After winning the Spring Festival with 'Un Café Para Platón', Ubierno was

summoned to a meeting with the state's intelligence agency DINA.⁹⁵ On that occasion, he was told he was being investigated on behalf of DINA's director Odlanier Mena. It was never clear to Ubiergo what exactly had raised DINA's concerns. The questions he was asked had to do with his participation in student unions and his family's association with political activities. Ubiergo was not involved in such activities and therefore was left wondering why the intelligence had those suspicions. These occurrences of intimidation left him in a constant state of fear and extreme caution (personal communication, 2007).

Ubiergo's experience of persecution seemed to be related to his potential connection to a political cell rather than to the silencing of his musical work. When musicians were arrested by the Armed Forces or the police, it was mainly to do with their involvement in political or dissident activities (See Bravo and González 2009). Similarly, José Cid suffered the consequences of his participation in the student movement in the mid 1980s. Cid was the representative of the music students at his university. Experiencing episodes of repression was common to daily life at university in the mid 1980s. On many occasions (Cid recalls) tear gas canisters fell inside university classrooms, smashing windows. During a student manifestation in 1986, José Cid was arrested along with over a hundred other students. Eventually, Cid and six other students were singled out and taken away to an unknown place by the CNI.⁹⁶ Cid was punished and tormented throughout the week he remained in the custody of

⁹⁵ DINA stands for *Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia*. DINA was the dictatorship's secret police responsible for the most horrendous crimes and human right abuses. DINA was an institutional organism from 1974. In 1977 DINA was dissolved and replaced by CNI.

⁹⁶ See footnote 95.

the intelligence institution. Apparently, what had worried the authorities was not directly related to the music performed by José Cid, but rather to a particular episode which had taken place at the university some time before the detention. The authorities worried that the student organisation had some kind of intelligence organism because the students had managed to detect the infiltration of two spies (personal communication, 2007).

In short, the way that musicians experienced the limitations imposed by the military regime was affected by the type of music they performed and their personal circumstances. Especially after the coup, those musicians who strongly relied on live performance to promote their music and make a living experienced great difficulties. Those musicians who performed mainstream pop, romantic songs, tropical music, or ballads were able to find work in television and summer festivals. However, on an individual basis, certain musicians suffered threats and harassment – an aspect which had an overall impact on their careers and daily lives.

Political Stances

The perception of musicians in regard to the military government was a determining factor in how they experienced life during the authoritarian period. Those who opposed the military regime were more likely to openly narrate episodes of violence and repression during interviews. Other musicians were more indifferent to the political situation during the period and carried on pursuing opportunities to develop their musical activities without too much critical questioning. During the course of the dictatorship, and/or the post authoritarian years however, many who had

previously been unaware of the episodes of torture and murder began to gain political consciousness. Furthermore, during the post-authoritarian era, plenty of information concerning human rights violations was made public. Many of those musicians who had initially adopted uncritical stances later developed feelings of contradiction upon the public release of crime information in the post-authoritarian era. Finally, the accounts of those who did not oppose -or else supported-the regime seemed to place less emphasis on aspects of repression, restriction, and censorship in their accounts of musical activity during the dictatorship.

During the dictatorship, certain genres showed a tendency to attract musicians of similar political perceptions. These perceptions were not commonly linked to party politics but rather to the sentiment of support, mild indifference, or opposition towards the regime. Those involved in *Canto Nuevo* and the *peña* circuit clearly opposed the government.⁹⁷ Less involved in a resistance movement, singer-songwriters such as Ubierno and Gatti also expressed their disapproval of the government and awareness of the situation that the country was experiencing. The accounts of these musicians did touch upon the questions of censorship and repression (personal communication, 2007).

In line with Ponce's work on rock bands in Chile (2008), it can be argued that there was no distinct stance of support or dissidence amongst working class rock bands. In other words, rock bands were largely unaware and detached from socio-political matters. What is more, some bands initially took part in Armed Forces' entertainment events and celebrations. At times, bands were not even aware of the

⁹⁷ See footnote 88.

presence of central government figures in such events. The rock band Tumulto took part in some post-coup events to support the Junta's quest for national reconstruction. In a similar vein, the rock band Los Trapos played at the first anniversary of the military government. According to the testimony of Eduardo Valenzuela, guitarist of Los Trapos, the band often played in front of military officers.

'We used to play at end-of-the-year parties at the Military College, and all of a sudden they said "stop now because the Chief Commandant has arrived" [...]. And he comes in (Pinochet) and everyone stands to attention and he approaches us to greet us. I didn't even know who he was, we never got involved in politics. We were wearing military costumes, dressed as Arturo Prat, as Napoleon'⁹⁸

(Eduardo Valenzuela, band Los Trapos, in Ponce 2008: p. 250)

Ponce's work indicates that once those musicians gained awareness of the existence of state violence their previous participation in military events generated feelings of contradiction. During the dictatorship, various rock bands adopted a disinterested stance towards the political situation. In much scholarship, rock has been analysed as an expression of rebellion and discontent (Street 1986, Garofalo 1992). Despite these connotations, after the coup and during the 1970s, much Chilean rock –

⁹⁸ Original in Spanish: 'Tocábamos en las fiestas de fin de año en la Escuela Militar, y de repente dicen "paren porque llegó el general en jefe" – recuerda –. Y entra (Pinochet) y todos se cuadran y se acerca a nosotros a saludarnos. Yo ni sabía quién era, nunca nos metimos en política. Nosotros con trajes militares, de Arturo Prat, de Napoleón'. Arturo Prat was a marine who died in the Pacific War fighting against Perú. He is considered a war hero.

particularly working class- bands such as Tumulto, Inlujo, Arena Movediza, and Tekyers – did not use their music to rebel against the military regime.⁹⁹

In a similar way to those rock musicians who with time became aware of the dictatorship's irregularities, José Alfredo Fuentes expressed concern and regret at the violation of human rights. During the military regime, Fuentes worked on television as a singer and a host (personal communication, 2007). Furthermore, in 1977 he was one of the seventy-seven young people who received an award in a ceremony in which Pinochet delivered a speech in an environment with striking fascist overtones.¹⁰⁰ In an interview with newspaper *La Nación*, Fuentes stated 'I would not have attended had I known how much people were suffering' (*La Nación*, 8 July 2007).¹⁰¹

During our interview however, Fuentes omitted his participation in the event. Instead, he revealed being unaware of the crimes and human right abuses committed by the military government. When discussing the considerable amount of spending on television entertainment – for which the national channel allocated significant funds to bring over international artists –, Fuentes claimed to have perceived the bonanza as a sign of good economic conditions and success.

⁹⁹ Middle-class rock either dissolved after the coup or left the country in search for opportunities (for example: Los Jaivas, Agua). The main exception was band Congreso, which continued to operate after the coup. I would like to acknowledge David Ponce's contribution to this discussion (personal communication).

¹⁰⁰ The Chacarillas speech took place in 1977 on the occasion of the commemoration of the Chacarillas battle – in which seventy-seven soldiers died. Seventy-seven young and successful people were invited and given an award during the ceremony. More importantly, Pinochet delivered a speech in which he, for the first time, addressed the nation with a political plan of aims and objectives.

¹⁰¹ Original in Spanish: 'No habría ido si hubiese sabido lo que la gente sufría'.

Violeta: And you, as part of television, behind the scenes, didn't you realise what was happening? I mean, it is like you are immersed in...

José Alfredo Fuentes: No... it does not cross your mind at that moment, that it is to distract people, that there is so much money...

V: And when did that cross your mind?

JAF: Later on when things get uncovered... you realise...

V: When things about human right violations came out?

JAF: When it becomes known that those people were really killing people [sic], that they were burning people, that they were doing horrible things that are hard for you to believe even today... to accept them, because if it is about believing, it is clear that it happened, but we were stepping on a slope and underneath there was immense chaos.¹⁰²

There were certainly musicians who personally supported the government of Pinochet in sentiment and/or action. In most cases, these musicians maintained their political stance as part of their private lives, as they tend to believe that politics and music should not be mixed. Conjunto Malibú was active between 1974 and 1984. Throughout the summer they performed at the many local festivals across Chile. In

¹⁰² Violeta: Y usted como parte de la televisión, detrás de la televisión, no se da cuenta de eso, o sea está como inmerso en el...

José Alfredo Fuentes: No... no se te pasa por la cabeza en ese momento que es para distraer a la gente, que hay tanta plata..

Violeta: Y en qué momento se le pasa por la cabeza eso?

JAF: Después cuando se destapa esta cosa... tu te dai cuenta...

Violeta : Cuando salen las cosas de violaciones a los derechos humanos?

JAF: Cuando se empieza a saber que realmente esta gente estaba matando a gente, que están quemando gente que estaban haciendo cosas pero espantosas que te cuesta mucho hasta el día de hoy creerlas... aceptarlas, porque de creer está claro que sucedió pero nosotros estábamos pisando un terreno y desde abajo estaba la mansa escoba.

the winter they were frequent guests of television programmes. *Malibú* broke up because of the incompatibility of the band's activity with its leader's new day-time occupation. Rafael Puentes was appointed to work for the presidency as a sound and light tour-technician. At the time of interview, Puentes felt that Conjunto Malibú had been punished because of Puentes' involvement in the military government. According to him, it was never his intention to involve the band with politics. However, his choices outside the band seemed to have negative consequences when Malibú reformed in 2004. In the words of Puentes, an acquainted journalist had revealed to him that most journalists refused to cover Malibú's reunion because the band was identified as having been a '*banda del pinochetismo*' (personal communication, 2007).¹⁰³

During the dictatorship, political stances played a role in the extent to which the socio-political context influenced the activity of music makers. During the military regime, stances varied in perspective. Moreover, political stances were subject to changes according to personal experiences and the amount of information known.

Comparison of musical practices under dictatorship/democracy

During the dictatorship, politics was not a subject to speak about in public. Band members would generally not openly talk about politics amongst themselves. In some circles however, there was a general feeling that people shared dissenting views towards Pinochet's government. Piga mentioned that despite politics not being an openly discussed subject, there was a sense of unity and desire for the return of

¹⁰³ Banda del pinochetismo: Pinochetism's band.

democracy amongst his peer group in the mid and late 1980s (personal communication, 2007).

During interviews, most participants were asked to describe the extent to which the type of political system in place had influenced their music making. Since our conversations referred specifically to the case of Chile in the last thirty-five years, I asked them in what ways the period of dictatorship had affected their musical activity when compared to the subsequent period of democracy – under the four *concertación* governments.¹⁰⁴ Despite receiving varied answers, an overarching characteristic of the responses obtained was that they rarely referred to aspects particular to the political system. Arguably, the most commonly mentioned difference which was relevant to the change in political system was to do with matters of freedom and censorship. Musicians pointed out how they felt that they could not act with complete freedom during the dictatorship. In contrast, during the post-authoritarian period, musicians have felt free to say anything they have wanted to say and interact with whomever they deemed appropriate.

Most musicians interviewed manifested having a consistent attitude towards music making, irrespective of the type of government in power. In addition, like Piga and Ubierno, many suggested that their motivations, inspirations, and ways of music making were not necessarily dictated by the political system or government in place. Piga felt that the origin of his inclination to do music has remained unchanged. He claimed being eternally seduced by how sound works in isolation and combination –

¹⁰⁴ *Concertación* is short for *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* and is the name of the coalition which has governed Chile since the return to democracy in March 1990.

‘it is like an interest, like an insatiable curiosity’ (personal communication, 2007).¹⁰⁵

For Ubierno, writing songs helps people to gain consciousness of what is happening socially. Songs are also a vehicle which allows him to influence others with his ideas:

‘I think there is a social function within the song which has a commitment with the time and the place where one lives. Not necessarily with the government type generated in those places’.¹⁰⁶

(personal communication, 2007)

Amongst the differences between the activity of music makers under democracy and dictatorship, musicians pointed at factors which were not directly attributable to the particularities of the political system. For example, technological developments can be thought of as a process external to the political system, but which – in the case of Chile – have shared a time frame with periods of dictatorship

¹⁰⁵ Original in Spanish: ‘Es como una inquietud, una curiosidad también, como media insaciable’.

¹⁰⁶ Original in Spanish: [full quote] ‘Una canción puede ayudar a las conciencias de las personas, puede construir, puede re-interpretar. Uno remodela el mundo, lo filtra a través suyo y lo devuelve, con metáforas, con palabras, y con la melodía. Y eso hace que la gente sienta también de un modo y tu visión de una u otra forma contamina a algunas personas. Entonces creo que hay una función social dentro de la canción que tiene un compromiso con el tiempo y con el lugar donde uno vive. No necesariamente con las formas de gobierno que se generan en esos lugares’.

and democracy. Since the 1980s, technological changes have seen steady development. It is nowadays – and at the time of the interviews in 2007 – a lot easier to record music, and the quality of musical equipment is considerably better. Moreover, technology has granted musicians a greater degree of artistic independence. Piga claimed that he no longer felt dependent on a label to record his music. Issues related to technology, rather than being related to the political system, are connected to developments that are external but exist in interaction with the political system (personal communication, 2007).

Two of the musicians interviewed suggested that the period of democracy has seemed more difficult than the period of dictatorship. As part of the *Canto Nuevo* movement, Luis Le-Bert constantly performed with *Santiago del Nuevo Extremo* during the dictatorship. However, upon the return to democracy he felt that many doors were shut. It seemed to Le-Bert that there was no longer an interest in his music (personal communication, 2007). For different reasons, Malibú also felt that democracy has been harder to work under. They felt discriminated at the time of the interview. It seems many people had labelled them as Pinochet supporters. In any case, Puentes and Intriago thought no government had ever cared much about Chilean musicians. Priority was given to foreign music and national artists were left to the mercy of market conditions (personal communication, 2007).

Fuentes agreed that the working conditions for national musicians had never been a priority for the government. However, with a different perspective, Fuentes suggested that during the post-authoritarian democratic period, a number of funding opportunities had been created to promote the development of cultural expression. By

contrast, Fuentes maintained that the military government did little to help national artists (personal communication, 2007).

To conclude this section, the activity of musicians was affected by factors closely related to the dictatorial political system. Despite the restrictive measures imposed by the military regime not being directly aimed at the control of musical practices, musicians saw their work curtailed as a result of them. Conversely, the way musicians reacted to measures of control was influenced by their sentiment towards the government. Those who accepted or were mildly indifferent to the military regime seemed to have had no major objections from the system. However, those who opposed the military takeover and subsequent dictatorship experienced significant levels of discomfort. Finally, musicians felt that the political system was just one of the many factors which affect their musical careers. Aspects related to technology and their personal circumstances seem to represent greater changes in the way in which musicians interact with their musical output.

Music Industries Infrastructure

The infrastructure of the music industries in Chile has been a central factor in the practices of music makers. As discussed in chapter four, the music industries in Chile holds particular characteristics which have been subject to international, economic, and technological changes. In this next section I will discuss three identified factors related to the infrastructure of the music industries. These factors were recurrent within accounts of music making during the dictatorship. Firstly, the majority of musicians are unable to generate enough income solely from their musical

activity. Even for those with established recording careers, low record sales and a small market count towards this difficulty. Secondly, accessing records, musical instruments, and equipment was also problematic. I will discuss how musicians worked around the difficulties of accessing material during the dictatorship period. Finally, I will look at how the presence of key individuals within the industry was crucial to the career of musicians. Most of the time, fundamental decisions and windows of opportunity were enabled by the action of particular individuals within the industry.

Income

Typically for Chile, even artists with a track record of albums and media appearances have been unable to make significant profit from their musical careers compared to the standards set by equivalent artists in countries with larger markets. This aspect, which relates to the structure of Chile's music industry, was enhanced by the imposition of a repressive regime. During the dictatorship, income continued to be a determining issue in the activities of music makers. Therefore, the majority of musicians needed to engage in other ventures in order to maintain a certain standard of living.

José Alfredo Fuentes was clear in saying that, in Chile, it is unlikely for a musician to live solely from their recording and professional music career. Fuentes achieved significant levels of popularity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, during which time he became used to the lifestyle and income generated by his commercially successful musical activities. Fuentes' income was proportionally lower compared to equivalent celebrities in other countries, but still high and solid compared to national salaries. In 1970 Fuentes was offered a role as a TV show host, which enabled him to

maintain popularity and generate a good level of income. Since 1979, Fuentes has managed to maintain his public presence through his role as a presenter and not his role as a singer. José Alfredo Fuentes occasionally sang on television, but most of the time in his hosting role and not as a guest singer (personal communication, 2007).

Fuentes was a TV presenter until the early 2000s. As a result, younger generations began to see him as a host, ignoring the existence of his singing career. For many, Fuentes' public persona became associated with a TV host who happened to be a skilful singer. Despite this, during the dictatorship Fuentes continued singing in various events organised by private companies or city councils. For many musicians, private showcases and summer festivals were the most important musical revenue streams. These events were mostly promoted in local newspapers and radio, and rarely in the national media. Hence, the participation of musicians in private showcases, summer festivals, and/or council-organised events had a limited local impact.

Like Fuentes, many other interviewees – most of whom are still active musicians nowadays – had parallel activities to generate income during the military regime. Fernando Ubierno developed a real estate business parallel to his music career. Luis Le-Bert became an architect in the 1980s. Patricia Intriago and Rafael Puentes worked in *Banco Central de Chile* while they were actively involved in Conjunto Malibú. Carlos Acevedo started a car trading business (personal communication, 2007).

Moving abroad – particularly to Mexico or Spain – was seen as a way to consolidate a musician's career both artistically and commercially. For a musician, continuing their career in Mexico City or Madrid opened up an opportunity to

penetrate the Spanish regional market, and also fully focus on and live off their musical activity. However, most of the time, the decision of moving abroad was subject to personal circumstances beyond their music and the industry in which they operated.

José Alfredo Fuentes flew to Mexico in 1970 to negotiate an opportunity for the development of his career in that country. During his time there, he recorded 'Que bien me olvidas', which soon reached a top position in the Mexican popularity chart. RCA was interested in internationalising Fuente's career and therefore asked him to move permanently to Mexico. Fuentes declined the offer for personal reasons. For him, moving to Mexico implied great sacrifice: a completely new start away from the comfort zone he had secured in Chile. Moreover, a change of that magnitude could have interfered with the relationship he held with his future wife. Two years later, Fuentes was presented with a second opportunity to progress his musical career beyond Chile. In 1972 he travelled to Spain to work with record producer Manolo Díaz. Once more, personal circumstances stood in the way of the internationalisation of his career. This time, Díaz left for Switzerland for sentimental reasons and Fuentes decided to return to Chile to be with his wife and newly born son (Fuentes, personal communication, 2007, García n/db). The singer's flight was due to land in Chile on the 11th of September 1973. He had to wait for a week before the first commercial plane was allowed back into Chile. Fuentes had real potential to become an internationally recognised and commercially successful crooner. However, in order to do so he would have needed to leave Chile and settle abroad.

After the coup, Eduardo Gatti found it very difficult to continue his musical activity and secure work as a musician. The commune in which he lived was dissolved

(Gatti, personal communication, 2007; Planet 2005) and finding places to play became increasingly difficult.¹⁰⁷ To make ends meet, between 1973 and 1976 Gatti taught guitar, sold spectacles, lighters, fixed up house appliances, and sold fish. By 1976, the situation was clearly uncomfortable and inconvenient for his musical career. Gatti was unsuccessful in finding avenues for the promotion and distribution of his music within Chile. Feeling incompatible with the socio-political situation in Chile, Gatti embarked on a trip to Europe. In Germany, he worked as a session musician and played in a band with fellow Chilean Tato Gomez (previously in band Embrujo). In addition to that, he worked part-time in McDonalds. Gatti eventually returned to Chile for family reasons. He had originally travelled to Europe with his wife and children. During his time in Germany, Gatti and his wife split up. This situation forced him to choose between staying in Germany away from his children or to return to Chile and stay close to them. He decided to return. In spite of his decision, Gatti managed to enjoy a successful period in his domestic recording career of the 1980s.

During the dictatorship, most musicians with well-known recording careers had to ensure an additional income by resorting to extra activities or by settling abroad. At a different level however, for a musician with no recording career music performance was an extra form of income. José Cid used to sing on the buses for spare change. According to him, many in his university course at the *Instituto Pedagógico* sang on busses for spare change. Thus, in spite of the political system, musicians during Pinochet's military dictatorship had to adapt to the particularities of Chile's music industry (personal communication, 2007).

¹⁰⁷ Gatti used to live in a hippy commune which was dissolved after the military takeover.

Access to music news, records, and musical equipment

During the military regime, the work of popular music performers was significantly affected by the difficulties in obtaining access to adequate musical instruments and sound equipment. The adoption of a new economic order in the mid 1970s entailed a radical market opening to foreign imports. The variety of music equipment available for purchase increased considerably after the coup.

While playing in Los Blops during the *Unidad Popular* years, Eduardo Gatti had trouble trying to import a guitar from the United States. It was suggested to his band that they could acquire one from Eastern Europe, which according to Gatti would have been of lower quality. Musical equipment was so expensive that the majority of the band's earnings were spent on it. Not only was it expensive, but scarcity also encouraged musicians to buy on the black market. Buying under those conditions could expose musicians to dangerous experiences – encounters were arranged at late hours and in lonely places. At some point, scarcity reached such a level that Gatti had to buy construction steel to replace his guitar strings. Difficulties to acquire musical and sound equipment, particularly electric guitars, bass guitars, amps, and PA's were not specific to the socialist years. During the 1960s it was also very difficult and expensive to acquire those instruments (Planet 2005, Gatti, personal communication, 2007).

