

Performing Exile, Music and Politics:  
*El Sueño Existe* Festival in Wales and the Legacy of Víctor  
Jara

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines how diasporic, musical and political identities are performed, contested and reaffirmed in *El Sueño Existe*, a festival of Latin American music and politics that takes place every two years in Machynlleth, Wales. Set up in 2005, this festival commemorates the legacy of Chilean artist Víctor Jara and the movement 'New Chilean Song' of which he was a part. Victor Jara was a musician and theatre director who was killed a few days after the Chilean Military Coup in September 1973, and who since his death has become a symbol of international solidarity and the defence of human rights (McSherry 2015b). The methodology is based on a performance epistemology (Taylor 2003) and included my own participation in the festival as a member of the public, a member of the organisation, and a musician. In addition, I have conducted interviews with several festival-goers, focusing on their biographies, experiences and opinions of Victor Jara, New Chilean Song and the festival.

Based on discussions of cultural performance (Turner 1987; Taylor 2007), the sociology of music (Frith 1996b; DeNora 2000) and theory of performativity (Bell 1999; Fortier 1999), I suggest that the festival is a space that simultaneously acts to both suspend and to create normativity. I argue that *El Sueño Existe* festival is a liminal space for Chilean exiles, international musicians and political activists which ultimately works to reaffirm political, musical and diasporic identities, through the re-enactment of a set of repertoires that promote a sense of belonging and identification. The process of reaffirmation is not exclusively created by the means of breaking normativity in a symbolic domain; it is also constructed through the reproduction of hierarchies and discourses that create membership among the people who belong to the community.

# Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Preface</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>12</b>
1.1 Contextualising Víctor Jara, <i>El Sueño Existe</i> , and motivations for the research....	12
1.2 Theoretical framework: liminality, performativity and music performance.....	19
1.3 Research questions .....	22
1.4 Debates in cultural, migration, festival and music studies.....	23
1.5 Chapter outlines .....	27
<b>Chapter 2. Conceptual Framework</b> .....	<b>32</b>
2.1 Liminality, cultural performance and festivals .....	35
2.2 Music performance: music values, technologies of the self and communities....	43
2.3 Performativity as citationality and belonging .....	55
2.4 Conclusions: festival as space of belonging and critique .....	64
<b>Chapter 3. Methodology</b> .....	<b>69</b>
3.1 Performance as epistemology.....	70
3.2 My personal journey in the research .....	75
3.3 Performative ethnography and interviews .....	80
3.4 Reflexivity: My family history, music and politics .....	84
3.5 Cultural translation as methodological challenge .....	89
3.6 Conclusions .....	93
<b>Chapter 4. The Life, Death and Dream of Víctor Jara</b> .....	<b>95</b>
4.1 Víctor Jara's life.....	97
4.2 Víctor Jara's death .....	109
4.3 Víctor Jara's dream in Wales .....	117
4.4 Conclusions .....	130
<b>Chapter 5. Chilean Exiles and the Liminal Experience of the Festival</b> .....	<b>133</b>
5.1 Temporal liminality: revival and nostalgia.....	135
5.2 Social liminality: <i>Communitas and festive catharsis</i> .....	145
5.3 Political liminality: reinforcing ethos and ways of living .....	156
5.4 Conclusions .....	162
<b>Chapter 6. The music of Jara in everyday life</b> .....	<b>165</b>

6.1 Temporalities .....	166
6.2 Counterculture .....	176
6.3 Ethics.....	185
6.4 Conclusions .....	193
<b>Chapter 7. The Politics of the Festival.....</b>	<b>197</b>
7.1 The inclusion of politics in the festival .....	198
7.2 Politics as re-citation.....	200
7.3 Political repertoires and denunciation.....	210
7.4 Latin America as Geography of Political Hope .....	220
7.5 Conclusions.....	227
<b>Chapter 8. Conclusions .....</b>	<b>230</b>
8.1 Main findings .....	230
8.2 Salient aspects and implications of the theory.....	236
8.3 Suggestions for future knowledge/practice .....	255
8.4 Concluding remarks.....	258
<b>References .....</b>	<b>259</b>