With the opening of the market, imports increased considerably during the dictatorship. However, despite a there being a larger musical equipment market after

the coup, choices continued to feel limited during the 1980s. In our interview, Sebastián Piga noted the limitations in the musical instrument market of the 1980s:

‘Things have changed a lot between now and then. Now there are big companies specifically dedicated and specialised in musical instruments. Back in the ‘80s it was a lot harder and expensive to buy a good guitar. The choice was comparably modest’.

(personal communication, 2007)

Some musicians were active consumers of the records released in regional markets and/or the international market. Foreign releases were difficult to obtain. If foreign records were to be released in Chile, the release date was usually months after the original (international) release date. Many records were not released locally at all. Arguably, their release in Chile was unimportant to transnational record labels. Therefore, musicians acquired records and information through family members, friends, or acquaintances who travelled abroad. Access to music of the exile followed similar patterns.

Obtaining material from abroad seemed more important to those musicians whose music style was distinctively informed by Anglo-American forms of popular music. In the 1980s, people in the *new wave* scene would often share records which were difficult to obtain. Once a record was secured, it was recorded onto various tapes and distributed amongst friends.

Obtaining access to sound equipment, instruments, music news, and records was a challenge faced by music makers during the dictatorship. The economic model imposed by the dictatorship slightly increased the availability of musical equipment in

the market. However, this difficulty was not particularly determined by the political system in place. Instead, restricted access to equipment and music information was a general characteristic of the domestic music industry.

Key Individuals

Key individuals, or gatekeepers, are fundamental in promoting and developing the career of music performers (See Hirsch 1972, Negus 2002). These individuals occupy roles in record labels, the media, and venues, or act as managers. In interviews with the musicians in this case study, key individuals were often mentioned as central in providing adequate conditions for the progression of their musical careers. In the same way, and especially with regard to record label personnel, staff changes could lead to a sea change in working conditions (Negus 1993, Jones 1997). These findings suggest that beyond the particularities of the political system, the human workforce behind commercial institutions is an important element to consider when analysing musical practices in relation to their corresponding political systems.

Eduardo Gatti began playing music from an early age. As discussed previously, he was a member of rock band Los Blops from 1969 to 1974, before moving to Germany to live between 1976 and 1978. In the same year, he reformed Los Blops, performing with them until 1981. However, it was the 1980s that he remembered as the most active period in his musical career. During that time, he enjoyed particularly successful moments with recurrent media appearances, performances, and record releases. During our conversation, Gatti expressed that the presence of director Guillermo Vera in RCA Chile was crucial to his success in the 1980s. The support he received from the label enabled him to record several albums and go on tour in Chile and abroad. According to Gatti, *the individual* in charge of the

label has had a greater impact on his career than the political system in place. In his view, when Vera left RCA and was replaced in his role, his career conditions worsened considerably (personal communication, 2007).

The rise of Latin Rock in Chile in the mid 1980s was also subject to the influence of key individuals. Like Gatti, Sebastián Piga (band UPA!) also suggested that the person in charge of a label was central to the working conditions of musicians within the recording industry. Piga mentioned the work of Max Quiroz as EMI Chile's label director. During Quiroz's time many new rock bands were signed to EMI: Electrodomesticos, Viena, Aparato Raro, Pie Plano, and Los Prisioneros. As discussed in chapter three, Los Prisioneros' career was also greatly influenced by their manager and their first record label director Carlos Fonseca.

In addition, certain people in the media also played an important role as key individuals in the career of music makers. Mario Kreuzberger's public persona, Don Francisco, gained considerable credibility amongst the population as the host and main organiser of television show *Sábados Gigantes*, and the annual charity fundraising event *Teletón*. *Sábados Gigantes* aired for several hours in the afternoon and evening of every Saturday. The show was known for being the main entertainment panorama for a Saturday at a time when activities in public places were subject to severe public restrictions.¹⁰⁸ *Sábados Gigantes* hosted a number of musical acts in each episode. During the 1980s it was a recurrent platform to many *balada*

¹⁰⁸ See chapter two.

singers.¹⁰⁹ However, bands and musicians of other genres were also invited to perform on the show. Many of the musicians interviewed had performed in *Sábados Gigantes*.

In 1978, Don Francisco organised the first Teletón, a two-day charity event aired for 27 hours by all television channels.¹¹⁰ The Teletón marathon brought together Chileans at a time of deep social and political division (Acuña 2007). During 27 hours of uninterrupted broadcast, many public figures worked together to raise funds for a charity which provided support and treatment for disabled children. The Teletón show included a live orchestra and many guest performances by national musicians. Furthermore, each Teletón version included a theme song especially composed and sung by national artists.

Many interviewees perceived Mario Kreuzberger as a key individual for music makers within television. *Sábados Gigantes* was seen by musicians as a realistic opportunity to appear on television. Furthermore, Mario Kreuzberger was regarded as holding a considerable degree of power in regard to the content of his own show. Therefore, musicians felt they enjoyed a greater degree of freedom when performing on *Sábados Gigantes*. For many musicians and people in the industry, Kreuzberger was an untouchable figure who enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy within the context of the dictatorship.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ More on *balada* in chapter three.

¹¹⁰ Teletón is still run in the present day.

¹¹¹ It has been argued that *Sábados Gigantes*, as a strong and extensive Saturday entertainment programme, was a powerful element of distraction from more pressing matters (Contardo, García 2005, Party 2009a). Despite these claims, Mario Kreuzberger and *Sábados Gigantes* were perceived as an important space for the showcase of music makers during the dictatorship.

Key individuals played important roles in facilitating – and at times obstructing – the career of music makers during the Chilean dictatorship. Once again, the presence of gatekeepers and cultural intermediaries is a recurrent feature of the music industry worldwide (Hirsch 1972, Negus 2002, Negus 1993, Jones 1997) – a further aspect that has no inherent relation to the political system in place.

Popular Music Culture

Music makers in Chile faced issues which find parallels in the experiences of popular music practices around the world. These factors have been grouped under the category of popular music culture. Firstly, the implications of genre, rooted in globalised trends which were incorporated and hybridised in the local context, played a major part in the experiences and visions of musicians during the dictatorship. Secondly, the relationship of musicians to their work, and the meaning they attributed to their craft, went beyond the particularities of the political system. Mostly, musicians showed a perception of their musical activities of which comparable examples can be found elsewhere.¹¹² Finally, the dichotomy between arts and commerce, a major dilemma for musicians worldwide, was a recurrent element of contradiction for music makers during the dictatorship.

Genre

Genre conventions played an important role in how musicians thought about their music and its role within society. Whereas all participants expressed their particular opinions towards the socio-political and economic situation of the 70s and

¹¹² See chapter four.

80s, the degree of importance given to making comments about socio-political issues as an aspect of their musical activity varied considerably.

As discussed in chapter three, *Nueva Canción* was a genre of dissidence and resistance where music had a social function. For example, José Cid performed well known Latin American songs, *Nueva Canción* material, protest music, and folklore. This is also intimately linked with his own identity. Cid referred to it in the following terms: ‘I felt that we had to do something about what I thought was not right [...] I was fulfilling a role, a social function, which was to carry messages (page 18)’.¹¹³

There is little to suggest that rock musicians in Chile were particularly concerned with local party politics. Instead, they followed rock’s universal aesthetic and rebellious stance. As previously discussed, 1970’s working-class rock in particular seemed to be fairly disengaged from socio-political events. Ponce’s work on rock music in Chile shows various examples of rock musicians who later regretted indifference to the military regime (Ponce 2008). However, amongst rock musicians some did actually agree with and preferred an authoritarian system. Arena Movediza’s Carlos Acevedo thought things worked better during the dictatorship: there was less crime and the country was in order (personal communication, 2007). Unlike *Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo*, rock music attracted musicians from all political stances. Most of those who were involved with rock did so because of personal taste and a fondness for its aesthetic and sound.

Later generations approached rock in a different way which tied in with existing international music trends and technological developments. In the mid and

¹¹³ Original in Spanish: ‘Yo sentí que había que hacer algo por lo que me parecía no estaba bien [...] yo cumplí un rol, una función social, llevar mensajes’.

late 1980s a new generation of rock developed. Max Quiroz from EMI signed a number of bands which had mostly originated in middle class, university, and art school circles.¹¹⁴ Performance was approached with a particular visual aesthetic inspired by music videos and record sleeves. Piga stressed the importance of clothing for the scene: dark colours, long collars, trousers of specific material, and particular haircuts.

In general, those involved in mainstream and pop music behaved in ways similar to those in the music industries elsewhere. The motivation of mainstream singers was inspired by the enjoyment of music, wanting to sing in front of an audience, and feeling a connection to the people they were singing to. Singers such as Fuentes and Intriago sang about feelings of sorrow, love, and happiness, amongst others. The way in which these musicians approached their musical practice had more to do with the communication aspect of music rather than with a particular fixation with other musical elements (harmony, melody, texture).

Musicians' identity

When asked about their inspirations and reasons for writing and performing music, Chilean musicians active during this period associated their musical activities with a need for self-expression inherent to their own identity discourse. The way many music makers who developed their careers during the dictatorship identified themselves in regards to their role and craft finds parallels in the wider discourses

¹¹⁴ The main exception to this categorisation was the band Los Prisioneros from working-class neighbourhood San Miguel.

prevalent amongst popular musicians in a variety of settings.¹¹⁵ A musician's personal understanding of their craft and role in society represents a specificity of the individual who *exists within* an authoritarian context; a specificity which may not necessarily be *generated by* the political system. The way musicians understood their occupation and their music, its origins, value and purpose, in most cases transcended political periods and responded to the complexities of self-identity and creativity.

The way musicians conceived music making also varied across interviewees. These perceptions influenced their music making practices. In the process of composition some placed an initial focus on the musical sounds: melody, harmony, riff, and so forth. For others, the lyrics came first, like in the case of Peralta. Eduardo Peralta was committed to society and politics through art but not through being a militant in a political party. Peralta disliked the prospect of having to compromise his artistic control. As discussed in the genre section, for some musicians music was joy, a way of communicating something strong; a way of finding links to others, communicating feelings, and experiencing incredible sensations (personal communication, 2007). As a singer, Intriago conceived music as a protected way of saying things she would not normally say in other settings (personal communication, 2007). For Piga, playing music was 'like being in a different reality', a feeling that was not directly dependent on the specific aspects of political repression. In a different context (personal communication, 2007), Gatti felt music was natural to him, an inherent part of his identity (personal communication, 2007). For Ubierno, music initially meant an outlet he used to face a difficult moment in life. Due to problems

¹¹⁵ See chapter four.

with his university course,¹¹⁶ Ubierno felt he had wasted precious time in his life. Whilst going through a moment of crisis, Ubierno found refuge in his guitar (personal communication, 2007).

Musicians tend to think of the role music plays in their lives in particular and complex ways. The kind of music played and the instrument used influences the identity perception musicians have in regard to their activity. Furthermore, the activity of musicians during the dictatorship were influenced by personal circumstances which were not necessarily a result of the political system in place.

Arts versus commerce

During the dictatorship, the arts and commerce dichotomy was present in the discussions between various composers and performers (Fuenzalida 1987). Most musicians had to deal with commercial issues in their careers. However, many of them did not understand much of the financial and legal particularities of their occupation.

During the dictatorship years, seeking the support of a record label was the only way of producing a record. For many musicians, recording was a precious dream. For this reason, many signed contracts without understanding a great deal. In some cases, this situation meant that the contract conditions were not favourable to the musicians. These issues are common to music industries worldwide. When UPA! (Piga) signed their recording contract, no one in the band was fully aware of what they were signing. The band had no specialist guidance or advice. However, they saw no other option. The label in question was EMI and UPA! felt they might not come across another chance like that. Most bands and solo artists concentrated on

¹¹⁶ His course was closed down.

composing and/or performing music whilst having little knowledge of the administrative implications of their occupation (personal communication, 2007).

Musicians' careers were also influenced by the administrative capabilities of concert promoters. At times, promoters were inexperienced in the organisation of events, an issue that brought about financial implications. Rock concert promoter Fernando Solis remembered being ripped off in larger venues such as Teatro Caupolicán. Promoters were in a difficult situation because they received the blame from rock musicians for alleged deception. Eventually, Solis gained experience in concert organisation and learned to deal with the commercial side of music making (in Ponce 2008: pp. 307-8).

To conclude this section, the activities of musicians were influenced by genre choices and aspects of their personal circumstances and identities. Musicians have highly particular and complex ways of understanding their own activity and the role it plays in their lives. For the purpose of this study, these perceptions varied amongst participants. Furthermore, elements related to the arts and commerce dichotomy within popular music practices are a further aspect central to the career of music makers. All in all, issues related to popular music culture affect music making practices in ways that interact with, and at the same time go beyond, the political system.

Conclusion

Within the Chilean dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet and the military Junta, the work and activities of music makers can be understood as a complex network of interacting factors which exceed the use of music as a way of

control or a voice of dissent. In a country with an ambiguous censorship system where, according to Eduardo Gatti 'you never really knew what was going to happen' (personal communication), constantly taking blindfolded decisions which could lead to an uncertain outcome was inherent to the life and work of certain musicians. However, understanding the life and craft of music makers during this period demands the consideration of social, economic, and political aspects particular to the dictatorship, as well as the particularities of the musicians. These particularities may include aspects related to the political system, but also those concerning the infrastructure of Chile's music industries' infrastructure, and popular music culture. In addition to having to deal with a deeply divided country and a repressive government, some musicians had to face personal difficulties which posed a challenge to their careers. In spite of the context, the way musicians understood their craft and what inspired them to pursue an occupation in music, in many cases, lied beyond the complexities of an authoritarian political system.

CHAPTER SIX: MUSIC IN THE MEDIA

This chapter will discuss the presence of music in the media during Chile's military regime. The coup of 1973 and the subsequent military dictatorship are known to have silenced many institutional and individual voices in Chile. Immediately after the coup, musicians and genres associated with Allende's government – and/or left wing politics – suffered negative consequences. Records were burnt, master discs were destroyed, Andean instruments were considered subversive at an early stage of the military period, and some musicians were persecuted, imprisoned, exiled, or even murdered. However, alongside the repression of certain types of music and their respective performers, there was a diverse musical soundtrack to these years. Radios kept blasting out music, artist and music related articles continued to occupy a section within the written media, while music and many musicians continued to play an active part in television programmes. Consequently, I will examine the presence of music in the media during the Chilean military dictatorship and draw attention to aspects relating to musical practices under this particular period. While certain influencing aspects were directly linked to the political context, factors related to the economy, international music industries, and technological developments also significantly affected the presence of music within the media.

In this chapter I will firstly examine the characteristics of television, radio, and the written press in Chile,¹¹⁷ with a special emphasis on the period stretching between 1973 and 1990. After this, I will explore some of the ways in which music was present

¹¹⁷ I have chosen to focus particularly on television, radio, and the written press because these were the main media channels through which music was disseminated and discussed.

in the media, suggesting that its use exceeded the purposes of control and dissent. Finally, I will refer to the way in which the political system, the international music industries, economic factors, and technological developments influenced the role and presence of music in the media.

The media

During the Unidad Popular government, the radio and written media played a major role within political confrontation. Newspapers and magazines expressed their political stances by issuing incendiary headlines and articles (Dooner 1989). Radio stations broadcasted political programmes with provocative commentaries. Television was still a developing medium and therefore played a less prominent political role than the radio and press.

There were numerous newspapers, magazines, and radio stations which belonged to the different parties. Within the Unidad Popular coalition, most parties had their own radio stations and newspapers. In those media, differing political factions were given opportunities to broadcast their political stances. In addition, plural and unbiased information was becoming increasingly rare and was replaced with constant political accusations and recriminations. Within this context, music was used in political slogans and jingles. During the UP years, opposition radio stations were also subject to government regulation which suspended their transmissions. Censorship was directed at news content and not particularly towards music. These regulations were initially effective but soon lost legitimacy and therefore were not always complied with (anonymous, personal communication, 2007).

During the dictatorship, the media was closely controlled by regulations imposed by the military government. These statutes were mainly aimed at restraining news and opposition. During this period, music was present in the media for commercial purposes and as entertainment. In general, the music present on television, radio, and in the written press was predominantly foreign, particularly from the USA, Europe (Spain and England), and Latin America.

Television

After the coup, the military regime exerted tight controls on the media. Due to the constrictions involved in the opening and financial autonomy of television channels, there were only a small number of stations across the country. Therefore, television was arguably the medium over which the regime had the most control.

By 1986 there were five main television stations: Channel 7 and Channel 8 belonged to the National Television Network [Televisión Nacional de Chile],¹¹⁸ Channel 13 belonged to Chile's Catholic University [*Universidad Católica de Chile*], Channel 11 was in charge of the University of Chile [*Universidad de Chile*], and Channel 5 belonged to Valparaiso's Catholic University [*Universidad Católica de Valparaiso*]. Over all other channels, Channel 7 reached most regions across the national territory. Channel 13's range reached most of central Chile, and Channel 9 only broadcasted a few hours a day within the Metropolitan region (Jofré 1987). In addition, there were regional television networks affiliated with the main channels. For example, Telenorte Network in the north of Chile had an agreement with Channel

¹¹⁸ Channel 7 had only been established in 1969 and it was the first network to reach an extensive area in the country. Hence, by 1973 television was in an intermediate period of development.

13. Telenorte shared Channel 13's programming, including the programmes *Sábados Gigantes* and *Teletrece News*. Regional channels developed their own content, mainly in the form of local news. People who worked within the media were not necessarily government advocates. For example, many of those who were employed by Channel 7, which was controlled and directed by the military regime, were in disagreement with the government (Ponce 2008, Ovando, personal communication, 2007).

During the dictatorship, television began its consolidation process, soon becoming the main entertainment medium in Chile (Acuña 2007, Ovando, personal communication, 2007). The advent of television changed the public perception of national music idols. Before the consolidation of television as the main entertainment medium, seeing an artist live caused enormous reactions. Particularly outside Santiago, visiting artists attracted significant public attention. A singer like José Alfredo Fuentes used to trigger rowdy responses when seen in public or when visiting regional cities.¹¹⁹ Television brought the moving image of musicians and artists to the houses of many Chileans who had been used to obtaining information on popular celebrities only through magazine and newspaper articles, photographs, and the radio. Before the rise and consolidation of television, the radio and press played a fundamental role in music promotion and artist popularity. The radio and the press combined to create musical phenomena such as the *Nueva Ola* movement (see chapter three). The frantic audience responses to *Nueva Ola* were fundamentally propelled by the strategy of the radio and the press. Both media aided the fabrication of idols, creating a need in fans across the country and subsequently catering for it. Television

¹¹⁹ More information on Fuentes, see chapter five.

reduced the gap between artists and audiences and, as a result, the impact caused by visiting artists declined considerably (Hernández, personal communication, 2007).

The content of television was predominantly foreign (See Otano and Pia in Jofré 1987). Based on information found in newspaper television guides, a study conducted by Otano and Piña referred to the content of programming in Chilean television. In 1970, television in Chile aired a total of 224 hours per week. In 1976, this weekly figure rose to 348 hours. In 1976, 84% of the content was foreign, mainly in the form of series' and movies (Jofré 1987: p. 4). In addition, 33% of musical content and 14% of entertainment shows were imported from the USA, Europe, and Latin America. In 1981, television hours had risen to 354 weekly hours. A study conducted by Barraza and Piña in 1982 revealed that by this time television programming had increased to 404 hours per week, of which 61% was filled with foreign content (in Jofré 1987). Based on the information provided by newspapers, Barraza and Piña concluded that 83,8% of programming was devoted to entertainment, 7,7 % to news and informative content, and 8,5% to cultural programmes. Almost a fourth of programming was devoted to series' and 16,1% to movies (predominantly of US American origin). According to this study, 48,1% of the total weekly programming consisted of US productions (p. 5). The channel with the highest level of US content was Channel 7 with 59,8 %. According to Jofré, The limitation of the studies conducted by Otano and Piña, and Barraza and Piña is that calculations are based on newspaper information which does not account for potential changes in the programming, or for advertising and sections which were not listed in the TV guide (p. 6).

In 1986, Jofré conducted a study on television programming which examined the content of the Wednesday and Sunday in the week between the 6th and 10th of August. In total, the channels aired approximately 407.5 hours of content. Channel 7, 11, and 13 aired between 106 and 110 hours per week. Channel 9 only aired 48 hours, while Channel 5 aired 32 (p. 6). These time measurements referred to what Jofré calls 'exhibition times', which include programming, advertisements, and any continuity sections broadcasted. Of the total exhibition time, 10.82% corresponded to advertising. On Sunday, Channel 7 aired – for approximately one and a half hours – a music video programme called 'Magnetoscopio Musical'. 75% of its content was of US origin. On Channel 13, 'Más Música' also contained approximately 75% US material. The remaining 25% of these shows was not entirely devoted to music, but also to hosting and announcements.

According to Jofré, the majority of national content was devoted to *telenovelas*, followed by entertainment shows such as 'Éxito' and 'Festival de la Una', and children's programmes (p. 13).¹²⁰ On Sundays, religious (the mass), children's, and educational programmes added to the amount of national content on Chilean television. Exhibition times also contained continuity sections, including the weather forecast, children's bedtime reminders, news highlights, and future programming adverts. Non-US foreign content comprised *telenovelas* from Venezuela, Mexico, and Brazil, as well as two European productions. On Channel 7, almost 52% of the programming on the 6th of August 1986 was based on US material, whilst on Channel 13 it corresponded to 35,02%. On Sunday, these figures changed to 57% and 50,52% for Channels 7 and 13 respectively.

¹²⁰ Éxito was hosted by José Alfredo Fuentes (see chapter five).

Before 1973, television channels could only be managed by the state or by the main universities. At its initial stage, the role of television was conceived as educational and cultural, and the state was the main financial sponsor of all channels. During the dictatorship, a regulating statute transformed the way in which television networks generated their income by putting an end to state sponsorship (Acuña 2007). By 1978, 90,08% of all television and radio income was obtained through advertising. In some Chilean regions, radio stations made money solely from advertising. Furthermore, 85% of the total spending in radio and television was concentrated in the metropolitan region (INE 1978: pp. 26, 29).

Sábados Gigantes, arguably the main entertainment show during the dictatorship, was aired live by Channel 13. Sábados Gigantes was run by a small team led by Mario Kreuzberger (Don Francisco). Kreuzberger became a pioneer of community services by providing advice through inviting guest lawyers, doctors, therapists, and so forth. Sábados Gigantes was very popular amongst the working class as it gave away significant material prizes. The show and its host were initially less popular amongst the middle classes as Kreuzberger's style was considered populist and abrasive.¹²¹ Mario Kreuzberger's public figure, Don Francisco, was consolidated with the launch of Teletón in 1978, a 27-hour long fundraising event aired simultaneously by all television channels. The Teletón fundraiser took place in December and was organised on an annual basis. The event involved a live popular music orchestra and the participation of several national musicians, actors, comedians,

¹²¹ This information was obtained from the transcript of an interview held by Oscar Contardo for his co-authored book 'La Era Ochentera' (Contardo, García 2005).

and celebrities.¹²² With Teletón, Don Francisco gained credibility with the middle class and intellectual sectors (Ana Romo personal communication with Contardo).

During the 1980s, 'Sábados Gigantes' featured between twelve and thirteen singers or musical acts per week and 'Show de la Una' between six and seven. However, the rotation of national musicians on television was low. There were a number of ballad singers who were constantly on Sábados Gigantes (Fuenzalida 1987). Despite the rumours which suggested that those artists were Don Francisco's *protégées* and that they had working contracts with Sábados Gigantes, Kreuzberger did not get involved in the hiring of musicians. It was up to the show's promoters to book the bands (Ana Romo, personal communication with Contardo). The lack of artistic management amongst local musicians meant that artists had to negotiate TV appearances by themselves. At times, musicians lacked the negotiating skills to secure work on television. They had to deal with TV producers who sometimes had a difficult manner and demanded very particular working conditions which artists were not always willing to accept. In spite of this, some musicians – like Eduardo Gatti – did manage to deal with producers successfully and secure significant television appearances (Fuenzalida 1987: p. 115).

Radio

Unlike television, music was a central element in radio programming. During the times of the *Unidad Popular* government, the political polarisation experienced

¹²² Teletón was not held during the period of state of siege between 1983 and 1984, neither in 1986 or 1989, the year of the presidential election.

by Chileans was not expressly reflected in the sounds of the radio. Many stations preferred to play mainstream music enjoyed by a range of people and with no particular political affiliation. Mainstream popular music was aired in the form of romantic songs, *balada*, bolero, *rancheras*, and Anglo American international music, all of which contained lyrics about happiness, sorrow, love, loneliness, friendship, and celebration, amongst others. *Música comprometida* [committed music] – which commented on social and political issues –, marginally coexisted on the radio with a majority of mainstream music, the themes of which were far from involving any political commentary (Albornoz 2003).

Mainstream songs however, did at times have rebellious connotations. This type of sentiment was not necessarily inspired by the political divide, but rather responded to a feeling of youth insubordination. Jeanette's song 'Soy Rebelde', or 'Qué la dejen ir al baile sola' by La Barra de san Isidro, are exponents of a rebel youth thematic (ibid).¹²³

Most of the music aired on radio was popular music, particularly of foreign origin. According to Fuenzalida (1987), approximately 80% of music aired in Chile on radio stations, public venues, and private homes, was popular music. There are no official figures to account for the split between local and foreign music within radio broadcasts. However, most sources estimated a prominent presence of foreign music on the radio. Santiago Schuster suggested that, based on data gathered by the Authors' Rights organisation in 1984 and 1985, 67% of the music played on the radio in Chile was foreign. This information was gathered in a survey conducted across many radio

¹²³ Translation: Soy Rebelde [I am a Rebel]. Que la Dejen ir al Baile Sola [Let her go alone to the dance].

stations, mainly AM (in Fuenzalida 1987: p. 57). CBS's Jorge Undurraga suggested that because Schuster's number did not consider FM radios, his company estimated that the percentage of Chilean music in radio airplay was 10% against 90% foreign (p. 62). Jaime Román estimated a 75% ratio of foreign music (p. 79).

During the military regime, radio Cooperativa played a central role within the dictatorship's opposition. This radio station had been in existence since 1935. Radio Cooperativa wanted to position itself as an opposition medium of high quality news supported by high audience numbers. For its staff, Cooperativa's strength was perceived to lie in the news department, which aired constant local and international information. Radio Cooperativa was not overtly confrontational and did not simply broadcast what was ignored in other media news. Radio Cooperativa's strategy consisted in providing coverage of all circulating versions of news. While the main emphasis was placed on news, music was central to attracting its audience. For that purpose, Cooperativa had a 'musical strategist'. The idea of the station was to attract a wide range of auditors, beyond those who were identified with the opposition. Radio Cooperativa mainly played music in Spanish, particularly *balada* or romantic music. Anglo American music was also played, though it was not predominant. Artists were invited to the studio to do interviews in which they talked about their songs and careers (Ovando, personal communication, 2007).

Shortly after the coup, the newly imposed market economy enabled a competitive offer of technological equipment. As a result, several radio stations upgraded their facilities. Furthermore, new stations were created, including independent and grass roots radio stations. Compared to television, the cost of setting

up a radio station or a periodical publication was considerably lower and thus affordable to a greater number of individuals and organisations.

In general, the control of radio stations and periodicals was less strict than on television.¹²⁴ As a result, dissident media messages were more likely to be found on the radio and in the written press. A number of radio stations and radio programmes were produced by resistance groups, such as radio stations affiliated with the Catholic Church or radio programmes that reached Chile through short wave and which were generated abroad by Chilean exiles (Bresnahan 2002).

Written Press

By 1973, different newspapers supported or opposed the government.¹²⁵ The press was in high circulation, available at low prices, and it was common for people to buy and read two or more newspapers. During the *Unidad Popular* years, newspapers contained a significant amount of political affront (Navarro 1985).

In 1971 the state acquired part of the private publishing company Zig Zag, which included its infrastructure and printing facilities. Zig Zag was left with its name and the control over more commercial magazines (Navarro 1985: p. 3). The section acquired by the state was named Quimantú, which kept some of the magazines and journals previously held by Zig Zag. The state published other periodicals such as

¹²⁴ Radio stations and written publications known to be dissident were directly targeted and closely observed. However, as discussed later in this chapter, the control over less prominent media institutions was considerably less strict.

¹²⁵ Newspapers supporting Unidad Popular: Clarín (centre-left), Puro Chile (associated with the Socialist Party), El Siglo (Communist Party's official newspaper), and Última Hora (Associated with the Socialist Party), La Nación (Government newspaper). Opposition Newspapers: El Tribuna (National Party), La Prensa (Christian Democrats), El Mercurio, La Segunda, Las Últimas Noticias, La Tercera.

the youth magazine, 'Revista Onda' from 1973, and the cultural magazine 'La Quinta Rueda', from 1973 (p. 7).

After the coup, the political media which belonged to leftist individuals or organisations was banished.¹²⁶ Many pressing plants were expropriated or closed down. 'La Nación', which belonged to the *Unidad Popular*, was out of circulation for a month and later returned with a different name, 'La Patria' [fatherland]. At a later date, 'La Patria' was renamed 'El Cronista'. Due to administrative difficulties the newspaper underwent an additional period out of circulation and finally returned with its original name, 'La Nación' (Navarro 1985: p. 12).¹²⁷

After September 1973, the press went through a period of dismantlement and simplification (ibid: p. 19). The remaining press was left in charge of the government, the newspapers which had opposed the *Unidad Popular* government, and the Church.¹²⁸ During the military regime, and in spite of the constitutional guarantee that allowed anyone to create a written medium, official authorisation was required in order to start up a publication (pp. 19-20).

Between 1976 and 1977, three new magazines were created. 'APSI' covered current international affairs and was issued every two weeks. The magazine was circulated amongst subscribers. In mid 1979, 'APSI' incorporated a section on

¹²⁶ See Footnote 125.

¹²⁷ La Nación is still the government's newspaper. Presently it supports the *Concertación* coalition.

¹²⁸ Government publishers: Empresas Editorial La Nación, Empresa Editorial Gabriela Mistral, Editorial Jurídico or Andrés Bello. Private press advocate to the military regime: El Mercurio and Copesa, Segunda Editorial, Portada (Que Pasa magazine), Lord Cochrane, Sociedad Editora Revista Ercilla. Church press: Revista Mensaje.

national news (ibid: p. 32). Magazine ‘Solidaridad’,¹²⁹ from Vicaría de la Solidaridad,¹³⁰ was issued every two weeks to cover Vicaría matters, events, and human rights activities. Magazine ‘Hoy’ emerged as the result of a conflict within the magazine ‘Ercilla’. The existence of dissident press during the military regime can be seen as a strategic move towards international reputation. Allowing magazines like ‘Hoy’ endowed the military administration with an image of a government which allowed dissident expression. In her book ‘*Bucarest 187*’, Patricia Verdugo makes reference to the way in which HOY obtained official authorisation (1999). According to Verdugo, it is likely that Pinochet’s eldest daughter, Lucía, was key to the opening of Hoy.

‘Perhaps when she asked him to accept a news magazine, he [Pinochet] felt he was sealing off a debt and – at the same time – he could shut the mouth of all those who said that in Chile there was no freedom of press. When we received the official authorisation, we knew that we were going to be used like the “black kid in Harvard”. What do you mean there is no freedom of press, have you read Hoy magazine?’ (p. 85).¹³¹

The Academia de Humanismo Cristiano [Academy of Christian Humanism] formed a magazine called Academia, which was later renamed as Análisis. When

¹²⁹ Revista: Magazine.

¹³⁰ Vicaría de la Solidaridad was part of the Catholic Church. See chapters two and seven.

¹³¹ Original in Spanish: ‘Quizá cuando ella le pidió que aceptara una nueva revista, él [Pinochet] sintió que saldaba una deuda y –de paso- tapaba la boca de los que decían que en Chile no había libertad de prensa. Nosotros al recibir la autorización oficial, sabíamos que íbamos a ser usados como “el negrito de Harvard”. Como que no hay libertad de prensa, han leído la revista Hoy? Excepcion que confirma la regal’. (p. 85)

Bishop Fresno assumed the direction of the Academy, he terminated the magazine's sponsorship. Análisis continued to have the same staff and became independent (Navarro 1985: p. 31).¹³²

Political magazines like APSI, Hoy, and Análisis had very little space devoted to cultural issues and even less room assigned to music coverage. According to Ana María Foxley, cultural themes were given approximately a maximum of five pages, of which music was only a fraction (in Fuenzalida 1987: p. 156).¹³³

La Bicicleta was formed by a group of young people who wanted to create a magazine different to all other counter-official media. The magazine was owned by Editorial Granizo and financed issue by issue through voluntary donations and handmade work. Copies were printed in La Bicicleta's own printing premises and were distributed every two weeks. La Bicicleta's main commercial success was the inclusion of song and chord books (*cancioneros*). *Cancioneros* made the magazine popular amongst young people and positioned the publication in newspaper kiosks (Navarro 1985: pp. 35, 89).

According to Alvaro Godoy, founder of La Bicicleta, the project began as a hand made enterprise which maintained its manufacturing mode throughout time (in Fuenzalida 1987). The magazine did not belong to an economic or political group. Magazine sales were greatly dependent on the musicians featured on the front cover.

¹³² See chapter two for the retirement of Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the appointment of Cardinal Fresno.

¹³³ These magazines' sales ranged between 17,000 and 30,000 copies. In March 1984, Cauce magazine sold 50,507 copies (Navarro 1985).

Inspired by that aspect, *La Bicicleta* started to include *cancioneros* (song books). In a similar way to cassette tape piracy, the magazine was photocopied for its *cancioneros*. Amongst the most popular contents in *La Bicicleta* were foreign artists like Silvio Rodríguez, Mercedes Sosa, Joan Manuel Serrat, and a few local artists such as Violeta Parra. Despite *La Bicicleta*'s intention to promote Chilean music, the magazine had to consider market factors in order to remain economically self-sustainable. For example, featuring unknown local artists on the front cover had to be avoided for the sake of sales. 'It seems contradictory to realise that it is easier to publish a chronicle or a *cancionero* of someone foreign than that of a Chilean musician' (Godoy in Fuenzalida 1987: p. 137).¹³⁴

Revista Vea, where Patricio Ovando worked for a few months between 1986 and 1987, covered television and celebrity gossip (personal communication, 2007). Television was the most important entertainment medium during the military dictatorship, mainly due to the curfew and its implications. The magazine capitalised on this situation, covering anything that was on television. Musicians were central to *Revista Vea* because of their significance within television.¹³⁵ The way in which the magazine's content was decided upon did not differ much from how this is done nowadays. Content meetings used to be held where the editor and journalists could discuss and negotiate ideas for the magazine.

¹³⁴ Original in Spanish: 'Resulta paradójico darse cuenta que es más fácil publicar una crónica o un *cancionero* de alguien extranjero que de uno chileno.'

¹³⁵ Particularly true of international artists, and those Chilean musicians who were not perceived as problematic for the government.

The presence of music in the media fulfilled commercial and entertainment demands. Musical practices associated with the media were influenced by elements directly connected to the political system, as well as other factors which co-existed and interacted with the contextual specificities of the period.

Political system, control, repression, censorship

The presence of music in the media during the dictatorship was affected by aspects of control and repression inherent to the political system. The main focus of control was directed towards news contents, political activity, and expressions of dissidence. Repression was strong and the media was watched closely by the regime. However, music was generally not a target of censorship, unless perceived to support politics or dissidence.

Television was the most controlled medium. News only exhibited partial accounts of events, omitting aspects which could compromise the government. When asked about the extent to which television news was trustworthy, Ovando, who worked in the news section of Channel 7 and Telenorte, referred to the news as being 'absolutely not trustworthy' (personal communication, 2007).¹³⁶ Ovando described content control as operating in two ways: through direct communication in the form of a phone call by a figure of authority or through the action of DINACOS [National Directorate of Communications]. Media staff were not given overt restrictions, but instead they refrained from doing certain things by using their own initiative, as they did not want to get involved or attract trouble. Furthermore, many people agreed with

¹³⁶ Original in Spanish: 'absolutamente no fidedignas'.

the system imposed by the military regime and complied with express and tacit regulations (ibid.). Exceptions were found on radio stations like Cooperativa and magazines such as Análisis, APSI, Cauce, and Hoy, amongst others.

When Ovando began to work for National Television (Channel 7), his position involved training camera men on how to operate the equipment. At university, Ovando had specialised in television, however, when he began to work for the station he needed some time to become familiar with the Channel's cameras. Therefore, he went out of the station to film news in Santiago. Coincidentally, Ovando registered the first protest in 1983. However, only about half of what he recorded was broadcasted. The sections which were aired depicted protesters hitting the police, while the sections of police repression were omitted. According to Ovando, the decision to air certain images and censor others was made by staff and did not come from any higher authority or the government. Some staff implicitly understood that that was the way people needed to be informed of the protests, so that protestors could be accused of being Marxist and violent within official discourse.¹³⁷

Despite the popularity of certain foreign acts, and due to the political circumstances, it was virtually impossible to stage massive music concerts during the Chilean dictatorship. The only instances in which Chileans could see popular foreign musicians was on television or in the Festival de Viña del Mar. The Viña del Mar Festival was hosted by the city council every February. This event was televised and attracted high audience numbers. The festival hosted a national and international song competition supported by an international music show. The international music show

¹³⁷ The discourse of the military regime made constant allusions at an alleged relationship between Marxism, terrorism, and violence.

was predominantly foreign. Some of the international artists present in Viña del Mar between 1973 and 1990 were The Police, Raphael, Julio Iglesias, Miguel Bosé, Yuri, Soda Stereo, Luis Miguel, Talking Heads, and Mr. Mister amongst various others.

Programme producers operated with a degree of self-censorship. When thinking of potential television guests, producers were careful when deciding who to bring for fear of putting their work position at risk. The fear was not of the music itself but of what musicians could say on air at the time of interview. When interviewing Iván Hernández, he referred to inviting Jorge González, frontman of Los Prisioneros, to a television show on Channel 11:

‘Another show in Channel 11, called Video Top, had invited him [González], and the producer was my friend and he told me: do you dare inviting Los Prisioneros? [I said] I would invite them but I feel terrified because the morning show has a different profile, it is a show dedicated to housewives and you know how Jorge is, Jorge Gonzalez. And I went to my friend Jorge Reconret and I said to him, you know I have the idea of inviting Los Prisioneros, what do you think? Woow... he says... ok, let’s talk about it, let’s see. And we discussed it with the show director and he said to me, I think it’s ok **as long as the guy does not say anything out of the ordinary and is just concerned about the singing...**’¹³⁸

(Hernández, personal communication, 2007, my own emphasis)

¹³⁸ Original in Spanish: Es que lo llevó otro programa de canal 11 que se llamaba Video Top y el productor era amigo mío. Y me dice, te atreví a traer a Los Prisioneros? Yo los traería, le dije, pero me da mucho miedo porque el programa de la mañana tiene otro perfil, es un programa dedicado a la dueña de casa y tú sabes como es Jorge le dije, Jorge González. Y voy donde mi amigo el Jorge Rencoret y le digo sabes que tengo la idea de traer a los Prisioneros, qué crees tu? Chuuta me dice... ya conversémoslo, veámoslo. Y lo hablamos con el director del programa y me dice a mi me parece que está bien me dice el director. **Mientras el compadre no diga nada fuera de lo normal y se dedique a cantar...**

Official discourses on censorship were ambiguous and censorship practices were often contradictory. Singer songwriter Fernando Ubierno, very popular in the second half of the 1970s, saw his third record – ‘Secretos de Otoño’ – censored (Ubierno, personal communication, 2007). The LP contained songs by Cuban singer songwriter Silvio Rodríguez and a song by Victor Jara, a prominent Chilean musician and theatre director murdered in a detention centre shortly after the military coup. Despite the censorship of Ubierno’s album, which received important coverage in newspapers and of which details are highly entangled, singer Gloria Simonetti subsequently recorded Ojalá, a song by Silvio Rodríguez. Simonetti’s version became a hit in radio stations and the singer performed this song, as well as music by Violeta Parra in the 1982 Viña Festival, the largest and most important music event in Chile. Simonetti was not the only one who performed music by Rodríguez or Parra. Andrea Tessa also performed music by Silvio Rodríguez in Viña in 1983. In the 1982 version, three other acts – Raphael, Franco Simone, and Oscar Andrade – performed music by Violeta Parra. Considering both the son and daughter of Violeta Parra were not allowed to enter Chile, and the connection of Parra’s music with the Nueva Canción, the music of Violeta acquires a distinctive meaning. The performance of Violeta Parra’s songs by Raphael is truly remarkable as, when he was about to sing her songs, he changed the instrumentation of his set and replaced it with two acoustic Spanish guitars and a drum which looked like a “*bombo chilote*”. He also stopped wearing a long black *Poncho* which strikingly resembled those used by the exiled group Quilapayún.¹³⁹

¹³⁹I have based this paragraph on Viña Festival television footage stored in the Viña del Mar Council’s Historical Archive [Archivo Histórica]. I double checked some of the names and years in (Gálvez 1995). Raphael is a mainstream Spanish ballad singer

Censorship also affected TV shows for reasons that were not directly linked to political aspects. For example, music video programme 'Magnetoscopio Musical' was in trouble for exhibiting a video deemed inappropriate due to containing sexual exposure (Roth in personal communication with Contardo).¹⁴⁰

After the coup, radio stations associated with the *Unidad Popular* were destroyed, sold or intervened in by the military junta. Equivalent written media suffered similar consequences. The military regime placed television channels under direct control through the designation of military and civilian administrative staff. The radio stations and written press that survived the military takeover continued to operate independently. However, dissident radio stations and magazines were under particularly close official control. Commercial, official, and government-supportive radio stations and written media did not tend to include content deemed as problematic by the government.

On the day of the coup, the military Junta expressed that radio stations supporting *Unidad Popular* had to stop broadcast immediately or else they would face bombardment (Bresnahan 2002). After the coup, over three dozens stations were expropriated, many of which were later incorporated into the National Radio Network. Pro-Allende media was subject to 'confiscation, censorship, legal restrictions, and physical repression' (ibid.: p. 164). Christian Democrat and Catholic Church radios continued to operate under significant levels of self-censorship. Radio station staff carefully checked news contents as they were the intelligence's main focus.

who has been associated with the Franco regime, despite insufficient evidence. See (Party 2009b).