## List of Figures

Figure 1. La Veleidosa performing at The Marquee, <i>El Sueño Existe</i> festival 2015 .....	79
Figure 2. Organisation meeting at Tony Corden's house. 29 Oct 2016.....	82
Figure 3. Promotion Víctor Jara event Machynlleth, 2001.....	119
Figure 4. The main places of the festival: Y Plas and The Marquee .....	128
Figure 5. Alejandro Reyes in cover album Cuncumén .....	137
Figure 6. Promotion 'A Chilean Night' by The Magic Lantern. 28 May 2016.....	143
Figure 7. Pedro Fuentes. Launch 'We Touched the Sky'. <i>El Sueño Existe</i> festival 2016.	160
Figure 8. Back cover of Cloud Cuckoo album, <i>Chile con Cymru</i> .....	178
Figure 9. Francisco Domínguez speaking at <i>El Sueño Existe</i> festival 2017.....	203
Figure 10. Performance 'El Pueblo Unido'. <i>El Sueño Existe</i> festival 2017.....	208
Figure 11. Painting by Stuart Hampton. Organisation Meeting 29 Oct 2016.....	238

## Preface

I am part of the second generation who lived through the Pinochet dictatorship. In this context, I define the 'second generation' as descendants of people who lived through state violence and cataclysmic events (Jara 2016: 12). My parents experienced trauma during the dictatorship due to their closeness to the Communist Party and to Marxist ideas. My father was a member of the Communist Youth during the Popular Unity. He went to the Technical University on the 11 September 1973, the day of the coup, to defend the government. Military forces took the university and besieged the students, academics, and staff. The military took my father to the Estadio Chile. He spent four days there until he was released, thanks to family contacts. He went into exile in Panama. Meanwhile, my mother experienced the trauma of dictatorship because her father, Sergio, was a member of the Communist Party. A couple of years after the coup, the military took Sergio from the house, but he was released after a few hours. My mother also experienced the disappearance of a neighbour in 1974.

My father returned to Chile in 1980, in the midst of the dictatorship. My parents met at the beginning of the 1980s, and I was born in 1986. My conscious life started in the post-dictatorship period, from the 1990s onwards. For instance, I do not have any memories of the 1988 referendum that ended with the Pinochet dictatorship. The only memory I have of this period was of the birth of my younger sister, Victoria - so named to celebrate the victory of the referendum. Despite the return to democracy, Chile continued with the legacy of the Pinochet dictatorship in different aspects of political, economic, and cultural life. As a child and teenager, I remember that it was rare to discuss the dictatorship in public. For instance, in my experience in schools, the theme of memory of the military regime was taboo at the curricular level. The use of the word 'dictatorship' was problematic since at an official level, the term 'military pronouncement' was still

in use. Meanwhile, the official media rarely referred openly to the theme of dictatorship.

Despite this public space of oblivion, I cultivated my interest in this period due to familial transmission of knowledge, and personal interest in the culture of pre-coup Chile. At family lunches and dinners there were political discussions related to the past and to the present. My father also invited me to political concerts in Estadio Nacional to listen to and see the artists of the New Chilean Song. Additionally, in my home there were books and music created by relevant artists of pre-coup Chile, such as Pablo Neruda and Víctor Jara. When I was around 15 or 16 years old, I listened consciously to the music of Víctor Jara, especially to the album 'Antología Musical'. I was amazed by the folk and political music performed by Jara and with sadness, I was interested in the terrible circumstances of his death. He was brutally killed a few days after the military coup and he became a symbol of the inhumaneness of the Pinochet regime. My father told me that he interacted with Víctor Jara when they were in the Technical University defending the Popular Unity. Thus, the history of the crime against Jara resonated with the personal history of my father.

It was during the process of me doing a PhD in the United Kingdom that I experienced the music and legacy of Víctor Jara in a very special event called *El Sueño Existe* (The dream lives on) festival in mid-Wales. It was special for me to know of this event so far away from Chile in which Jara was the main inspiration, a spiritual reference. My experience at the festival opened up my curiosity about the people who were part of it. People from different generations have attended the festival, but I was particularly interested in the generation of people who experienced both Popular Unity, and the first years of the military dictatorship, during their youth or early adulthood. Some of the participants are Chilean exiles who arrived in the UK in the 1970s. The main organisers are British with leftist and counterculture ideas. In addition, the festival is attended by fans of Víctor Jara, from different nationalities. In the festival, I experienced a continuity of the legacy of Víctor Jara, and by extension, of the New Chilean Song and the Popular Unity.