¹⁴⁰ See footnote 142.

Sometimes, music was played as a means of expressing things that could not be said in news (Munizaga and de la Maza 1987: p. 51 in Bresnahan 2002).

Shortly after the take over, in radio Balmaceda, there were military officers assigned to read through news bulletins before they were sent to the speech room. If the officer in charge of censorship did not like a piece of news, he crossed it out and, consequently, the radio was not allowed to air it. Censorship operated according to the individual's criteria, and for that reason it was fairly arbitrary. The military soon stopped having a censoring officer within the station as they realised it was ineffective. Radio Balmaceda was closed down shortly after when its patent was revoked around 1976 (Anonymous, personal communication 2007).

At the beginning of the dictatorship in particular, there was a significant degree of self-censorship in radio content. For example, the music of Victor Jara was played on air with a carefully selected repertoire. The radio played Jara's folk songs instead of his politically themed songs. The focus was on choosing the right repertoire, avoiding 'political' music (Anonymous, personal communication, 2007). By any means, political music has never been too predominant on radio playlists (Fuenzalida 1987, Albornoz 2003). During the dictatorship, the difference did not lie in the a reduction of political songs [*música comprometida*] on the radio, but in the danger implied in airing that type of music. In addition, there were no live calls broadcast on air and most radio shows were pre-recorded, allowing a greater degree of content control (Anonymous, personal communication, 2007).

Radio Cooperativa was a constant target for censorship, which led to a significant degree of self-censorship amongst its staff members. According to Bresnahan, 'temporary closures by the junta served only to increase Cooperativa's

credibility and influence' (2002: p. 165). During a state of siege, radio stations had to be even more careful. There were words that could not be aired: bomb, power black out, amongst others. Cooperativa presenters did not use those words personally, but did air them when the authorities used them in interviews. Leaders or prominent members of political parties were named in such a way as to avoid reference to banned political parties (ibid).

Oppositional radio stations were constantly in danger of losing their licences or being closed down for a few days. However, the government was also constricted by existing legislation and laws written during the time. Therefore, radio stations sought to carefully act within the law, finding ways to circumvent official control and voice their stances. When radio stations were suspended, the reason was most likely related to a problematic news element. For example, after being subject to censorship through the regulating statute '*bando 25*' on the 29th of October 1984, Radio Cooperativa and Radio Santiago were forbidden to broadcast news and were only allowed to air music, adverts and official government information.

‘...may the information of radio stations Cooperativa and Santiago be restricted in the sense that from this date and while the present measure lasts, they shall exclusively broadcast music, commercial adverts, and official government information. In the same way, they may read this *bando* no more than twice a day’.¹⁴¹

Bando N° 25 de jefatura de zona en estado de emergencia de la Región
Metropolitana y Provincia de San Antonio

Radio Cooperativa was censored in its news programmes, especially during the period of the second State of Siege, between 1984 and 1985. News programmes were announced and music was played instead of news. These suspensions normally lasted two or three days and were based on subjective interpretations of programme content. In contrast, the station was never subject to regulations censoring specific pieces of music (anonymous, personal communication, 2007).

Dissident radio stations managed to survive in spite of the government’s disapproval. However, association with dissident stations like Cooperativa could carry negative consequences. When Tarud, a man with a long-held radio career, began to collaborate with the director of Cooperativa radio, he and his immediate family began to be harassed by unidentified individuals. A bomb was set in his son’s gym, his office was broken into, and there were occurrences involving suspicious people outside his house. Tarud arranged to speak to the head of CNI, Humberto Gordon, who asked Tarud whether it was true that he had been collaborating with Radio Cooperativa.

¹⁴¹ “... restrínjase las informaciones de las radios Cooperativa y Santiago en el sentido de que a contar de esta fecha y mientras dure la presente medida deberán exclusivamente transmitir música, avisaje comercial e informaciones oficiales de gobierno. De mismo modo pondrán dar lectura a este bando no más de dos veces al día.”

Tarud admitted to this and expressed his belief that it was not enough reason to be persecuted and harassed in the way he had been. Furthermore, Tarud manifested worry for his family. To this, Humberto Gordon replied 'don't worry, nothing else is going to happen to you, but I trust you will stop collaborating with that seditious radio station' (Tarud 2002: p. 225).

Regional radio stations were under less control from the government. Certain NGO's produced tapes which were distributed to rural radio stations. Regional radio stations experienced less pressure from DINACOS as their programming was considered unimportant in comparison to that of Santiago stations.¹⁴² These programming tapes had to be sent to DINACOS before being aired. However, once this process became a matter of routine, these NGO's even waited until after the programmes had been broadcast to submit the tapes to DINACOS. This issue did not take away the level of self-censorship. There were certain news subjects that were avoided, for example the 1983 -1984 protests (Bresnahan 2002: p. 168).

Despite issues of control, there were some cases in which radio stations were rather daring in their content. For example, radio Umbral – owned by the Methodist Church – began to broadcast overtly dissident material. In 1987, the Methodist Church re-designed the radio's direction and decided to start playing Latin American Music, particularly *Nueva Canción*. The station received positive responses from their audience and support from Sello Alerce.¹⁴³ Radio Umbral offered its microphone to organisations like the *Families of the Disappeared*, or for interviews where very

¹⁴² DINACOS: Dirección Nacional de Comunicaciones [National Directory of Communications].

¹⁴³ Sello Alerce was a dissident record label which released a significant number of *Nueva Canción* and *Canto Nuevo* albums.

daring opinions were aired, unlike most other stations which engaged in significant self-censorship. In this context, 'music was used to reinforce the content of the interviews' (Bresnahan 2002: p. 170). Umbral and its staff received many bomb and death threats. However, the government took no legal action to close it. The station also organised concerts and had programmes recorded clandestinely by women in prison.

The experiences of those who worked in radio stations which supported the military government tended to be less characterised by issues of censorship and control. Iván Hernández recalled his time at Radio Agricultura in Los Angeles:¹⁴⁴

When I was in Los Angeles I continued to work in Radio Agricultura. Radio Agricultura was an advocate of the military regime. But fortunately, I have had the advantage that the radios I have worked in – after that I came to work in Santiago's Radio Agricultura – the radios I have worked in [sic.] I have always been able to do whatever I wanted in terms of music. No one has ever imposed anything to me.¹⁴⁵

(Hernández, personal communication, 2007)

After the coup, the news' style and content of Radio Agricultura changed. During Allende's government, the station devoted the majority of programming time to highlighting all the defects and weaknesses of the socialist government. However,

¹⁴⁴ Los Angeles is a Chilean city 517 Km south of Santiago.

¹⁴⁵ Original in Spanish: En los Ángeles sigo en radio, en la Radio Agricultura, que era una radio proclive al gobierno militar pero afortunadamente yo he tenido la ventaja de la radios en que he trabajado, después vine a trabajar en la Agricultura de Santiago, en las radios que he trabajado siempre he podido hacer realmente lo que he querido en materia música, nadie me ha impuesto nunca nada.

when Pinochet was in power, Radio Agricultura broadcast various political commentators who underlined the positive aspects of the military government. These changes, according to Hernandez, were not reflected in the musical content of Radio Agricultura (personal communication, 2007).

Violeta: And was that reflected in any way in the musical content?

Iván Hernández: Look, fortunately not. Radio Agricultura never meddled much in the musical thing see, and that surprised me because they never forbade me from playing anything. I had a radio programme which was only for Chileans, where I played protest music, that artisanal music that was known in Café del Cerro.¹⁴⁶

During the dictatorship, all new written publications needed to be authorised by DINACOS. Revista 'APSI', which initially covered international news, obtained this authorization. The magazine had to be sent to DINACOS before every publication. Contents were sometimes censored, articles cut down, and some numbers prevented from entering circulation (Navarro 1985). In her testimony book, Patricia Verdugo, former journalist for 'Hoy', expressed strong feelings of self-censorship and fear. She claimed to have been persecuted and harassed for her involvement in 'Hoy' (Verdugo 1999). In 1975, a regulating statute allowed military chiefs in the areas under a State of Emergency to suspend, for up to six issues, any publication

¹⁴⁶ Original in Spanish:

Violeta Mayer: Y eso se reflejó de alguna forma en los contenidos musicales?

Iván Hernández: Mira afortunadamente no. La radio agricultura nunca se metió mucho en la cosa musical fijate y eso me llamó la atención porque a mí nunca me prohibieron tocar nada. Y yo tenía un programa en la radio agricultura que se llamaba sólo para chilenos, donde tocaba toda la música de protesta de esta música artesanal que se da a conocer en el café del cerro.

It is unclear to what extent the 'protest music' was played in Radio Agricultura. The importance here lies in the relationship between the news and musical agenda.

containing opinions, news, or content considered to ‘create public alarm or distort facts’ (Navarro 1985: p. 20).¹⁴⁷

During the dictatorship, it was a crime to promote and disseminate political ideas. For this reason, self-censorship within dissident media was necessarily strong in order to prevent closure. Often, there was no real instance to respond to official accusations. For many years, texts were checked before their publication. The proof pages which were sent out used to come back with numerous red pen marks. With time, journalists resorted back to self-censorship to try and receive fewer red marks. Dissident magazines used ‘official’ press as the guideline. At times, staff were careful not to defy the authorities, as they feared for their lives (Verdugo 1999: p.13).

There were several attempts to obstruct the operations of dissident magazines. In 1981, DINACOS notified the director of APSI that the magazine needed to revert to covering international matters only. In addition, their distribution permit was revoked in 1982 (Navarro 1985: p. 49). In 1983, books were freed from previous censorship. However, new magazines and newspapers continued to require official authorization (Navarro 1985: p. 49). In June 1984, the ‘Ley de Abusos de Publicidad’ [Advertising Abuse Law] was modified. The sanction for slander became more severe

¹⁴⁷ Original in Spanish: ‘En Diciembre 1975 [...] se dictó un decreto ley que facultaba a los jefes militares de las zonas en Estado de Emergencia para suspender “hasta por seis edicionees cualquier publicacion que emitiera opinions, noticias o comunicaciones que crearan alarma publica o que desfiguraran los hechos”’ (Navarro 1985: p. 20).

and two new types of crime were added, one of which referred to the dissemination of information on people's private lives.¹⁴⁸

As a result of the protests of 1983 and 1984, regulating statute *Bando 18* prevented the magazines APSI, Analisis, Cauce, and Fortin Mapocho from publishing any photographs and images. These magazines were only allowed to issue text. Furthermore, they were only allowed to discuss the protests inside the magazine and not on the front cover (León Lira 2005: p.87). The return to a State of Siege in November 1984, put several Magazines out of circulation: Analisis, APSI, Cuace, Fortín Mapocho, La Bicicleta, and Pluma y Pincel (Navarro 1985, León Lira 2005). In June 1985, the Junta issued a regulation which forbid the media from reporting on 'political parties, Marxism, convocations to protest or public manifestations, and terrorists acts, unless disseminated by the government' (León Lira 2005: p. 98).¹⁴⁹

The government did not have absolute power to completely close down dissident magazines. Analisis was taken to court several times. However, only military courts favoured the government. Ordinary courts continued to favour the magazines, stating that 'political criticism, as hard as it may be, does not constitute a crime' (León Lira 2005: p. 115).¹⁵⁰ Hence, dissident magazines managed to exist within the military regime. According to Navarro, the more the government repressed these written media, the more copies they sold (1985: p. 53).

¹⁴⁸ This regulation was issued after news about Pinochet and his ostentatious second homes were made public in dissident magazines.

¹⁴⁹ Original in Spanish: 'se prohíbe a los medios de comunicación informar sobre: partidos políticos, marxismo, llamados a protestas o manifestaciones públicas y actos terroristas salvo que el gobierno lo difunda' (Leon Lira 2005: p. 98).

¹⁵⁰ Original in Spanish: 'la crítica política, por más dura que sea, no constituye delito'.

Aspects of repression and control, particular to the political system in Chile during the military regime, affected freedom of expression in the media. Nevertheless, mechanisms of control were not too concerned with musical content. Instead, news and political ideas were censorship's main target. In 1984, the Inter-american Press Society described Chile in the following terms:

'The majority of Chilean people only see, read and listen to what the regime approves (...). The facts seem to indicate that the government wishes to suppress the press (...). Prohibitions are so broad that they exclude almost everything, except for government declarations, sports news, and entertainment news'

(León Lira 2005: p. 94, my own emphasis).¹⁵¹

International Trends

The presence of music in the media during the military regime was also influenced by international trends within the music industries. Television music shows contained predominantly foreign music. 'Música Libre', a television programme which began transmission in 1968, continued after the coup until 1975. The programme was immensely popular, and was based on lip-synched choreographies by local performers. Most of the songs used in the show came from the USA and Europe (England and Spain) (Hernandez, personal communication, 2007). 'Magnetoscopio Musical' aired music videos between 1981 and 1988. Many of these videos were

¹⁵¹ Original in Spanish : '... la mayoría del pueblo chileno únicamente ve, lee y escucha lo que el regimen aprueba (...). Los hechos parecen indicar que el gobierno desea suprimir a la prensa (...). Las prohibiciones son tan amplias que excluyen casi todo, menos las declaraciones del Gobierno, las noticias deportivas y de entretenimiento'.

illegally taped from satellite signals or by people based in the USA who copied them directly from MTV. The host also invited local artists to the studio, where they were able to promote their records and use the shows' infrastructure to produce music videos. In addition to playing music videos, the show's producers had to gather as much information as possible about featured artists. However, this task was problematic as details on foreign musicians were difficult to secure in those years. Therefore, host Rodolfo Roth used to travel to the USA and Europe to obtain more information. Those who participated in the production of the show were not even sure how to pronounce names such as Duran Duran. Foreign music videos not only provided further information on the band but also exhibited alternative youth tendencies which had an impact on how the local youth dressed (Roth, in personal communication with Contardo).

The presence of local music on the radio was small. Foreign bands and artists received more airplay than Chilean bands (Fuenzalida 1987). Within Radio Cooperativa's coverage of the entertainment sector, Chilean music was not prioritised. María Eguenia Meza referred to this issue in the following terms (in Fuenzalida 1987: p. 110-111):

The idea has been, basically, through the radio, to cover a sector that the news department could not cover, which was the entertainment sector. At the start there was a significant emphasis on articles on well-known international popular musicians: Julio Iglesias, Miguel Bosé, etc., and very little attention given to Chilean music¹⁵².

¹⁵² Original in Spanish: 'La idea, a través de la radio, ha sido, básicamente cubrir un sector que el departamento de prensa no podía cubrir, que era el sector de espectáculo; con un hincapié al comienzo bastante más grande en las notas sobre los músicos populares internacionales muy reconocidos: Julio Iglesias, Miguel Bosé, etc. y con muy poca incidencia en lo que era la creación chilena'.

When Meza took over the entertainment section of Radio Cooperativa with Grace Dunlop, she sought to include more Chilean music. However, a problem arose. Normally, when airing a musical note, they wanted a song to be played afterwards. But according to Meza, two thirds of her notes did not comply with the programming criteria of the radio, therefore, if she talked about one artist, a song by a different artist was played afterwards.

Ivan Hernandez also emphasised the importance of keeping up to date with international trends. While working in Radio Agricultura, he established good networks and bought magazines in order to know what music was popular abroad. Hernandez also listened to Argentinean radio. He tried to find friends who were about to travel abroad so that they could bring him music and accessories. When Hernandez was in Los Angeles, he listened to Santiago radio stations to keep up to date with current trends.¹⁵³ In regions, it was even harder to get hold of records, and record labels typically did not cater for local radios.

‘So we had to get a hold of things through a friend and then it was recorded – at that time there was no cassette tape, we recorded them on reel to reel tapes. We got a hold of music somehow and as a last resort we imposed the hits we had, anything new that arrived from anywhere’.¹⁵⁴

(Hernandez, Personal communication, 2007)

¹⁵³ See footnote 145.

¹⁵⁴ Original in Spanish: ‘Entonces había que conseguirse lo con algún amigo y se grababa en esos años también no existía ni el casete entonces lo grabábamos en cintas magnetofónicas. Y nos conseguíamos la música de alguna manera, y por último imponíamos los éxitos que nosotros teníamos. Lo que nos llegaba nuevo de donde fuera’.

Economic Factors

During the military regime, economic aspects also influenced the presence of music in the media. During the 1970s, before the rise of FM radio, radio stations were owned mainly by family businesses. Normally, stations were organised around national radio chains across the country (for example, Radio Minería) (Anonymous, personal communication, 2007). During the military dictatorship, the configuration of radio ownership changed. Radio chains slowly began to disappear.

Musical content was decided according to what was deemed popular within society. Radio stations played music based on popularity surveys. This procedure was stricter in Santiago. In regions, there was more freedom to program new or unheard music within shows (Fuenzalida 1987 p 123).

Various radio stations were affected by financial difficulties. Radio stations generated most of their income through advertisements. In the case of Radio Cooperativa, its aim was to become a pluralist medium which supported freedom of expression. However, it was difficult to secure advertisers as many were not inclined to be associated with an oppositional medium (Anonymous, personal communication, 2007). Sponsors feared that an association with an opposition radio station could damage their business. Therefore, Cooperativa centred its strategy on trying to achieve a sizeable audience. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the musical strategy of Radio Cooperativa was central to its aims of attracting a large audience. During the 1980s, Cooperativa managed to attain the highest audience figures amongst all Chilean radio (Ovando and anonymous, personal communication, 2007).

Financing Radio Cooperativa was very difficult. Due to the lack of advertising sales the radio was sometimes financed through bonds. In some occasions, advertising space was exchanged for supermarket vouchers to pay journalists. When covering news on the street, journalists had to pay for calls to the radio from their own pockets.

In radio Cooperativa, music replaced the lack of resources available to enable the production of other types of programmes. Since the 1980s, apart from the news programmes between 6 and 9 am, 1 and 2 pm, and 7 and 8pm, the rest of the programming was a 'un gran programa musical' [a big musical programme] (anonymous, personal communication, 2007).

Radio Umbral was also affected by economic issues. In order to generate income, the station began to organise music concerts. Umbral's first show has been allegedly classed as the first opposition concert during the dictatorship. The event was initially censored, but finally took place with the presence of 25,000 people. In spite of the large audience, it was very difficult to continue with the concerts' organisation. Umbral had four employees on low wages and businesses did not buy advertisement from radio Umbral due to their fear of being associated with an oppositional radio station.

The economic growth experienced during the last half of the 1970s facilitated an expansion in the infrastructure of newspapers such as El Mercurio and La Tercera, amongst others. However, the 1982 economic crisis left certain media businesses in a very bad economic condition. A decrease in advertising negatively affected income (Navarro 1985: 50).

In addition, content decisions were based on commercial criteria. Super Rock was a magazine which emerged from VEA magazine to cover the Latin rock explosion of the mid 1980s. Super Rock addressed the stances and opinions of musicians and was aimed at youth audiences. For this reason, the magazine was sometimes attacked by the authorities. However, Revista Super Rock was not affiliated to specific political ideas. Instead, most of the content was included in aid of the pursuit of commercial success (Ovando, personal communication, 2007).

Technological Developments

The development of technology played a central role in the configuration of the media. During the dictatorship, television went through its consolidation period. Still in the 1980s, most of the procedures in television were non-professional. For example, cameramen had little technical knowledge and were usually casually trained on the job. Most cameramen started as cable helpers before obtaining promotions which eventually led them to operating television cameras. Therefore, the cameramen did not know much about recording techniques and lightning (Ovando, personal communication, 2007).

Furthermore, television channels did not have adequate infrastructure to enable continuous national productions (Jofré 1987). Recording music videos was a major project, fraught with difficulties. Sábados Gigantes used to produce one music video per month. Music videos were incredibly expensive to produce and therefore many musicians tried to secure a slot with Sábados Gigantes in order to produce one of their own (in Fuenzalida 1987).

Tareuich and Yañez, who worked for National Television (Channel 7), used to watch music videos via Satellite transmission. At some point, they had the idea of recreating a domestic version of these programmes. 'Magnetoscopio Musical' became immensely popular and even radio stations stayed alert to the videos aired on the show (some music videos reached Chile before its respective record did). Therefore, television was a source used by the radio to keep up to date with the latest international trends. Furthermore, the music video put local artists in touch with international fashion trends (Roth in personal communication with Contardo).

As discussed in chapter four, record labels began to produce music on cassette tapes, despite radio stations continuing to play records. Therefore, the music played on the radio was mainly produced abroad. It was difficult for national artists to access radio broadcasts because they were unable to release their music in the format accepted by local radio stations (Fuenzalida 1987: p. 9).

The drop in national record production meant that even if there was an intention to play more local music, it was difficult to find enough material (see chapter four). 'Hecho en Chile' was a show in Radio Galaxia which intended to play only Chilean music. According to its host, Pirincho Cárcamos, there was not enough local music to fill in the entire 'Hecho en Chile' show when it was on air twice a day for an hour each time. In order to comply with their intended content criteria, the show had to compromise sound quality. By 1985, 'Hecho en Chile' was only one hour long (Cárcamos in Fuenzalida 1987).

Conclusion

During the military dictatorship in Chile, the media was represented by a collection of institutions subject to different levels of censorship and control. A closer look at the role and use of music within these institutions reveals a complex relationship which transcends the use of music as a tool of control and dissent. Music in the media was determined by the interaction of the political system with technological developments, international trends, commercial mandates, and official and dissenting voices. Musical content in radio and television was limited and subject to the availability of musical material, which was itself difficult to acquire. Developments in technology facilitated access to the latest international releases, despite evident copyright infractions. Such is the case of taping music videos from a satellite channel to air them on Chilean national television. Foreign music was predominant in the media and enjoyed greater popularity than local music. Television became one of the main and only stages where foreign artists could perform and come in contact with national audiences. The most important music event was the *Viña del Mar* song festival which hosted a song competition and an international music show. The festival can be seen as an example of the patchy and ambiguous nature of censorship under Chile's authoritarian rule. Music which was previously questioned by authority, as in the case of the songs in Ubierno's third album, was allowed to exist on Chile's main musical stage. It seems tricky to understand why certain voices which are not expected to be permitted under a dictatorship were allowed in the public sphere of Pinochet's Chile. This ambiguity is, however, a reflection of the complex nature of daily life under military authoritarianism in Chile between 1973 and 1990.

CHAPTER SEVEN: REMEMBERING MUSICAL PRACTICES

This chapter examines some of the ways in which music was used during Pinochet's rule in Chile, and the significance and associations attributed to these practices at present. For this purpose, I will analyse musical practices of the period by discussing how they are remembered publicly and privately. Music continued to be an important element of daily life during the military regime. During the dictatorship years, music and music-related matters were present in the lives of people through television, radio, press, records, live performance, and social gatherings, amongst others. Examining the presence of music in daily life further problematises binary notions that closely tie musical practices under non-democratic regimes as a signifier of political support and/or opposition. By examining a range of music consumption activities the chapter reveals a multiplicity of music uses and reinforces the complex nature of musical practices under the Chilean dictatorship.

As well as the use of music during the dictatorship, I am interested in exploring the present-day significance of certain music and musical practices that were performed during the dictatorship.¹⁵⁵ Meaning in music is not inherent to particular musical components, but arises from the association of ideological elements to particular musical pieces or events (Regev and Seroussi 2004). Meaning is 'articulated' (Negus 1997) in different ways at different times by different individuals and communities. In this chapter I will address issues of meaning in the reception of music during the dictatorship by looking at *symbolic* and *personal musical memories*.

¹⁵⁵ When referring to present-day I account mainly for the period between 2007-2009, time during which the main part of this research was undertaken.

By *symbolic musical memories* I mean music (in this case, songs) linked to particular episodes which are likely to be present in the memory of a considerable part of Chilean society. In addition, I will address *personal musical memories* by examining how musical practices are integrated into accounts of personal memory using in-depth case studies of four individuals who were interviewed in 2007 and 2009.

The first section of this chapter consists of an analysis of three *symbolic musical memories*, which discusses the significance and events surrounding three songs: '*El Africano*', '*El Vals Imperial del NO*', and '*Libre*'.¹⁵⁶ These songs were subject to a period of prominent media circulation during the dictatorship. In addition, articles, interviews and references still circulate in the Chilean media post-dictatorship from time to time. Therefore, the events surrounding these songs have become symbolic of the dictatorship. These three examples – as socially-recognised symbolic musical events of the dictatorship period– gravitate around the poles of control and dissent.¹⁵⁷ As well as being associated with symbolic musical episodes, they resonate in the personal memory of many people living at that time, including myself.

¹⁵⁶ *El Africano* [The African]; *El Vals Imperial del NO* [The Imperial Waltz of the NO]; *Libre* [Free]. NO refers to the 1988 referendum option to vote against the continuation of the military dictatorship. Fiesta translates as *party*, when used in the sense of social gathering.

¹⁵⁷ The reason for including symbolic musical events, often quoted in the media during the post-authoritarian era as reminiscent of the dictatorship years, is to account for musical practices which had a greater gravitation around the concepts of control and dissent. When arguing that the examination of music under non-democratic political systems should transcend the binary of control and dissent, I do not mean to discredit the existence of authority-opposition power relationships to music. In any case, the use of music as a tool of control and/or dissent shows complex ramifications, and it is in the accounts of personal memory where the spheres of control and dissent become more intrinsically diffused.

Therefore, I will use my own recollection of two of these songs as a way of introducing the discussion of these three symbolic musical memories.

The second section of this chapter will focus on how the use and presence of music is remembered in accounts of personal memories. This section will draw significantly from the interviews of four individuals who were born in Chile and who lived in the country during the dictatorship period. Through open-ended interviews, these participants were asked to remember their activities and the presence of music in their lives during the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, I will firstly introduce, and provide relevant information concerning the participant's social and familial background.

The second section will subsequently consider the use and consumption of music during the dictatorship, accounting for those instances in which music helped to define a political position, but will also argue that music could facilitate particular social spaces which transcended political divisions. I will frame this discussion by referring to Turino's discussion of the self, identity, and culture (2008: pp. 93-121). To illustrate how musical practices could define political alliances I will refer to the organisation of *peñas*: musical gatherings strongly associated to left wing politics and, during the dictatorship, to the opposition. To exemplify how musical practices could enable social interactions which transcended political divisions, I will examine private musical gatherings and religious rituals. Accordingly, music during the Chilean dictatorship was subject to a multiplicity of uses in daily life, where the relationship between ideology and form was rather complex.

Finally, I will conclude this chapter by arguing that remembering music (forms and pieces) present during the participant's life under military rule in Chile, can evoke a variety of memories linked to collective and individual experiences. At times, these

memories highlighted the direct effects of the political system.¹⁵⁸ However, more often than not, remembering music during the military period brought to mind forms of identity which do not greatly differ from the ways in which ‘individuals [generally] configure themselves as subjects who act and feel things in relation to music, [or] how music is a resource for producing and recalling emotional states’ (DeNora 2000: p. 107).

Music Use and Music Meaning during the Dictatorship

Music forms a part of most people’s lives. Music can be experienced in a variety of settings: in isolation, whether that be alone in the bedroom, over headphones in public, or when singing in the shower; as part of a ‘community of anonymity’: for example tuning into the radio at the same time as many others or watching a live performance broadcast through television;¹⁵⁹ or with others – by performing in a group or attending live performances, at a night club, in school, at religious rites, or while shopping in the supermarket. Music can be listened to actively, can accompany an activity, and/or can be found ubiquitously (Kassabian 1999, 2002).

As in other cultures, during the dictatorship in Chile music played a part in most people’s lives. People were exposed to and made use of music in isolation, with others, and as part of wider imagined communities. In the same way as argued

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion on the direct effects of the political system see chapter four.

¹⁵⁹ See (Anderson 1983 in Wade 1998) for a discussion of ‘community of anonymity’ in relationship to national identity.

elsewhere (Negus 1997, Regev & Seroussi 2004, DeNora 2000), music acquired meaning through experience, through its appropriation by particular interest groups and through its use in different events or daily life activities. Here, meaning is neither fixed nor static. Meaning in music differs amongst members of society, and is transformed through the association of music with different public events, ideas, or personal experiences. Using my own recollections as a starting point I will discuss how, through memory, the use of music under particular circumstances can shape the meaning of and associations with particular pieces or groups of music. After an experience of strong embodied identification it becomes difficult to rid music of a particular signification. However, meaning associated to music by some is only apparent, and perhaps relevant, to those who are aware of specific ‘articulations’ (Negus 1997) of meaning and music.

The following is a discussion of symbolic musical memories; musical events which form part of personal and collective memory in Chile.¹⁶⁰ I will look at the songs ‘*El Africano*’, ‘*El Vals Imperial del NO*’, and ‘*Libre*’ to explore issues of music and meaning during the dictatorship. All three pieces enjoyed a period of prominence, and have thus become part of the music within Chile’s ‘memory box’ (Stern 2004, Stern 2006). Examining the role and place of these three songs during the dictatorship also supports the notion that music is vested with meaning through those ideas and events associated with it. Therefore, meaning in music becomes a contested field in which, through the appropriation and use of music by different groups and individuals in different contexts, signification is contested and internalised in a variety of ways.

¹⁶⁰ These musical events are remembered by many and are also referred to in vehicles of memory such as newspapers, television, and books.

Symbolic Musical Memories

I spent the first seven years of my life in the Chile governed by Pinochet and the Armed Forces. My musical experiences were perhaps similar to those of many other children around the world at that time, with the added particularities of the Chilean context and the specificities of my own environment. In my own limited experience of the dictatorship, music was part of a variety of activities, heard in different settings, and was an important part of my identity. I was sometimes put to sleep with lullabies, I sang nursery rhymes with other children, and I recognised what was on TV through the sound of theme tunes. Music was played on the bus when I was travelling across Santiago; it was heard at birthday parties, and in the living room of my house. The main stereo in the house I grew up in was placed in the living room, and so many of my early childhood memories of music and dance are associated with that particular place.

As part of my daily life, many situations that were unexceptional at the time, have become remarkable to me after all the time I have spent thinking about music and the period of the Chilean dictatorship. For example, I remember dancing at home with my mother to the tapes of the tropical band *Pachuco y la Cubancán*. I really liked Pachuco, and listening to his songs today brings back happy thoughts and feelings. At a first glance, and for many years, this just seemed like a fond but uncritical childhood memory. However, delving further into a seemingly unworldly personal memory, and with greater awareness of the particularities of the dictatorship period, a number of questions arise: who was Pachuco? What was he singing? Who was my mother? In what context were we dancing to Pachuco's music? What Pachuco-related musical episode was crystallised in the social memory of Chile?

Pachuco (Roberto Fonseca) was the singer and leader of the tropical band *La Cubanacán*. The Cubanacán Orchestra was originally formed in the mid 1950s by a group of military officers in their leisure time. Pachuco joined the band later and rapidly consolidated himself as the band's main figure (Orquesta Cubanacán, n.d.). *La Cubanacán* still exists, despite the death by illness of Pachuco in January 2001 (*El Mercurio* 08 January 2001). What had started as an amateur orchestra in the mid 1950s had by the mid 1980s reached great popularity in the country. The band was booked for Chile's main musical event – the Viña Festival.¹⁶¹ In 1985 Pachuco popularised the *cumbia* 'El Africano' – a Colombian *costeño* song written by Wilfredo Martínez and Calixto Ochoa (Wade 2000: p. 203).¹⁶² 'El Africano' was a big hit amongst the population, and *Pachuco y La Cubanacán* was a highly awaited act in the 1986 Viña Festival. *El Africano's* refrain: 'mami ¿qué sera lo que quiere el negro?' [Mama, what is it that the black man wants?] is read as suggestive of the sensual character of *costeño* music within the Colombian context (ibid.). However, in Chile many associate Pachuco's version of 'El Africano' with the roaring audience response prompted by that same refrain during the 1986 *Pachuco y la Cubanacán* performance at the Viña Festival. When *Pachuco y La Cubanacán* performed late at night as part of the 1986 *Viña Festival's* show, the refrain to the song 'El Africano' triggered a response in the audience (popularly known as *el monstruo* within Chile) which was certainly unexpected by the authorities and, probably, by Pachuco and his band.¹⁶³ Right after Pachuco sang 'Mama, what is it that the black man wants?' many in the

¹⁶¹ Viña: short for Viña del Mar, coastal city 122 Km from Santiago.

¹⁶² *Costeño*: adj. coastal.

¹⁶³ *El monstruo*: noun. masc. the monster,

crowd replied: '¡Qué se vaya Pinochet!' [Pinochet to go!]. *El mounstro*'s reaction was televised to the whole of Chile via *Televisión Nacional*;¹⁶⁴ the *monster* wanted Pinochet to go. The festival authorities reacted by interfering with the audio in the televised broadcast and by taking Pachuco off air (*El Mercurio* 09 February 1986). Despite the authorities' reaction, personal testimonies suggest the audience's roar was clearly heard through television (personal communication with fieldwork informants). *Pachuco* claimed not to have heard what the public was screaming and denied he was forbidden from singing the song on his second 1986 performance (Lafourcade 1996, *El Mercurio* 09 February 1986).¹⁶⁵ Conversely, *Pachuco y la Cubanacán* never played 'El Africano' – one of their most popular numbers – on Viña's stage again; neither on their second performance in 1986, nor in any of their subsequent Viña appearances under the dictatorship in 1987 and 1988. Most likely, it was not in Pachuco's plans to generate a response like the one he received in 1986. In certain post-dictatorship interviews, Pachuco still denied having heard the audience response, and never made a public statement of his views in regards to that night.

Despite Pachuco's public image and alleged support for Pinochet's regime, *Pachuco y La Cubanacán* inhabited my house amongst my mother's increasing tape collection. My mother and I danced to many of the songs of *Pachuco y La Cubanacán*, despite the fact that she despised the dictatorship. Regardless of political stance and political association, Pachuco's catchy music played a large part in causing the population to dance in unison.

¹⁶⁴ *Televisión Nacional: lit.* National Television. In Chile: state television channel in charge of the transmission of the *Viña* Festival during the dictatorship.

¹⁶⁵ Some bands and solo artists invited to the *Viña* Festival show were due to perform more than once in a single Festival version.

Shortly before the 1988 referendum, another tape arrived at home and was placed in the living room's music cabinet. This time it was Florcita Motuda's *La Fiesta del NO!!!* [The NO's party!!!], a tape with four songs on each side that promoted the 'NO' option for the 1988 referendum. With comical overtones, the songs in Florcita Motuda's album were critical of Pinochet and the military government. The tape's most prominent song, '*El Vals Imperial del NO*', was based on the initial theme to Strauss' Blue Danube waltz.¹⁶⁶ Florcita Motuda (Raúl Alarcón) is an eclectic composer and performer who became popular after winning best performer in the 1977 Viña Song Contest Festival with the song '*Brevemente... Gente*' (García n/da, n.d.). In 1978 he represented Chile in the OTI Festival with his song '*Pobrecito Mortal*'.¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ In addition, Florcita Motuda performed again in the Viña Festival in the years 1983 and 1987.

Spanning sounds like rock and symphonically orchestrated tropical music, Florcita Motuda was not particularly involved in traditional left wing or centre politics. His political associations have been with the humanist party (a smaller alternative entity) and not to Marxist parties. Nonetheless, Florcita is known for his irreverent and playful manner, and it can be argued that his music is wittily critical. On and off stage, Florcita is highly eccentric and histrionic.

¹⁶⁶ On the sleeve note, Florcita Motuda states that '*El Vals Imperial del No*' was based on the music of 2001: A Space Odyssey, in which Strauss' waltz was also used.

¹⁶⁷ Celebrated annually between 1972 and 2000, the OTI festival was an Ibero-American song contest similar to the Eurovision song contest.

¹⁶⁸ *Brevemente... Gente*: Briefly... People.

Pobrecito Mortal: Poor Mortal.

Closer to the end of the dictatorship, at a time where there was more room for expression of dissent, Florcita Motuda became more actively engaged with the movement which wanted to end Pinochet's military dictatorship. In 1987 he took part in the Viña Festival song contest with '*Las Máquinas*', where in the middle of his second performance he stretched a presidential band across his chest whilst singing his musical entry.¹⁶⁹

The NO campaign united a wide range of groups and individuals who wanted to put an end to the military government led by Pinochet, and facilitate a transition into civilian democracy. Florcita Motuda used genres like rock, tropical, and classical to musicalise his album *La Fiesta del No!!!*. These genres were not particularly linked to the music associated to *Unidad Popular*. Furthermore, these genres did not have a stereotypical political association to the Chile of Pinochet. I see this as a significant departure from previous genre associations within Chile related to music as a form of protest. Florcita Motuda's hybrid musical language represented a remarkable departure from the *Nueva Canción* music used in the solidarity campaigns against Pinochet's regime abroad. Florcita's dissident music was forward looking, and it comfortably fitted the image that the *concertación* wanted to promote:¹⁷⁰ the return of democracy not as a restoration of *Unidad Popular*'s Marxism, but as a transition to a viable centre-left democratic project.

¹⁶⁹ *Las Máquinas*: The Machines.

¹⁷⁰ *Concertación*: short for *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (Concert of Parties for Democracy), a coalition of centre and moderate-left parties which formed as an opposing force to Pinochet's dictatorship. *Concertación* has governed Chile since 1990.

The use of the opening theme of *'The Blue Danube'* waltz in *'El Vals Imperial del NO!!!'* makes me associate Strauss's well known initial theme with my childhood, and particularly with the 1988 referendum that marked the start of Chile's return to democracy. When I think of Florcita's tape *La Fiesta del NO!!!*, with its *'El Vals Imperial del NO'*, I also recall singing and dancing to Florcita Motuda's music in that same living room that I danced with my mother to *Pachuco y La Cubanacán*. My personal childhood memories of private events are entangled with memories of highly symbolic musical episodes in Chile's political and social history.

Almost a decade before I was born, another musical piece acquired distinct social and political significance. This time however, meaning can be perceived as contested amongst differing social groups and individuals. During my fieldwork and literature research I came across the song *'Libre'* in a number of particular ways. *'Libre'* is the Spanish word for *free*, and is also the title of a song popularised in Spain and Latin America by Spanish singer/ songwriter Nino Bravo.¹⁷¹ The song was written during Franco's dictatorship and its refrain makes intensive use of the word "free" (see appendix for lyrics and translation). In 1974, the first Viña Festival after the September coup, Chilean impressionist Bigote Arrocet reached the climax of his presentation when he sang *Libre* – allegedly as a tribute to the late Spanish singer. *Arrocet* kneeled down full of emotion (Cavallo, Salazar et al. 1989: p. 26) and uttered *'¡viva Chile!'* [long live Chile!]. *Arrocet's* performance of *'Libre'* was perceived by many people as a celebration of the end to (what was interpreted by some as) Marxist oppression, and the dawn of a new era of freedom. For many others, *'Libre'* was

¹⁷¹ Nino Bravo died as a result of a car accident in Spain in April 1973 when he was 30 years old.

perceived as a symbol of oppression; as the symbol of those who had put a severe end to the dreams of a different future.

The use and meaning of '*Libre*' is highly intricate and has been articulated in a number of ways. The song was not only appropriated by those supporting the military government. Varas (2005) recounts how this song was in heavy radio rotation after the 1973 coup – particularly after Arrocet's performance in Viña del Mar. The military saw '*Libre*' as a symbol of the freedom reached after the 'liberation' from the previous Marxist government.

However, according to Varas (ibid.), the song was interpreted differently by those who felt oppressed by the dictatorship. Dissenters regarded '*Libre*' as a symbol for hope and freedom from the newly imposed order. '*Libre*' was also sung by prisoners in jails and concentration camps in ways which give rise to multiple interpretations of meaning.

Right after the coup, Santiago's National Sport Stadium (known as *Estadio Nacional*) was used as a centre for detention and torture. During this time, and under critical circumstances, a choir of sixty people directed by Vicente Sota was formed. When the choir sang, other prisoners sang along. Prisoners used to sing *Libre* when people were being released from the stadium (Cozzi 2000: p. 98, Montealegre 2003: p. 78). In his testimony book, Montealegre (ibid.) says that when a prisoner was released, the ones who remained in custody expressed their contentment by singing along. Singing was perhaps one of the few entitlements that was not taken away from prisoners. However, taking advantage of this musical activity, the military junta sent in the press to film and report on the prisoner's choir and other acts of

entertainment¹⁷². Montealegre indicates the betrayal felt by the prisoners, as they did not want their music and entertainment to be appropriated and broadcast outside the prison. For prisoners, singing and acting was rather private and did not seek to publicly endorse an environment of contentment. Instead, it was a coping mechanism.¹⁷³

After Arrochet's performance of '*Libre*' the song was recorded by the Chilean Military School Choir (Montealegre 2003).¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Arrochet's version of the song was aired on radio and television. His reasons and intentions for singing the song have never been clearly elucidated. In interviews, *Bigote Arrochet* has consistently denied paying tribute to the military Junta, addressing the singing of the song as a homage to Nino Bravo after his death (*El Mercurio* 22 December 2003, *La Cuarta* 14 November 2004, *La Segunda*, 12 December 2006).

The song '*Libre*' gives rise to a number of views and memories, often with contradicting meanings and associations. For example, despite their admiration for Nino Bravo (a highly popular musician), certain fans cannot help to associate the song '*Libre*' with Pinochet's dictatorship (Angie in Sarría 2009).¹⁷⁵ At times it is impossible to rid a song of an acquired meaning. However, this is not to say that '*Libre*' cannot continue to be re-articulated with time. When the option to end

¹⁷² Montealegre also reports on a comedian who used to make others laugh.

¹⁷³ For information on music making in Chilean concentration camps and detention centres, see Chornik (2006).

¹⁷⁴ Coro de la Escuela Militar del Ejército Chileno.