Following the theory of performance by Diana Taylor (2003), I defined the festival as a space for the transmission of knowledge and cultural memory. This thesis is seeking to understand how the legacy of Víctor Jara is performed, reimagined, and taken as inspiration to generate a sense of belonging, memory, and identity among the participants of the festival. Fuelled by my personal interest in Víctor Jara and the New Chilean Song, this thesis is concerned with understanding the experience of exile, and the music and politics that are performed in the *El Sueño Existe* festival in Wales.

## Chapter 1. Introduction

This introductory chapter will provide a general overview of the thesis. I will briefly explain who Víctor Jara was, what the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, is about, and my personal and intellectual motivations for studying this festival. I will introduce the main concepts and debates that will be developed in the thesis. Finally, this introduction will provide an outline of the chapters within the thesis.

### 1.1 Contextualising Víctor Jara, *El Sueño Existe*, and motivations for the research

This thesis will revolve around a Welsh festival inspired by Chilean artist, Víctor Jara. Jara (1932-1973) was a theatre director, musician and militant of the Communist Party, renowned in Chile and Latin America for his successful artistic trajectory, his participation in the New Chilean Song movement and his support of Salvador Allende's socialist government, *Unidad Popular* (1970-1973). Jara was killed a few days after the Chilean military coup, and his music was banned during the Pinochet military dictatorship (1973-1990). Due to the efforts of his British widow, Joan, alongside that of Chilean exiles and musicians all over the world, Jara became an icon for both socialist-oriented liberation movements, and organisations advocating to denunciate violations of human rights. The perpetrators of his crime faced legal prosecution as recently as in July 2018<sup>1</sup>, so Jara is also a relevant figure who has come to symbolise the impunity in Chile in relation to the crimes committed during the Pinochet dictatorship (McSherry 2015b).

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<sup>1</sup> In relation to the legal resolution in July 2018, see news (Radio Cooperativa Web 2018) and the public statement by Víctor Jara's family (Jara et al. 2018).

This thesis pays special attention to the sociological effects of the legacy of Víctor Jara. As research in sociology of arts illustrates (Heinich 1996), it is possible to analyse the life of artists in terms of their legacies and social effects. Instead of focusing on his music scores and artistic production, this thesis seeks an understanding of Víctor Jara as a figure who encourages a series of values and ethics that others follow and imitate in different ways. Taking into consideration the voices and performative practices of Chilean exiles, international musicians and political activists who participate in the festival, this thesis traces the influence and relevance of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, through the process of the generation of sense of belonging and memory in a transnational space. Víctor Jara, therefore, is not analysed as a national Chilean figure, but as a transnational one, who encourages a series of values and discourse such as anti-neoliberalism and anti-imperialism. This thesis also seeks to understand Víctor Jara in a political, historical and social context, taking into consideration his contribution to music and politics, especially in the development of the New Chilean Song movement and the government of Popular Unity (1970-1973).

Despite Víctor Jara's death some time ago, his legacy still resonates in contemporary media and political debates in Chile. For instance, in August 2017 the leader of the right-wing Chilean folk band, Los Huasos Quincheros, claimed that Víctor Jara was an ordinary singer with only three or four worthwhile songs, a statement that provoked a series of debates and reactions on social media<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile, Roberto Ampuero, the Chilean minister for Foreign Affairs of the recently elected right-wing government, claimed in December 2017, that Jara's song 'Las Casitas del Barrio Alto' (Little boxes) encourages racial discrimination against blond people. Ampuero cited this song in relation to the opinion of a communist member of parliament who said that Chilean right-wing parties addressed their electoral campaigns to blond people<sup>3</sup>. Chilean open television has screened reportage about Víctor Jara, focusing on his artistic trajectory and the

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<sup>2</sup> See statement on the news (Cooperativa.cl 2017).