¹⁷⁵ <http://fernandosarria.blogspot.com/2009/04/nino-bravo-libre.html>

Pinochet's rule won the 1988 referendum, '*Libre*' was also used by some to celebrate NO's victory (Paulina 2006).¹⁷⁶

As previously mentioned in this thesis, the meaning of popular music is not fixed, but subject to constant 'articulation' (Negus 1997). For many Chileans, the opening theme of '*The Blue Danube*' by Johanne Strauss was given new significance when – with added lyrics and converted into '*El Vals Imperial del NO*' – it was used by Florcita Motuda to orchestrate the NO campaign in the 1988 referendum which marked the end of the dictatorship. The context in which songs such as '*El Africano*' and '*Libre*' circulated, gave them a symbolic social meaning particularly linked to the dictatorship years. Despite the wider meaning of these songs within Chile, the meaning is not fixed. These songs can be re-appropriated and re-signified in further

¹⁷⁶ The following comment was found on a blog and reads as follows: Recuerdo como si fuera hoy, todo lo vivido durante el año 88, inscribiendonos [sic] en los registros electorales para poder votar, yo tenía 20 años e iba a ser mi 1er. plebiscito, y todos mis amigos que teníamos más o menos la misma edad hicieron lo mismo, mi departamento era conocido como la casa del "NO", ese día 5 fuimos a votar temprano, y después todos nos juntamos en mi depto. a escuchar la radio COOPERATIVA, para estar al tanto de los resultados, cuando app. [sic] a las 23:00 hrs. dan los últimos cómputos, nosotros nos pusimos a entonar el Himno Nacional, y después pusimos la canción de NINO BRAVO LIBRE, y todos llorando abrazados la cantamos, un dato anecdótico, a los años después quedé embarazada y elejí el 5 de octubre para que mi hija naciera, y este 5 cumple ya 11 años, y sabe muy bien lo que pasó en Chile y conmo [sic] luchamos por volver a la democracia... VIVA CHILE!!!

Translation: I remember it as if it were today, all that was lived in the year 1988, signing up in the electoral register to be able to vote. I was 20 years old and that was going to be my 1st referendum, and all my friends who were around the same age as me did the same, my flat was known as the "NO" house, that 5th day we went to vote early, and then we all met up in my flat to listen to radio COOPERATIVA, to be alert to the results, when approx. at 11pm they announced the last count, we began to intone the National Hymn, and then we put on the song by NINO BRAVO, LIBRE, and we were all crying in each other's arms we sang it, an anecdotal fact. Years later I got pregnant and I chose the 5th of October for my daughter to be born, and this 5th she turns 11 already, and she knows very well what happened in Chile and how we struggled to return to democracy... LONG LIVE CHILE!!!

ways depending on individuals, social groups, and situations. Remarkably, '*Libre*' poses an example of the different notions of freedom held in Chile after the 1973 coup. For some it meant freedom from the previously deposed Marxist government, whereas for the oppressed and those imprisoned it provided a coping mechanism for hope and strength — vulnerable as the situation was. Years later, those who had felt the weight of a 17 year long dictatorship, used '*Libre*' to celebrate the end of the dictatorship, despite the song's previous use to endorse the military regime.

These specific examples demonstrate the complexity of musical meaning and the differing ways in which music is remembered and understood. In order to further explore these issues this next section will examine how music during the period of dictatorship in Chile is currently remembered in private life. I will use the accounts of four interviewees to expose the various ways that musical practices during the military regime are remembered. Sometimes, musical memories are intimately entangled with political memories. At other times, musical memories are linked to further types of circumstances. Through the experiences of Eduardo, Rosa, David, and María José I will illustrate how music held different and, at times , contrasting roles in people's daily lives. I will focus on how music acted as a definer of political spaces but also how it could act as a facilitator of spaces which transcended political divisions.

Personal Musical Memories

Eduardo

Eduardo was born in Talca in April 1967.¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ At the time of the interview in March 2007 he was a teacher of history, geography, and civic education at a school in Santiago. During the dictatorship, Eduardo was between 6 and 22 years of age. Until he went to University, Eduardo lived in Talca in a flat with his parents, two older brothers, and a younger sister. His family was not actively involved in politics and did not overtly adhere to a political group. Despite this, Eduardo explained that his family had an unconscious link to the Christian left. When asked to remember his life during those years, Eduardo's memories were predominantly linked to political matters – his references to political issues were precise and articulated. For example, in his memories of the *Unidad Popular* period, he recalled televised protests and political unrest. During the early years of the dictatorship he evoked a memory of listening to Frei's dissident speech in *Teatro Caupolicán*.¹⁷⁹ During his high school years in the early 1980s, he gained political awareness and joined the opposition as a political activist.¹⁸⁰ In the mid 1980s Eduardo moved to Santiago to study pedagogy at

¹⁷⁷ Information on Eduardo drawn from personal interview (Sepúlveda March 2007).

¹⁷⁸ Talca is a city approximately 240 km south of Santiago. During the last census in 2002 Talca had 201,797 inhabitants (INE 2002).

¹⁷⁹ Frei: Eduardo Frei Montalva was president of Chile between 1964 and 1970 as the candidate for the Christian Democratic Party. Frei Montalva defended the overthrow of Allende and initially supported the military government. However, once it was evident that Pinochet had no intention of leaving power in the short term, Frei became an opponent of the military government.

¹⁸⁰ According to Eduardo, his participation in politics was not institutionalised as there was no 'official' organism to join. Instead, it was through thought and action that he was part of the opposition.

university. Upon the return to democracy Eduardo began his professional career as a schoolteacher and, like many of his former political comrades, retreated from political activity. His rebelliousness has since then been channelled through his work in education.

María José

María José was born in Santiago in November 1964.¹⁸¹ At the time of the interview (May 2009) she was based in Liverpool with her family where her husband was completing his PhD. María José is the first daughter of her father's third marriage. During her childhood and youth she lived in an affluent sector of Santiago. Her father was a very strong figure in her life, he came from a wealthy family, unlike her mother. María José's father was politically active during the 60s and her uncles were positioned in the high ranks of the Armed Forces. Her father supported the coup but her mother did not voice a strong opinion. For many years during her childhood and early teens, María José perceived the coup and Pinochet as the saviours of Chile. María José regularly went to church with her father and also attended a school known to have educated many left wing politicians. During the dictatorship, and as she grew older, María José began to gain awareness of the violent side of the military regime, initially through reading the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad's* magazine which she bought when going to Church.¹⁸² At university, María José studied agronomy and architecture, before completing a degree in design. In the 1980s she became involved

¹⁸¹ Information on María José drawn from personal interview (Paredes May 2009), and subsequent personal communication.

¹⁸² *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*: [Solidarity Vicarship] formal church division in Chile created with the purpose of providing help and protection to those people victims of human right abuses.

in the *Pastoral Universitaria* activities and began to oppose the ideas inherited from her father.¹⁸³ By the time of the 1988 referendum she voted NO. During the dictatorship became suspicious of the darker sides of the dictatorship, however, she only became aware of their full extent after the return to democracy.

David

David was born in July 1968 in San Bernardo, Chile.¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ At the time of interview he worked for a national newspaper as a music journalist. During the time of the *Unidad Popular* David lived with his mother, father, and younger sister in Concepción.¹⁸⁶ David's parents were lecturers of French at the University of Concepción, as well as supporters of Allende's government – his father was a communist. After the coup, his parents were discharged from University and the family had to move back to San Bernardo with the grandparents. The house in San Bernardo was raided twice, and his father was forced into exile because Chile was no longer a safe place to stay. David, his sister, and mother stayed in Chile and visited their father in France for eight months in 1976. From a young age, David was very aware of how bands like *Quilapayún* or *Inti Illimani* were 'banned' in Chile;¹⁸⁷ he knew that having their music at home was dangerous and that people had disposed of books and records which could be deemed as subversive. David attended a Catholic

¹⁸³ *Pastoral Universitaria*: University Pastoral Vicarship. Created in 1976.

¹⁸⁴ Information on David drawn from personal interview (Ponce May 2007).

¹⁸⁵ San Bernardo: city approximately 25 km south of Santiago.

¹⁸⁶ Concepción: Second largest city of Chile, 519 km south of Santiago.

¹⁸⁷ *Quilapayún* and *Inti-Illimani* were *Nueva Canción* bands which worked closely with the *Unidad Popular* government. At the moment of the *coup* both bands were touring Europe. As a result of the takeover these bands were exiled from the country.

school run by Dutch priests in San Bernardo. In 1987 he enrolled on a course in journalism at the *Universidad de Chile*. In spite of his early interest in music, it was once he entered university that he became an active music consumer, constantly attending gigs and buying music.

Rosa

Rosa was born in October 1946.¹⁸⁸ During her childhood and until her early twenties she lived in a house in La Cisterna, Santiago. Rosa got married in 1968; however, by 1973 she had split from her husband and moved with her mother and daughter to a flat closer to the centre of Santiago. Unlike the other participants, Rosa did not express a consistent or clearly articulated relationship with politics. She insisted she did not and does not belong to the left or the right, although she acknowledged that her neighbours and peers classed her as a right wing supporter. Rosa described the *Unidad Popular* years with the word ‘insecurity’. In addition, she disliked not being able to choose for herself when it came to purchasing products. Rosa welcomed the coup, although she believed Pinochet stayed in power for too long. During the dictatorship she claimed to have led a peaceful life. Nevertheless, she also mentioned it was hard to find employment and the rumour of people being victims of violence and death added a degree of unease. Despite the claims of brutality that circulated during the dictatorship, Rosa asserted that she had never witnessed episodes of violence. During our conversation she condemned violence, although she still found it hard to believe that certain people had engaged in malicious human rights abuses and murder.

¹⁸⁸ Information on Rosa drawn from personal interview (2007).

During interviews, Eduardo, David, María José, and Rosa talked about their lives during the dictatorship, their political views, and the way they used, perceived, and related to music. By choosing to use these four participants' experiences as samples for the discussion of music use and meaning in daily life during the dictatorship, I do not intend to provide an exact and all-encompassing representation of everyone's experiences in military Chile. However, the stories of these participants are complex and present a variety of angles, they tell a story which is worth considering when examining the use and meaning of music in daily life under Chile's military authoritarianism. In what follows I will use some of the examples provided by the participants to discuss how music was used as part of different 'identity cohorts' (Turino 2008). At times, these cohorts had clear political delineations – in which case music can be seen as having helped define political spaces. However, under different circumstances, music was used within 'identity cohorts' in which politics was not a main definer of inclusion or exclusion. In this way, and as shown in the following discussion, it can be argued that during the dictatorship, music could also be a facilitator of spaces which transcended political divisions.

Music and political perceptions

There has been a tendency within academic studies to emphasise the deep and increasing political division in Chilean society that culminated in the coup of 1973. After the military takeover, the congress was closed down, Marxist political parties were proscribed while the rest of the parties were called to recess. The dictatorship did not achieve political consent amongst the population. Under the military government the country continued to be politically fractured – and only those who supported the

regime could freely voice their convictions. By contrast, those who opposed the takeover, and the many who with time joined the opposing sentiment against the continuation of Pinochet's regime, could not freely express their views and thus had to resort to alternative and constrained means of political expression.¹⁸⁹ In the present day, the coup of 1973 and the subsequent dictatorship still triggers varied and contrasting reactions within Chilean society.

There was an undeniable divide between those who supported the dictatorship and those who opposed it. However, thinking about support and opposition as clearly definable entities could be regarded as an overly simplistic analysis. Moreover, too much emphasis on the political divide has diverted attention from other spheres of life where people with differing political perceptions came together. For the examination of music during the dictatorship, and particularly for the musical practices of daily life, it becomes necessary to consider spheres of identification and social relationship *other* than the political: family and friends, professional and occupational, leisure interests, religion, gender and sexuality, race, etc. While divisions were present within certain social spheres — such as the political — individuals could come together under other social contexts of identification and relationship. For example, someone identified with the communist party could be related to a pro-coup military officer through family connections; people previously involved in left wing politics came together with dictatorship supporters in the workplace. By the same logic, people also encountered internal divisions within consenting political spheres. For instance, issues

¹⁸⁹ As previously discussed in chapter two, after a period of strong repression, the dictatorship evolved into a period with increased room for expression in the 1980s. 1983 saw the first public protest against Pinochet's government.

arising from gender and sexuality inequalities were found within political organisations.¹⁹⁰

Thomas Turino (2008) has framed what I have called ‘social spheres’ or ‘spheres of identification’ as *cultural cohorts* or *identity cohorts*. Mapping culture with the notion of cohorts is based on Turino’s discussion of the self, identity, and culture. Drawing from Peirce’s theory of semiotics, Turino employs the concept of *habit* as a primary unit of the self which is characterised by relative stability, but at the same time a unit which allows for dynamism and transformation. Turino describes habits as ‘a tendency toward the repetition of any particular behaviour, thought, or reaction in similar circumstances or in reaction to similar stimuli in the present and future, based on such repetitions in the past’ (p. 95) Based on the idea of habit, Turino emphasises a distinction between self and identity – terms that have generally tended to be used interchangeably or without a clear distinction.¹⁹¹ *Self* is therefore: ‘the physical body plus the *total* sets of habits specific to an individual that develop through the ongoing interchanges of the individual with her physical and social surrounding’ (p. 95). Conversely, identity comprises ‘a *partial* selection of habits and attributes used to represent oneself to oneself and to others by oneself and by others. The emphasis on certain habits and traits is relative to specific situations’ (ibid.). In other words, the self denotes the physicality of an individual and all the habits in

¹⁹⁰ Chilean writer Roberto Bolaños (2007 [2001]) expressed in his short story ‘*El Ojo Silva*’ how the dictatorship exiles thought about homosexuality (‘from the waist down’) just like the right wingers who governed Chile at the time of the dictatorship (page 12). Similarly, a field informant told me how, during the political school movement meetings, the themes of family violence or gender inequality within the party were contested topics of discussion.

¹⁹¹ See (DeNora 2000) as an example.

which the individual incurs, whereas identity emphasises only a selected range of habits of the self.

Individuals are made up of a wide ‘constellation of habits’ (p. 101). As an example, and following Turino’s illustration methods (2008), these are some of the habits which made up Eduardo’s self: he was a man, a Chilean, a *Talquino*,¹⁹² a Spanish speaker, a Catholic, a student, a political activist, a party organiser, a dancer, a television watcher, a Christian Democrat, a choir singer, a walker, a brother, and so forth. Habit categories can be more specifically described: (he was also) a secondary school student, a university student, a political activist against the dictatorship, a school party organiser, etcetera.

For Turino, cultural experiences are based on people sharing the same or similar habits. Since habits evolve from similar or shared experiences, which are enabled within a common or similar context, the idea of a ‘single unified culture’ becomes flawed (p. 110). Hence, Turino proposes a more flexible mapping of the ‘cultural realm’ (p. 111). For that purpose he chooses the terms ‘cultural cohort’ or ‘identity cohort’ to refer to ‘social groupings that form along the lines of specific constellations of shared habit based in similarities of *parts* of the self’ (p. 111). Identity and cultural cohorts can form around a number of different combinations of parts of the self.

In Chile, shared political stances provided prominent bases for the formation of cultural cohorts. Within political identity cohorts, cultural phenomena developed around musical practices. In what follows, I will discuss the circuit of *peñas* as a

¹⁹² *Talquino*: from Talca.

cultural cohort in which music was central to the identity of the group. However, people belong to a range of identity cohorts. Different identity cohorts will bring individuals together, or draw them apart. Therefore, people who belonged to different political identity cohorts could come together under other identity cohorts. For the purpose of my research, I will focus on those cohorts in which music was an important component. By looking at Maria Jose's father's musical parties, and music within Catholic Church rites, I will discuss how music also acted as a facilitator of spaces in which people with different political identities participated together.

Music as a definer of political spaces

The extent to which political divisions shaped musical practices in daily life, and the relationship of individuals to music, was certainly influenced by the level of importance and priority placed on the political identity by the individual. For Eduardo, identifying with the opposition and being active in the expression of such dissent was highly important. For him, music had to serve a purpose in his political orientation. In his own description, he was a 'political animal', and therefore music had to be in line with his political habit.

At first glance, and when talking about his engagement with music during the dictatorship years, Eduardo selected particular habits to confirm his own version of *his* identity at the time. Answering general questions about the presence, and his use, of music during his childhood and youth, his accounts placed an emphasis on the political and his connection with a counter-official identity cohort. When asked about his musical memories he soon drew attention to his political engagement. When he

gained awareness of his political inclination, he consequently began to gain exposure to a variety of music which he referred to as protest music: *Nueva Canción Chilena*, Cuban *trova*, and other music which was disseminated through home-taped cassettes.

‘In the case of provincial life, in the specific case of Talca, the way we had to get [music], one was through lending it to each other, and another was that, a kind of parallel culture began to emerge, and that parallel culture began to occur in musical gatherings, small hidden gatherings called *peñas*, and these *peñas*... we would get together to listen to this music, to drink hot wine, *navegado*, *Glüh Wein*, and so a sort of counterculture began to form’¹⁹³

Eduardo¹⁹⁴

During the dictatorship, *peñas* were perceived as a space of counter-official political identification. To date, the work of Gabriela Bravo and Cristián González (Bravo & González 2009) is the only existing in-depth research on *peñas* during the military government. Based on the accounts of over a hundred participants active in Santiago’s *peña* circuit during the military regime, Bravo and González exposed a cultural practice clearly defined by its dissidence, and in which music played a central role. The following section draws considerably on their work.

Peñas are social gatherings in which people listen attentively to live music – mostly in the form of a singer self-accompanied on a guitar, but also as music groups. Throughout the period in discussion, these musical events were held in austere venues

¹⁹³ *Navegado* and *Glüh Wein* refer to mulled wine.

¹⁹⁴ Original in Spanish: ‘En el caso de provincia, en el caso de Talca específicamente, la forma que teníamos de llegar, una era a través de prestarnos eso, y otra que era que fue surgiendo una especie de cultura paralela, y esa cultura paralela se fue dando en pequeños encuentros de música, pequeños encuentros a escondidas que se llamaban *peñas*, y estas *peñas*... nos juntábamos a escuchar esta música, a tomar un vino caliente, un *navegado*, un *Glüh Wein*, y ahí fue naciendo como una contracultura’.

with simple decoration. During the performance, the audience sat in silence and the focus was centred on the performer (Pedro Aceituno in Bravo and González 2009: pp. 27-28). Tito Fernandez described the concept of *peña* as a gathering to listen to the *cantor popular*, where the *cantor* did not have to sing their most well known songs.¹⁹⁵ Rather, attention was placed on watching an artist perform (in Bravo & González 2009: p. 29). Food was rarely sold in *peñas* as it disrupted the performance of the musicians. The centrality of the performance is not surprising when it is considered that these social gatherings were mostly run by musicians themselves.

The first *peña* was established in 1964 by the Parra siblings as a space for the performance of *Nueva Canción* and Chilean folk music.¹⁹⁶ Shortly after this, more *peñas* began to spring up around Chile – both regular ones in set venues (*establecidas*), and more informal ones which formed on causal occasions at universities, unions, and in working class neighbourhoods.¹⁹⁷ With the increasing

¹⁹⁵ *Cantor popular*: *Cantor* can be defined as ‘one who sings’. However, the word ‘singer’ can also be translated as *cantante*. The semantic distinction between *cantor* and *cantante* was important within the identity cohort emerged through *peñas*. Bravo and González (2009: 151) note: ‘It was neither casual that the artists who interpreted music in the *peñas* wanted to be called “cantores” and not *cantantes*, because the latter term is associated with the commercial industry. The *cantor*, then, was linked to the “popular craft of singing and transmitting the musical tradition of a people or community [...] In this way the *canto popular* is not the property of anyone in particular and it cannot, therefore, be sold like any other commodity in the market”’ (Internal quote: Tito Fernandez).

Original in Spanish: ‘Tampoco fue casual que los artistas que interpretaban música en las *peñas* se hicieran llamar “cantores” y no *cantantes*, debido a que este último término está asociado con la industria comercial. El *cantor*, pues, se vincula con el “oficio popular de cantar y transmitir la tradición musical de un pueblo o comunidad (...) De este modo el *canto popular* no es propiedad de nadie en particular y no se puede, por lo tanto, vender como cualquier otra mercancía en el Mercado”’.

¹⁹⁶ The Parra siblings are Angel and Isabel Parra, children of Violeta Parra.

¹⁹⁷ Prominent established *peñas* pre 1973: *Peña de los Parra*, *Peña Chile Ríe y Canta*, *Peña Chilena*.

closeness of *Nueva Canción* musicians to the *Unidad Popular* coalition, *peñas* acquired a political connotation. When the *Unidad Popular* government came to power, *Nueva Canción* musicians began performing on bigger stages, supporting official acts (Jorge Montealegre in Bravo & González 2009: p. 30), and accordingly the more casual *peñas* went into a sharp decline. After the military coup, most *peñas establecidas* were forced to close as a result of the persecution faced by *Unidad Popular* supporters. However, *peñas* proliferated once more,¹⁹⁸ some becoming bastions of political resistance.

Peñas were central to the preservation of *Nueva Canción* music during the dictatorship in Chile. Especially during the first years, singers performed many *Nueva Canción* songs as a way of maintaining them in social memory. Newer generations of Chileans accessed the music of *Nueva Canción* through the singers that stayed in Chile to perform these songs (Bravo & González 2009: p. 123). *Peña* staff sometimes travelled abroad to watch *Nueva Canción* performances, record them on video, and air them at the *peña* (p. 158).

Bravo and González' study (2009) focused on established *peñas*, within which they distinguished those with political commitment, 'white' *peñas*, and *peñas* with no political commitment.¹⁹⁹ Their work concentrates mainly on those *peñas* with political commitment, and to a lesser extent on 'white' *peñas*. The main reasons for the

¹⁹⁸ *Peñas establecidas* can be found a year after the coup such as El Aysenino Porfiado (González and Bravo 2009: p. 60). The *peña* El Aysenino Porfiado was not a place of resistance but rather a stage for the performance of folk music. The repertoire did not contain songs deemed political.

¹⁹⁹ 'White' *Peñas* refer to those which, in order to secure their continuity, excluded overtly political music from the repertoire – even when the organisers belonged to a leftist party. *Peñas* with political commitment: *Doña Javiera*, *La Fragua*, *La Parra*, *Kamarundi*, *La Casona de San Isidro*, *La Casa del Cantor*, and *El Yugo*.

formation of such venue-events reside in a combination of the following factors: [1] to generate work and income for musicians and those involved in the running of the *peña*,²⁰⁰ [2] to create places to meet others and express a particular sentiment, and [3] to facilitate political spaces (p. 82). In addition, most of those who created *peñas* belonged or had belonged to some kind of political community or party. In this particular respect, *peñas* were mainly organised by communists, and members of MAPU (p. 83 and p. 93).^{201 202}

In order for an established *peña* to operate, the organisers had to seek permission from the city council. Control over permits was a way to press *peñas* into voluntary recess (p. 98). However, some *peñas* worked without a license. In the case of ‘white’ *peñas*, obtaining a license to operate was easier because serving food enabled them to apply for a restaurant permit. However, for *peñas* with a political commitment the situation was more difficult. Therefore, most politically committed *peñas* held no license and worked clandestinely.²⁰³

Once a permit to operate was granted however, *peñas* were still vulnerable to harassment. For example, they could receive dubious inspection visits from, for example, armed groups of men claiming to come on behalf of the ‘alcohol brigade’. As reported by *Las Ultimas Noticias*, a bomb was put in *peña Casona de San Isidro* on

²⁰⁰ Musicians were expected to engage not only in musical performance but also in preparation and cleaning before and after the event (p. 150).

²⁰¹ MAPU stands for *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* [Movement of Unitary Popular Action] (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria). It was a leftist political party which emerged as the segregation of a group which belonged to the Christian Democrats.

²⁰² According to the study, there were no socialist established *peñas* (p. 93).

²⁰³ Examples: *Peña La Fragua*, *Peña La Parra* (p. 98).

1 Feb 1981, which destroyed the entrance to the venue. In addition, certain *peñas* were raided and people involved in their organisation arrested. However, as noted by Bravo and González (2009), most of the arrests were connected to the individual's actual political activity and not to their cultural practice (p. 107).

Despite the vulnerable context, Bravo and González note that many of the artists involved in this cultural practice were not fully aware of the dangers they could face by engaging in dissident activities (p. 103). Since many were not conscious of the extent of the consequences such an activity could carry, some believed that resistance was not brave, but rather romanticised and naive (Joaquín Eyzaguirre in Bravo and González 2009: p. 103). It was only *after* the dictatorship that many realised the extent of the atrocities executed by the dictatorship's intelligence services (Alejandro Hermosilla in *ibid.*).

Despite politically committed *peñas* being places which brought together people from similar political identity cohorts, the context of surveillance and control also enabled the participation of people who opposed and/or were critical of left wing politics. Particularly, the presence of *sapos* – intelligence spies – was commonplace.²⁰⁴ Most of the time these agents were easily identifiable for *peña* staff and audience, and a number of tricks were developed to divert their attention. At times *sapos* also joined as performers.

²⁰⁴ In its literal meaning, *sapo* means frog in Spanish. Currently, *sapo* is used as a slang to refer to someone who stares intrusively or who is nosy.

‘On those occasions they would take away the guitar from the performer who had just been singing and the “*sapos*” would begin to sing. I remember their favourite song was ‘*Arriba en la Cordillera*’, and there was a lieutenant who was already well known, and he would sing it and the audience would almost clap. And the other guys, drunken, shouted “*Right, now all you bastards shut up: my lieutenant is going to sing!*”’²⁰⁵

Freddy Torrealba from *peña Kamarundi* (Bravo and González 2009: p. 111)

The presence of secret agents within the *peña* was mostly intimidating and uncomfortable. However, Claudio Escobar (p. 115) recalled an interesting exception. Beto Velozo, a secret police agent, became so involved within *peña Kamarundi* that he ended up developing an affection for the *peña*’s organisers and musicians. According to Escobar, Beto Velozo was a talented singer who became good friends with the main organiser of the *peña*. Escobar himself used to go to parties with Velozo. If anyone questioned them, Velozo would flash his Armed Forces Identity Card (TIFA) so they could continue their journey without further problems.

With music at the centre of their organisation, *peñas* enabled the expression of political sentiment by simple attendance. As claimed by Inés Llamabías, ‘the act of walking, entering, going and being there, was in itself a political act with a special connotation’ (in Bravo and González 2009: p. 87).²⁰⁶

Peñas were politically and artistically important, for they channelled oppressed political expression and also served as an incubator for *Canto Nuevo* acts. However,

²⁰⁵ Original in Spanish: ‘En esos tiempos le quitaban la guitarra al que estaba cantando y se ponían a cantar los “sapos”. Me acuerdo que la canción preferida de ellos era ‘*Arriba en la cordillera*’, y había un teniente que ya era conocido, la cantaba y el público casi lo aplaudía. Y los otros compadres, borrachos, gritaban: “Ya, se callan todos los güeones que va a cantar mi teniente”’.

²⁰⁶ Original in Spanish: ‘El hecho de caminar, entrar, ir y estar ahí, era en sí un acto político con una connotación especial’.

since *peñas* were incredibly marginal and small they did not pose an evident threat to the military authority. Despite their political affiliations, *peñas* were not political structures capable of organising a feasible method of overthrowing the dictatorship (René Figueroa in Bravo and González 2009: p. 186). From approximately 1983, *peñas* began to decay as the overall environment in Santiago changed. Musically, *Canto Nuevo* was in decay, giving way to rock and new wave. The economic crisis meant that television channels stopped inviting as many foreign acts as before, increasing the focus on local acts. In addition, the emergence of Cafés – venues with better facilities and greater commercial orientation – began to attract those musicians interested in developing their musical careers. All in all, by 1983 *peñas* were no longer the main alternative for oppositional musical performance and political dissent.

During the dictatorship, *peñas* were places in which music was a fundamental element of defining membership of a left-wing identity cohort. However, music during the dictatorship was also used within other identity cohorts that transcended political divisions.

Music as a facilitator of spaces which transcended political divisions

Music was also an important part of other identity cohorts which brought people from different and contrasting political inclinations together. For example, María José's father used to organise big musical parties at home during weekends. In these gatherings, individuals with dissimilar political views came together through musical practice and long held friendships. In addition, music has been fundamental to

Catholic events and rituals. During the dictatorship, the Catholic Church hosted people from different political cohorts.

María José's father had a passion for singing. At weekends people came around to the Paredes' house to socialise and enjoy time together. Key components of these gatherings were the extended musical sessions in which the father and his friends shared their love for musical performance. Guests used to bring instruments over and accompany the singing father, mainly on bolero and tango. In a time of political division and oppression, María José found it striking that friendship and the love for music remained above and beyond political divisions.

‘... it was very curious because he was very musical, and they were intimate friends, years of partying, from the 50s and all, but who had their secret lives. I mean, they carried on meeting but there was nothing else. It was known that everyone had a very clear political stance but the friendship prevailed.’²⁰⁷

María José

While political divisions were no obstacle to these gatherings, there were other elements of exclusion. Children were not invited to these musical parties. Furthermore, María José saw these events as an invasion of her house during an age in which she would have preferred to go out on a bicycle trip or spend the time with her parents in a different way.

Catholic practice was a prominent influence in the lives of many Chileans during the dictatorship. Songs were, and still are, an important element in Chilean

²⁰⁷ Original in Spanish ‘... era súper curioso porque muy músico, y eran íntimos amigos, carretes de años, de los años 50 y todo pero que tenían esas vidas secretas. O sea, se seguían juntando pero no había más. Se sabía que cada uno tenía una postura política súper clara pero la amistad prevaleció.’

Mass, in which the musical component can occupy, approximately, between ten and thirty percent depending on the church, rule, and target congregation.²⁰⁸

During the military government period, Eduardo, María José, and David went to Catholic schools. The case of Eduardo is worthy of attention because of the importance and prominence the political had in his formation of his own identity.

Violeta: And do you remember, while you were in primary education, the musical education?

Eduardo: Yes I had music... ehm let's see... I want to differentiate, right? Firstly, from external music I don't remember anything.

Violeta: Nothing.

Eduardo: Nothing.

Violeta: From that time? Or all...

Eduardo: From that time... from that time I don't have much memory the music I could have listened to on the radio. From third grade onwards I took part in choirs at a personal level, I took part in school choirs, I studied during primary and middle school in a Salesian school, so I was part of the choir, but it was all religious music and some operettas, or something like that; but always related to the point of view of the church.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ María José estimated that half of the Benedictine Mass in Chile is sung.

²⁰⁹ Original in Spanish:

Violeta: ¿Y recuerda dentro de su así etapa de educación primaria, la educación musical?

Eduardo: No.

Violeta: ¿Tenía música?

Eduardo: Sí yo tenía música... eh a ver... Quiero diferenciar ah? Primero de la música externa no me recuerdo de nada.

Violeta: De nada.

Eduardo: De nada.

Violeta: ¿En esa época? O toda...

Eduardo: En esa época..., en esa época de la música que podría haber escuchado en las radios en esa cosa no tengo mucha memoria de eso. Yo sí a partir de tercero básico integré coros a nivel personal, integré coros del colegio, estudié en un colegio

After this section of our conversation, Eduardo proceeded to talk about the music he did remember – protest music, and music associated with politics and resistance. In the case of Eduardo, for whom politics was such a fundamental habit of his identity at the time, it is interesting to note that the other musical habit he included within his childhood and adolescence identity reconstruction was that of church music. It is implied that Eduardo engaged in church musical practice with other children and teenagers who did not necessarily belong to his political identity cohort.

María José used to go to church with her father every week in Santiago. During the summer they went away on holiday to Papudo.²¹⁰ The church experience in the holiday town was drastically different to that of her local church in Santiago. In Papudo, María José recalled the ‘old-fashioned’ nuns and described the songs as horribly depressing. Instead, her local church in Santiago had a very dynamic family musical group with a singer who later formed part of a *Canto Nuevo* group.²¹¹

Going to church was a weekly activity for María José and her father. Church events, particularly the Mass, brought together people with different political views. Within the Catholic institution, the particular church in Santiago that María José attended was aligned with the church faction actively concerned with the defence of human rights abuses and protection and support for the victims and their relatives. It was in that church where María José had access to the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*

salesiano, entonces fui parte del coro, pero todo era música religiosa y algunas operetas o alguna cosa así, pero siempre desde el punto de vista de la iglesia.

²¹⁰ Papudo is a sea side town 175 km from Santiago.

²¹¹ The singer was Tati Pena from band *Ortiga*.

magazine, through which she gained initial awareness of the violence and crimes committed by the military in power. Despite the dissident inclination of the church, María José's father continued attending Mass with her daughter. As time went by, María José grew more and more convinced of her opposing stance while her father continued to support the military regime.

Even though politics was intrinsically embedded in certain spheres of the church, Rosa was emphatic in saying that she thought religion and politics should not mix. Rosa felt that nuns and priests should not get involved in political matters or express political ideas during Mass. According to her, the church she went to leaned towards the dissident fraction. Therefore, during the years of the dictatorship she hardly became involved with her local church beyond Mass attendance. In regard to her church-related musical memories, Rosa recalled with particular sentiment the songs of Mary's month. Outside church, Rosa helped prepare children for their first communion in a charity organisation called *Mi Casa*. In those activities she helped to set up shows with children for Christmas which included singing carols.

David attended a school run by Dutch priests and participated in all Catholic rites of passage. In school, he experienced a rather moderate fraction of the church. In David's view, while the priests did not exactly comply and support the regime, they did not get involved in any act of resistance. However, his affiliation to the church was to him rather formal and very empty. Despite going to a Catholic school from an early age, his experience of the church lead him into atheism. Even though the school

never had to go and march for the military, like public schools in the area did, the second verse of the national hymn had to be sung every Monday.²¹²

Music was an important part of certain events or circumstances which brought together people from different political identity cohorts. A musical gathering, in the case of María José's family, prioritised music and friendship over political divisions. In addition, the church and Mass were settings in which music was used for rites and celebrations. All participants, despite their particular political identifications, continued to be involved in the Catholic Church, which in itself embraced various sectors of political identification. This suggests that musical practices under the Chilean dictatorship were not fully dictated by the political. Instead, musical practices were shaped by the implications the political system had on daily life in combination with the specificities of a variety of identity cohorts.

Music and Association

Musical practices conceived as habit of the self (Turino 2008) are in constant use for the construction of identity and of people's 'psychological, physiological, and emotional states' (DeNora 2000: p. 47). In her work on music in daily life, DeNora identifies a series of music uses which create and sustain 'mood, memory, and

²¹² During the dictatorship the national hymn had to be sung with an extra verse. The verse referred to the soldiers of Chile and belonged to the complete lyrics which had been set to music to become Chile's national anthem (See Appendix). The addition of an extra verse to the national hymn was seen by the opposition as being imposed by the dictatorship. According to some informants, singing parts of the hymn at different volumes was used as an act of subversion. In other words, some people sang the added verse at a very (almost imperceptible) low volume, and emphasised the lines: *que o la tumba seras de los libres, o el asilo contra la opresión* [you will be the tomb of the free, or the shelter against oppression].

identity' (ibid.). Music is used to reach a particular state or mood, to concentrate, or to engage with the environment.

In what follows, I will focus on two music uses involved in the construction of identity and memory during the dictatorship. These uses have been recognised within DeNora's work (2000). Firstly, I will discuss how music is commonly used to remember people, mostly loved ones, romantic relationships, or those who have passed away. Secondly, I will present examples of music which, by being part of the context of a particular time through its presence, brings back memories and feelings linked to times of the past.

In spite of the open-ended interview method, where the conversation was allowed to flow in different ways, all the interviewees did at one point express how they related certain types of music or particular songs to loved ones or courtship. Below are quotes from the sections in which participants showed connections between, firstly, music and people and secondly, music and situations involving others.

MARÍA JOSÉ:

'Yes, let's see, it's just that there are many because for example for me *boleros* and *tangos* were very associated with my dad and his things with his friends, you get me, I mean, I could not tell you that I like them. They almost bored me because I already knew them all, I knew that... you know, I did not... Now, if you ask me, the relationship I have [to them] now is totally different because I have even caught myself liking them'²¹³

²¹³Original in Spanish: 'Sí, a ver es que son varias cosas porque por ejemplo para mí los boleros y los tangos eran súper asociados a mi papa en sus cuestiones con sus amigos, cachay [sic], o sea no, yo no te podría decir que me gustaran. Casi me aburrían porque ya me los sabía todos, sabía que, cachay [sic] no.. Ahora, si me preguntai [sic] la relación que tengo ahora es totalmente diferente porque hasta me he pillado que me gustan' María José p 23.

DAVID:

Violeta: For example, when we talk about love, did it have something to do with music? Did you have a song that would make you remember...

David: Yeah. And that is something very pretty perhaps about the period that I remember songs and I remember songs in English, I don't remember songs in Spanish.

Violeta: For example.

David: I mean, until I heard *Los Jaivas* in the year 1983, or until I went to see them live in 1983, which is another milestone, I more than anything had fun to music in English because it was the music of the radio. I mean, the girl I liked I associated with *Time* from this band called... ah I'll remember sometime soon but... *Adam Parsons Project*. That song was to me the girl I liked.²¹⁴

EDUARDO:

Violeta: And do you remember what was played in those parties?

Eduardo: A lot of music... Latin rock, and a lot of music, what we called at that moment, blue music, which was what was slow. A *lento* had to be included,²¹⁵ present in the music and in that case we listened to Air Supply or Journey or Queen or any other slow music. In the parties that was a very important moment. It was the party of connection with the partner, and therefore it was fixed. Today I have seen in some nightclubs that this slow music is the end of the party.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Violeta: Por ejemplo, cuando hablamos del amor, tenía algo que ver... había relación con la música? Tenías alguna canción que te hiciera recordar...

David: Sí poh [sic]. Y eso es algo súper bonito a lo mejor de la época que me acuerdo de canciones y me acuerdo de canciones en inglés, no me acuerdo de canciones en castellano.

Violeta: Por ejemplo.

David: O sea, hasta que yo escuché a Los Jaivas el año 83, o hasta que los fui a ver en vivo el 83, que es otro hito más, yo más que nada vacilaba música en inglés porque era la música de la radio. O sea, la niña que me gustaba yo la asociaba con *Time* de este grupo que se llama... ay ya me voy a acordar en algún momento pero... *Adam Parsons Project*. Esa canción era para mí la niña que me gustaba, cachay [sic]?

²¹⁵ *Lento* is the word for music to dance to in a close embrace at parties.

²¹⁶ Violeta: Y recuerda qué se tocaba en esas fiestas?

Eduardo: Mucha música... rock latino, y mucha música, lo que nosotros le llamábamos en ese momento, música *blue*, que era lo lento. Un lento tenía que estar

ROSA:

Oh María madre mía [...] it's just that I... that song for me is a thing that fills me with emotion because my mother, my mom used to sing it before she died, so like... it left me something... and it is beautiful... I try to, when they sing it, leave the place. I feel like... it brings me down... it makes me nostalgic. But... no, there are very beautiful songs.²¹⁷

When remembering the use and place of music in their daily lives during the dictatorship, participants engaged in the association of particular types of music or specific songs to people central to their lives. These associations belonged to the private sphere and were re-enacted beyond the duration of the military period. For María José, *boleros* and *tangos* were reminiscent of her father, while Rosa prefers to avoid a church song which reminds her of her late mother. Eduardo and David associated music and particular songs to courtship. For David, there was a song that represented a girl he liked. Most likely, listening to the song *Time* would have an implicit link to that moment of youth romance. For Eduardo, Latin Rock from the 1980s and slow Anglo-rock songs connected him to school parties and the romance involved.

A further theme that recurred across interviews was how musical memories were associated with generational sentiments. In other words, thinking about the music that participants were exposed to at the time of the dictatorship was linked to

dentro presente en la música y en ese caso escuchábamos, Air Supply o Journey o Queen pero la música lenta que tuviera. En las fiesta ese era un momento super importante.[...] Era la fiesta de conexión con la pareja, y por lo tanto estaba armado. Hoy día yo he visto en algunas discos que esta música lenta es el fin de la fiesta.

²¹⁷ Rosa: *Oh maría madre mía* [...] es que a mí me... esa canción para mi es una cosa que me emociona mucho porque mi madre antes de morir, mi mama la cantaba, entonces como que a mí me dejó...y es lindo... trato de que cuando la cantan, salir de ahí. Me da pero... me bajonea... me da nostalgia. Pero... no, hay canciones bien bonitas.

memories of a particular period in their lives. For most it was their adolescence and youth; school and university. The period of youth was usually associated with love, dance, and socialising.

David connected what in Chile was musically known as *new wave* to his University years. At the time, a number of bands used to play at student parties and clubs that he frequented. Bands like *UPA!* or *Compañero de Viaje* were perceived by him as typical of a generation that felt distinctly different to the previous one. Although certain bands played genres other than *new wave*, there was a sense of generation attached to the sounds which had had their heyday in previous years. For example, David referred to *Congreso*, a band he went to see live, as an ‘older, somewhat hippy group’.²¹⁸ Although *Congreso* was actively gigging and producing music while David was at university, the band was perceived by him as belonging to a different and older generation.

David’s university life was also exposed to a lot of foreign music performed in English which he associated to a generational sentiment.

‘Because at that time I was already starting to listen to The Cure, and to The Smiths which were two powerful bands in my life and which are also generational bands. Above all The Cure at that time.’²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Original in Spanish: ‘un grupo anterior un poco más Viejo y más hippy’.

²¹⁹ Original in Spanish: ‘Porque en ese tiempo yo ya empezaba a escuchar a The Cure, y a The Smiths que fueron dos grupos impactantes en mi vida y también son grupos generacionales. Sobre todo The Cure en ese tiempo.’

There is a sense that people develop an emotional attachment to the music that was in fashion in their environment when they were in their late teens and early twenties. Therefore, in the present day, shared sentiments in regard to music are to be found amongst certain people within similar-age groups. Experiences of the dictatorship at different periods of a person's life will influence the way people can feel in regard to the different genres that occupied the musical map throughout time. During my field work I attended the launch of Patricia Díaz-Inostroza's book on *Canto Nuevo* (2007). The launch was hosted by *Pirincho Cárcamo*, a radio DJ and former host of *Hecho en Chile* – a programme which was fundamental to the rise and dissemination of *Canto Nuevo* in the media at the start of the 1980s. The launch included the performance of five *Canto Nuevo* acts. It is interesting to note that most of the audience was in their fifties, and a small fraction in their teens – presumably the children of other audience members. Furthermore, one of the speakers of the event just assumed that the younger members of the audience had attended just to accompany their parents. My companion and I were two of only handful of people in their twenties – within an audience of approximately 200 people – who had attended the launch out of interest. My interview with David took place days after the book launch. Knowing I had attended, and when discussing generational music he said:

‘Unlike the people who went to that book launch, who are guys very romantically linked with *Canto Nuevo* because they are slightly older, the guys my age hated *Canto Nuevo* when *Los Prisioneros* came out because just at that time they started to listen to music in a more consistent manner’.²²⁰

²²⁰ Original in Spanish: ‘A diferencia de la gente que fue a ese lanzamiento del libro, que son weones [sic] muy vinculados románticamente con el canto Nuevo porque son un poco mayores, los weones de mi edad odiaron el canto Nuevo cuando salieron Los

María José also linked certain bands to particular age groups. For her, *The Commodores* orchestrated her romantic relationships between 1976 and 1978; her slow and embraced dances, and her first night-parties. She associated *Creedence Clearwater Revival* with crazy dancing and partying. However, Jimmy Hendrix was associated with the craziness of what she referred to as the ‘generation above’, particularly her cousins who were six years older than her.