<sup>3</sup> See Ampuero's statement on the news (El Mostrador Cultura 2017)

terrible circumstances of his death<sup>4</sup>. The documentary *El Derecho de Vivir en Paz* (Parot 2003) is probably the most complete documentary about Víctor Jara's life. Jara has also been featured in the international media. For instance, he was portrayed by Rolling Stone magazine as one of the fifteen rebels of rock & roll<sup>5</sup>. Apart from his media coverage, Jara has a notorious presence in public life because of several festivals he inspired. Furthermore, the stadium in Santiago where Jara was killed was renamed Estadio Víctor Jara, in 2003<sup>6</sup>.

This thesis is written approximately 50 years after Víctor Jara started his career as a solo musician, and also after a number of key political and cultural events in Latin America. The first L.P. album by Víctor Jara was published in 1966. The University Reform took place in 1967. The same year Chilean artist Violeta Parra committed suicide in her tent<sup>7</sup>, and Ernesto Che Guevara was killed in Bolivia. Despite the amount of time that has elapsed since these events, there has been significant academic interest in Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song. For instance, the book *Palimpsestos Sonoros* (Karmy and Farías 2014) contains several discussions and reflections on the New Chilean Song movement. As part of the celebration of Violeta Parra's birth centenary, there have been a broad series of discussions on Parra's work (Dillon 2017; Venegas 2017; Vilches 2018). Meanwhile, more recently, Patrice McSherry has written about Víctor Jara's legal case (2015b), music in exile (2016) and New Chilean Song in general (McSherry 2015a).

In the UK, Víctor Jara has been featured in academic debates relating to music and politics. British ethnomusicologist, Jan Fairley, who died in 2012<sup>8</sup>, researched

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<sup>4</sup> For instance see ' Víctor Jara' (Informe Especial 1998), 'Grandes Chilenos' (TVN 2008), 'Quién mató a Víctor Jara' (Informe Especial 1998), Interview to Joan Jara (Mentiras Verdaderas 2013) 'Los últimos días de Víctor Jara' (Rojas 2016).

<sup>5</sup> See article 'Rock & Roll Rebels' (Rolling Stone 2013).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.monumentos.cl/monumentos/monumentos-historicos/estadio-victor-jara-estadio-chile>

<sup>7</sup> Violeta Parra committed suicide on 5th February 1967 in La Carpa de La Reina, a 'circus-like Tent where Violeta opened a performance space for the folk music' (Tapia 2018, p.93). To have a better understanding of La Carpa de La Reina as an artistic space, see Boyle (2017b).

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/obituary-jan-fairley-writer-broadcaster-lecturer-1-2348562>

the music of Víctor Jara in connection with the New Song movement in Latin America (Fairley 1984), and his influence on the music bands Inti Illimani and Karaxú (Fairley et al. 2014). Sociologist of music, John Street (2012, p.50), has written on Jara as an example of using biographical strategies to analyse the connection between politics and music. Catherine Boyle, an expert in Latin American cultural studies, has written on Víctor Jara's poetry in connection to Violeta Parra's poetry (2009, p.2,5,16) and the influence of his music in Chilean theatre (Boyle 2017a, p.211). In the realm of poetry, Adrian Mitchell, a British poet who passed away in 2008<sup>9</sup>, translated Jara's lyrics into English (Espada 2012). Studies on international solidarity have also highlighted the music of Víctor Jara as a resistance to the Chilean Cultural Blackout during the Pinochet dictatorship (Elsey 2013, p.192). Apart from his academic work, Jara's legacy has been shared in the UK through Joan Jara's biographical book, *Victor: an unfinished song* (1998 [1983]). The book is relevant to this thesis because it spread a knowledge of Víctor Jara more broadly and to a non-academic audience, including many of the festival-goers who I interviewed for this research.

This thesis is also indebted to and inspired by the group of British activists and artists who decided to organise a festival to commemorate the figure of Víctor Jara in Machynlleth, a little town in mid-Wales. They started organising *peñas* – a form of gig inspired by 'La Peña de Los Parra' (1965-1973)<sup>10</sup> – in 2001. After witnessing the interest and success of the event, they established a festival in 2005 that has taken place every two years since. The name of the festival is taken from a concert that took place in the Estadio Nacional in Santiago called *El Sueño Existe* in 2003 in commemoration of the 30 years since the Chilean military coup<sup>11</sup>. Musician Tony Corden and political activist Keith Jackson have played a key role in the creation and development of the festival. There is no academic literature that refers to the festival, apart from a paper that analyses a commemorative ritual that took place during the 2011 festival to remember two people, detained

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.poetryarchive.org/poet/adrian-mitchell>

<sup>10</sup> See more about *Peña* in Wright (1992).

<sup>11</sup> To avoid confusion Estadio Nacional is to be distinguished from the former Estadio Chile.

and disappeared during the Pinochet dictatorship (Ramírez and Serpente 2012). Therefore, this thesis is seeking to use an original case study that includes a variety of performative events connected to cultural memory, and also to the performance of left-wing politics and arts.

Taking into consideration criticism of the possibility and even desirability of adopting a neutral stance in pursuit of an objective social science, in this thesis I have accepted and embraced my position as an active element in the research (Taylor 2003, p.76). Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song have been a relevant part of my life for various reasons. My parents both encountered Víctor Jara at different times and in different circumstances. My mother met Jara due to the involvement of her father, Sergio, in events organised by the Chilean Communist Party that he was part of. During the 1950s and 1960s, my grandfather, Sergio, attended, with his family, some of the social and cultural activities organised by the communist socialite in Santiago, such as meetings in the house of Delia Del Carril, the second wife of Chilean poet, Neruda, or fundraising events in the house of Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party. My mother saw Jara, complete with his black *poncho*<sup>12</sup>, at Luis Corvalán's house when she was a teenager. My father, for his part, participated in the Communist Youth during the Popular Unity government and interacted directly with Jara on a couple of occasions. The first was when Jara participated as a musician in one of the volunteer works coordinated by my father. The second occasion was in the first critical days after the Chilean military coup. On the day of the coup, my father went to the Technical University to defend Popular Unity. Jara was at the Technical University during the coup. My father and Jara spent the night at the University. The next day the university was taken by military forces. My father was wearing a t-shirt - the uniform of the militants of the Youth section of the Communist Party. According to my father's testimony<sup>13</sup>, he saw Jara inside the University and approached him. My father asked Jara if he could help him to pull

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<sup>12</sup> A *poncho* is a piece of clothing, usually with a square or rectangular form, made from wool, with a hole through which the head passes.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with my father, Juan Manuel Rivera, September 2017.

his t-shirt off to avoid a greater punishment<sup>14</sup>; Jara helped him very quickly and then they separated. Around 6 pm on that day, my father was moved to the Chile Stadium alongside many other students and academic staff, and he spent three nights there. He saw Víctor Jara detained in isolation in an area of the stadium. My father was released on Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> September and he left the country in October 1973, returning in 1980. My father's experience in exile nurtured my curiosity and interest to know more about the festival and the lives and views of Chilean exiles living in the UK.

As a sociologist of music, Simon Frith (1996a) defines popular music as a possession; people feel that music somehow 'belongs' to them. I identify with this and feel that Víctor Jara's music belongs to me for various reasons. I was born in 1986, during the Pinochet dictatorship. I have played Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song music since I was a teenager and have since refined my singing and guitar playing, and I have played this music in different locations and circumstances over the last 15 years. A key contributor to my learning the music of Víctor Jara, was the music score book *Víctor Jara: Obra Musical Completa* (Torres et al. 1996). In a similar manner, I have learned music from New Chilean Song through a music score (Advis and González 1994), and from friends and amateur and professional musicians. Another reason why this music is relevant to me is because it inspired me in my academic research. Both Víctor Jara and Violeta Parra have been inspirational figures upon which to carry out academic and personal investigations on Chilean folklore, visiting rural areas to learn traditional poetry and musical forms. As I will explain in detail in Chapter 4, some of Víctor Jara and Violeta Parra's songs were created as a consequence of their compilation of music from rural areas of Chile. They either reproduced this music, or they used it as inspiration for their compositions. My experience of rural musicians has contributed to my increased knowledge of certain rhythms and modes of guitar playing, and poetry that was used by Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song.

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<sup>14</sup> My father needed help to pull his t-shirt off, because he was wearing a pullover, and he was not able to remove the t-shirt alone without attracting attention of the military forces.