As mentioned before, when asked about his musical memories, Eduardo noted that he had very little recollection of the music in his early childhood years. After third grade he remembered his activities in the school choir and religious music. During high-school, he began to adopt a strong political stance, which in turn meant that his musical taste began to be strongly influenced by his politicised identity. During the interview, his initial instinct was to construct his identity through politics, but further questions into his daily activities revealed that there was another side to his life during the dictatorship, which gravitated around school parties and courtship. Interestingly, the music in question was mainly in English. Additionally, we talked about the soaps on TV. He said he would remember some of the theme tunes in the soap operas if I played them to him.

Violeta: And what sentiments could that evoke?

Eduardo: A bit of nostalgia.

Violeta: Nostalgia?

Prisioneros porque fueron justo en ese momento, en que empezaron a escuchar música como de manera más consistente’.

Eduardo: Sure nostalgia, in a sense like experiencing again what it is to be an adolescent or a child.

Violeta: That means that adolescence or that nostalgic sentiment was not repressed by the [political] situation?

Eduardo: No, not at all, not at all because still, one lived.... Still... Pedro Nile, a teacher of mine said, we must think that the dictatorship was not... with all its bad things... it also had good things in a sense. Every system... not consciously [sic]... but we did live too, we were happy, we also loved within the dictatorship, we did live other instances and that should not be forgotten.²²¹

By the time of the coup, Rosa was already married and her daughter had been born. Therefore, there was less about youth, romance, and courtship in our conversation. During our interview, however, I asked her if there was a song or piece of music which she particularly remembered during that time.

Rosa: Ahh that song by *Bigote Arrocet*, I am free [sic].

Violeta: Yes, what did you feel?

Rosa: Ehm, a thing, a sensation like they tell you... ehm... to be free again like we have been all our lives. That no one should impose anything on you.

Violeta: And that's the way you felt in...

Rosa: That was felt, not just by me.

²²¹ Original in Spanish:

Violeta: Y qué sentimientos podría evocar eso?

Eduardo: Más bien nostalgia.

Violeta: Nostalgia

Eduardo: Nostalgia claro, en un sentido de cómo vivenciar nuevamente lo que puede ser adolescente o ser niño.

Violeta: o sea que la adolescencia o ese sentimiento nostálgico no se ve reprimido por la situación?

Eduardo: No, para nada, para nada porque igual uno vivió.... Igual se... Pedro Nilo un profesor mío decía, hay que pensar que la dictadura tampoco fue dentro de todo lo malo, tuvo cosas buenas en ese sentido. Todo sistema, no conscientemente, pero nosotros también vivimos, también fuimos felices, también amamos dentro de la dictadura, también vivimos otras instancias y eso no hay que olvidarlo.

Violeta: Well, a lot of people sure.

Rosa: A lot of people... Perhaps also the people from the left also [sic] might have felt a little too. Because perhaps many people also didn't agree with many things.²²²

Rosa connected *Libre* with what she perceived as the sentiment of a time. As discussed above in this chapter, *Libre* can be described as the centre of a *symbolic musical memory* which is remembered in public discourses, but which also forms part of the personal memory of those who experienced life around the military *coup* and subsequent dictatorship.

Conclusion

Music use and meaning during the dictatorship is remembered and reconstructed in a variety of ways. In this chapter, I have looked at its meaning in the wider social context by a reading of three symbolic musical events, and on a more personal level through the accounts of four individuals in regard to their experience of music and the military period in Chile.

The meaning of symbolic events has been reiterated in newspapers and documentaries. However, looking further into connections between these symbolic

²²² Rosa: Ahh esa la canción de Bigote Arrocet pues, soy libre.

Violeta: Sí, qué sintió?

Rosa: Ese, una cosa, una sensación como que te dicen... ehm... volver que tu eres libre como hemos sido toda la vida. Que nadie te tiene que imponer nada.

Violeta: Y así se sintió usted en...

Rosa: Eso se sintió, no solamente yo.

Violeta: Bueno, mucha gente claro.

Rosa: Mucha gente... yo a lo mejor que también la gente de izquierda también [sic] se puede haber sentido un poquito también. Porque a lo mejor muchas personas tampoco estaban de acuerdo de muchas cosas.

events and memories of daily life renders the meaning complex. Some musical meanings are still contested, such as in the case of *Libre*. For some, like Rosa, the song still holds the sentiment of freedom from the socialist government lead by Salvador Allende. However, others link it to the end of the dictatorship. For example, the person commenting on an internet blog narrating how she had used *Libre* to celebrate the 1988 referendum result (Paulina 2006).

Identification with political identity cohorts was a prominent element of identity during the dictatorship. However, people also engaged in other identity cohorts in which they came together with people of contrasting political ideas. At times, music acted in spaces with clearly defined political stances. At other times, music was a fundamental part of spaces that enabled occurrences which transcended political divisions. Furthermore, even someone for whom the political was predominant in their identity formation placed importance on party music and slow music as a frame to courtship.

In certain instances, music served as a practice which defined or reinforced particular political divisions. For example, social musical gatherings in the form of *peñas* were largely perceived as spaces which allowed expression outside of and opposed to official culture. However, a broader mapping of the use and presence of music in everyday life during the dictatorship takes us beyond the conventions of defined ideological musical territories into an array of multiple ideological genre connections. Accordingly, connections between genre and ideology were sometimes pronounced, sometimes neutral, and sometimes ambiguous.

As discussed in chapter two, Chileans remember and make sense of their dictatorial past in different and, at times, contrasting ways (Stern 2004, 2006). The

way music and musical practices are initially remembered in the oral narration of past events, as well as the formation of personal discourses on music and identity, is to an extent influenced by how people perceive and attribute meaning to the dictatorship's past. However, when remembering musical practices, participants touched upon various aspects of private life with no immediate relationship to the specificities of the dictatorial political system. During interviews, participants engaged in constant reconstructions of their past and present identity through the narration of their life experiences and music uses during the dictatorship period. Interestingly, the type of issues addressed by participants finds resemblance in DeNora's research on the use of music in daily life (2000), particularly her discussion on the role of private music consumption in an individual's 'self-generation of social agency' (p. 47). A closer examination of people's accounts on past experiences reveals that the use and presence of music in daily life during the dictatorship was not at all times clearly linked to political stances or to the meaning attributed to the dictatorship years. Therefore, under a dictatorial political system music was not necessarily framed by politics, even when an individual was highly politically active.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has used an interdisciplinary approach to examine popular music practices during the 1973 – 1990 military dictatorship in Chile. Its main aim has been to analyse popular music during Chile's authoritarian past by looking at a wide range of musical forms, processes, actors, and organisations. By doing so, the thesis has provided evidence to support the idea that the development of musical practices under non-democratic political systems transcends the binary of control and dissent. In other words, music and musical practices under a dictatorship do not only represent an act of manipulation or a way of expressing discontent. Under a non-democratic political system, the categories of control and dissent exist in a wider and more complex map of fluid elements and relationships which in turn interact within an environment of contextual specificities. Therefore, the relationship between musical practices and a non-democratic political system needs to be understood in light of the specificities of context within which this relationship unfolds.

As suggested in chapter one, when considering musical activity under a non-democratic system, there has been a tendency to focus on situations, genres, movements, and trends involving music through which the government wishes to exert control; or music which is used to express an overt, metaphoric, or empowering sense of dissent (Street 1986, Negus 1997, Ryback 1990). Such focus, if not complemented with a wider approach to musical practices, can lead to a binary perception which suggests that under non-democratic systems, music and its related activities tend to be mainly state-originated and official or part of a resisting struggle. Musical events under non-democracies are usually more intricate than the control-dissent binary is able to illustrate.

Furthermore, when studying countries in non-democratic periods, I have suggested that the use of the term *state* should be reconsidered in favour of the term *political system*. As a form of social organisation, the state can be subject to a number of types of political organisation. In other words, the state can experience changes in the political system without significantly altering the social organisation of a nation. Consequently, this thesis aimed at studying popular music practices under a bureaucratic authoritarian system (See O'Donnell c1979.), which was implemented onto a context of existing factors such as the nation-state, economy, technological developments, international music industries, existing musical traditions, and so forth.

The main objectives of the military takeover were consolidated shortly after the coup: to eradicate Marxist ideology, control social unrest, and restore the economy. With some particular exceptions, the military was not characterised by attributing significant importance to artistic expression. Music was seen as entertainment and was not prioritised within government policy. However, music was affected by the authoritarian regulations imposed by the government. Nueva Canción musicians who had supported the former *Unidad Popular* government were persecuted, arrested, and even murdered. Many of the main representatives of Nueva Canción, who had visibly collaborated with Allende's government, had to continue their musical activity in exile. In addition, musical practices were significantly affected by the constraints imposed on civil liberties. The curfew put an end to nightlife and restrictions on gatherings affected musical rehearsal and social congregation. Furthermore, the neoliberal economic policy – devised by a particular group of technocrats – enabled significant changes in the music industry. As a result of a considerable rise in foreign imports, there was an increased inflow of foreign music. The price of electronic goods decreased, making music technology more

accessible. Bands had a wider and more competitive range of musical instruments to choose from, and music venues had better opportunities to improve their PA systems. However, changes in taxation and a notorious reduction of domestic music production had a negative effect on the activity of national music makers. Music shows were subject to a 22% tax charge and securing a record deal became more competitive.

The years when Pinochet was in power evolved under changing circumstances. While the seventies were characterised by harsher repression, longer curfews, and the reduction of public leisure and cultural activities, during the eighties a different scenario unfolded. The 1980s saw the institutionalisation of the regime in 1980, a slight political liberalisation, and in 1983, the first public strikes.

During the dictatorship, many types of music – which had continuously developed for years – existed in a wide range of genres and styles. In terms of Chilean music, certain genres had particular, long-held relationships to the notion of national identity. The military regime did not significantly affect the relationship between musical genres and notions of national identity. Instead, it altered the configuration of official discourses on what should be regarded as national music. During the socialist *Unidad Popular* government, official discourses had encouraged the association of *Nueva Canción* with notions of desired national identity. Conversely, because of its connection with the socialist government, this type of music was relegated and excluded during the dictatorship. Instead, authoritarian official discourses favoured traditional *música típica* as a signifier of “Chilean-ness”.

Under the authoritarian military rule, musical practices were not only affected by issues directly related to the political system. In addition to elements of repression and violence, music was influenced by the development of Chile’s domestic music

industries, as well as aspects related to recurrent academic discussions on popular music culture (Negus 1997, Frith, Goodwin 1990, Horner, Swiss 1999). Repression, violence, and the restriction to civil liberties impinged upon the environment within which musical practices unfolded. The music industries – whose structure had followed a long process of development – were shaped by changes in the economy and developments in technology. Despite the non-democratic context however, musical practices were still conceived, imagined, understood, and enabled within a common framework of popular music culture. Issues of taste, meaning, technology, creativity, arts versus commerce, amongst others, in interactions with the complexities dictated by the particularities of the political system, continued to shape the processes of musical practices.

The activity of musicians was influenced by factors which exceeded the particularities of the political system. Indeed, musicians were affected by issues of censorship and repression. Censorship was slippery and ambiguous, and contained a significant degree of self-censorship. Depending on their political perceptions however, musicians' experiences during the dictatorship varied. Music makers encountered significant difficulties earning a living solely from music, and therefore needed to engage in alternative activities to complement their income. In addition, musicians needed to deal with issues of access to technology, musical equipment, and music records. Key individuals were important in the career of music makers because they could provide a source of career progression. In spite of the authoritarian system, the relationship between genre and artistic conventions continued unaltered, and music makers displayed conventional patterns of behaviour and identity in regard to their work and music.

Music was used in the media for entertainment and commercial purposes. Technological changes, the lack of live and public entertainment, and significant public investment all combined to make television a central communication medium. Television offered considerable space for national artists in musical and night shows. On the one hand, most of the artists who were constantly on television at the time were not known to oppose the government. On the other hand, many artists who did oppose the government, including *Nueva Canción* artists, also appeared on television: Santiago del Nuevo Extremo, Florcita Motuda, Cecilia Echeñique, UPA, Fernando Ubierno, and Eduardo Gatti. The economic crisis of 1982 adversely affected television budgets, providing more opportunities for national musicians. Music also began to be used in areas of television which became more prominent, such as advertising and soaps. The '80s also saw the birth of magazines such as *La Bicicleta*, *Hoy*, *Apsi*, *El Cauce*, and others which voiced counter-official ideas. The written press covered music as part of the entertainment sections and there was a tendency to cover foreign in preference to national artists. The decrease in technology prices gave rise to a proliferation of radio stations. There was more programming time available, however, it was filled with foreign music as a result of a decrease in national music production.

Popular music practices at the time of the dictatorship are still remembered by those people who lived in Chile during the period. The use and meaning of music is remembered collectively and individually in different ways. Certain mass mediated musical events are symbolically tied to memories of Chile's authoritarian past. For individuals however, the memory and meaning of symbolic musical events vary according to personal circumstances. In private life, musical memories are not always politically charged, but instead remembered in relation to a variety of factors. At times, music is remembered as characteristic of spaces which held defined political

stances. However, there were other instances in which music could also bring together people from differing political perceptions. Within the private sphere, musical memories are associated to personal identity, important relationships in life, courtship, and generation, amongst others.

Limitations and Further Research

This thesis has intended to open a debate regarding the approach used to understanding musical practices under non-democracies. In order to illustrate this approach, I attempted to look beyond the focus on control and dissent by concentrating on a wider range of issues. However, approaching the study of musical practices during the dictatorship using a broad perspective is constrained by the impossibility of analysing any aspect of musical practice in greater depth. Due to the subject's breadth it was necessary to prioritise certain sources and geographical regions over others. Using interviews and secondary literature as the main sources for this study has undoubtedly led to the omission of other important elements. Furthermore, a concentration on examples and experiences of Chile's capital city, Santiago, and a notorious majority of male interviewees raises issues of centralisation and gender imbalance.

Working with the angle employed by De Kloet (2001, 2010), Baranovitch (2003), Drewett (2004) and Moore (2006), this thesis has looked at popular music under a non-democratic political system by focusing on the complexity and particularities of the context. In spite of its limitations, the present study can be regarded as an exploratory line of enquiry which could be enriched through further research. A closer and more consistent first-hand source analysis – in terms of written

press and audiovisual material²²³ – would help to achieve a depth of understanding of the mechanics of the media and the role of music within it. In addition, carrying out field research in Chile outside Santiago would contribute to an illuminating perspective of other specific sub-contexts within the dictatorship. Furthermore, the study of music use and patterns of consumption, taste, and identity formation during the dictatorship opens up a fascinating field of research. Adopting a broader approach to conceive musical practices under authoritarian systems and complementing it with a line of research such as Stern's frameworks of memory (Stern 2004, Stern 2006) could lead to great contributions in the study of popular music and memory. Finally, it would be advisable to engage in a comparative study of popular music under non-democratic regimes, integrating examples from different places and times in order to find and analyse similarities and differences.

²²³ Radio archives of the time are almost non-existent.

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APPENDIX ONE: PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

List of Personal Communication

1. Carlos Acevedo, drummer and leader of rock band Arena Movediza, 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
2. César Albornoz, Chilean popular music studies academic, 14th of May 2007 and 16th of April 2007, taped interview.
3. Patricia Intriago and Rafael Puentes, musicians, singer and guitarist of Conjunto Malibú - respectively, 26th of May 2007, taped interview.
4. Constanza Mujica, Chilean communication studies academic, 14th of May 2007, taped interview.
5. Cristian Antoine, Chilean cultural administration academic, 13th of June 2007, taped interview.
6. David Ponce, music journalist, 22nd of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
7. Drina Rendic, cultural administrator, June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
8. Eduardo Gatti, musician, singer-songwriter, composer, former member of band Los Blops, 3rd of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
9. Eduardo Peralta, musician, singer-songwriter, part of *Nueva Canción* movement, 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
10. Eduardo Sepulveda, secondary school teacher, 30th of March 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
11. Enrique Lopez, lawyer and academic Universidad de Desarrollo, 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
12. Fernando Ubierno, musician, singer-songwriter, 25th of April and 19th of June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
13. Guillermo Vera, former record label personnel (Victor, RCA, and others), former IFPI Chile director, 14th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
14. Iván Hernandez, radio and television presenter, 25th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
15. Jorge Leiva, film maker, 8th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
16. José Alfredo Fuentes, crooner and TV presenter, July 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.

17. José Cid Viernes, musician, music teacher, 22nd of June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
18. Juan Pablo González, Chilean popular music studies academic, 10th of April, 18th of April, 11th of May 2007,
19. Luis Le-Bert, musician, singer-songwriter, former member of band Santiago del Nuevo Extremo, part of *Canto Nuevo* movement, 11th of June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
20. Maria José Paredes, designer, 30th of May 2009, Liverpool, taped interview.
21. Mario Garcés, historian, 9th of April and 15th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
22. Marcelo Zúñiga, various roles in radio, radio programming director, 16th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
23. Oscar Contardo, journalist, 2nd of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
24. Pablo Corro, Chilean academic, 17th of April 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
25. Patricio Ovando, journalist, various roles in radio, television and newspapers, 20th of June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
26. Rosa Toledo Silva, unknown activity, 27th of May 2007
27. Santiago Schuster, lawyer, director of the Chilean Author's Rights Association, 19th of December 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
28. Sebastián Piga, musician, former member of UPA!, 2nd of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
29. Sergio 'Pirincho' Cárcamos, radio and television presenter, 23rd and 27th of May 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.
30. Valerio Fuenzalida, Chilean communication studies academic, 22nd of June 2007, Santiago de Chile, taped interview.

APPENDIX TWO: MUSIC FESTIVALS

The following is a short list of music festivals with a reference to their location and starting year. This information is based on references made on current websites about the number of versions each festival has run. In most cases, the festivals are named after locally harvested fruits, foods, or produce:

- Festival de la Sandía, Paine (1976) [Watermelon Festival in Paine]
- Festival de la Pera, El Soruco (1983) [Pear Festival in El Soruco]
- Festival del Trigo, Traiguén (1986) [Wheat Festival in Traiguén]
- Festival de la Miel, Santa Bárbara (1975) [Honey Festival, Santa Bárbara]
- Festival de la Camellia, Curepto (1984) [?? Festival, Curpeto]
- Festival de la Naranja, Villa Alegre (1985) [Orange Festival, Villa Alegre]
- Festival de la Leche, Máfil (1977) [Milk Festival, Máfil]
- Festival del Folclore de San Bernardo [Folklore Festival of San Bernardo]
- Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar
- Festival del Huaso de Olmué

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW LETTER SAMPLE



THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

Santiago, 19 de Julio de 2007

Estimado/a [nombre del entrevistado]:

A continuación usted participará en una entrevista que tiene por objeto conocer aspectos de su carrera musical, es especial durante las décadas del 70 7 80, siendo ésta fundamental para el desarrollo de mi investigación de doctorado en la Universidad de Liverpool.

Las preguntas que se le harán están relacionadas con su educación y/o experiencia laboral, sus actividades de distracción y ocio, además de las actividades y experiencias vividas en torno a la música durante el período antes mencionado, entre algunas otras.

Para ello es importante que usted sepa lo siguiente:

1. El propósito de esta entrevista es netamente **académico**.
2. Su participación es **voluntaria**.
3. Los antecedentes recolectados serán tratados de manera **confidencial** y **responsable**, de acuerdo al código de ética para la investigación de la Universidad de Liverpool. Esto significa, entre otras cosas, que:
 - a. **No serán compartidos ni entregados a nadie**, bajo ninguna circunstancia, sino que sólo serán usados por el investigador.
 - b. En la tesis, informe o cualquier otro documento que se produzca a partir de la información recolectada **sólo se incluirán los nombres de los participantes**, con la autorización de la persona entrevistada.

Se agradece de antemano su ayuda a la actividad académica nacional.

Violeta Mayer Lux
Candidata a Doctor
Universidad de Liverpool
Rut: 14.214.007-3



THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

SOLICITUD DE AUTORIZACION

Con el propósito de analizar cuidadosamente la entrevista que se llevará a cabo, quisiera solicitar su autorización para poder grabar la conversación.

Por favor, considere en su decisión que:

1. Poder reproducir nuestra conversación es **sumamente importante para mi trabajo**, dada la cantidad de información entregada en cada entrevista y el número de personas que tomará parte en el estudio.
2. Al igual que todos los entrevistados, la información que usted me proporcione será usada resguardando su **anonimato y confidencialidad**.

Por favor, hágame saber su respuesta.

Para resguardar su calidad de autor intelectual de las ideas y conceptos expresados durante la entrevista le pido por favor manifieste su preferencia con respecto a las citas o referencias a sus palabras que puedan suceder a futuro dentro de un contexto académico.

Por favor seleccione:

- 1.-Deseo ser citado o referenciado haciendo uso explícito de mi nombre.
- 2.-Deseo que se haga referencia o cita a esta entrevista conservando mi anonimato.

Nombre :

Fecha :

Firma :