Taking into consideration my artistic and intellectual interest in Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, my first experience of participating in *El Sueño Existe* festival in July 2015 was very special. On this occasion I was invited to play as a member of the band La Veleidosa in a fifty-minute gig in which we played Jara and Parra's songs. I felt a special connection with the atmosphere and the people of the festival, and I was emotionally touched by the posters displayed on the walls with images of iconic figures of Popular Unity and New Chilean Song, such as Víctor Jara, Violeta Parra, Inti Illimani, Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda. These images transported me back to a series of emotive memories. I felt at home and that the festival recognised my aesthetic and political values. The festival sought to recreate the atmosphere of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s in Chile, in consonance with contemporary struggles. It is not a big festival, so an intimate environment for sociability was facilitated. In the context of this intimacy I met Adam Feinstein, British biographer of Neruda, and we spent hours talking about Neruda and Jara. I also met Tony Corden, the artistic director of the festival, who invited me to stay in a hut at his house. The festival led me to rediscover my connection with the music, to perform in public and create poetry. After the festival, I kept in contact with some festival-goers. I conducted three interviews with Chilean exiles which was very emotional and relevant for me since their testimonies were related to memories of my family and of Chile. These interviews, alongside my connection with the organisers of the festival, were crucial to my decision to choose *El Sueño Existe* as the main case study for my PhD, since my initial PhD proposal was focused on other Latin American festivals in the UK. Over time, my interest and participation in the festival increased my participation in different roles such as playing music in gigs to raise funds, playing music in festivals, and being a member of the organisation committee helping with the webpages or promotion of the festival and other events. I have established friendships with some festival-goers and through my festival experiences I have contributed to heightening my sense of belonging in the UK, and to my knowledge of Latin American music and politics.

## 1.2 Theoretical framework: liminality, performativity and music performance

The theoretical scope of my thesis is based on performance-related theories emanating from sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and music studies. The reasons for electing performance-related theories are as follows. First, Víctor Jara was a theatre and music performer. He was a figure who performed on-stage, whether that was music in concerts, political meetings or on television. In addition, *El Sueño Existe* festival includes a variety of artistic performances such as music, dance and poetry presentations. Therefore, a performative approach is appropriate for the type of events I am interested in. Secondly, the performance perspective proposes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of cultural events. The performative turn that took place in the 1980s (Wolf 2017, p.29) has contributed to a broader understanding of performance beyond on-stage oriented perspectives, influencing a series of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, music studies and gender studies. This thesis will exploit the openness and diversification of the concept during the last three decades, paying special attention to social relations that emerged around the music and political performance of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song. Third, performance studies allows me to use the concept of performance as a methodological and epistemological tool (Taylor 2003, p.3). Following post-structural and post-modern debates on methodology in social sciences, theories on performance have contributed to the critique of objectivist and representational approaches. As mentioned above, I will use performance methodology to place myself within the scenario studied, and also as co-performer of the reality studied.

Diana Taylor's work on performance has been influential upon this thesis. The relevance of Diana Taylor's work to my thesis is based on its capacity to focus on the performance of cultural memory, paying special attention to Latin America. Taylor (2003, p.xviii) claims that performance studies and Latin American studies are able to reciprocally contribute to each other. This is illustrated through her analysis of trauma and memory in Argentina (2001; 2006b), the analysis of the Spanish conquest from the perspective of Incas, Mayan and Aztec ceremonies

(2004) and disputes around the term 'America' that is often used to refer to the US (2007). Based on a critique of official historiography – that emphasises the perspective of the winners - Taylor (2006a, p.68) suggests that cultural performance, instead of replicating and repeating past events, critically re-activates and shapes, transmitting memories that are not necessarily included in the official sources of knowledge. For instance, the contemporary annual fiesta in Tepoztlán, Mexico, subverts the official narrative of the Conquest proposing the incorporation of Christian symbols to indigenous, not as a defeat but as a victory (Taylor 2006a, p.76).

A key reason why Diana Taylor is relevant to this thesis is due to her conceptualisation of performance as an embodied form of transmission of knowledge. In Latin America, the concept of 'performance' is usually associated with performative arts (2003, p.1). However, in the English-speaking world, the concept of performance is not exclusively related to the 'on-stage' definition, but it also refers to carrying out something such as completing a task, or high-competence in a job. Taylor (2003, p.4) argues that the key feature of performance as an academic concept is related to the transmission of knowledge through embodied and mnemotechnic practices. This embodied transmission implies a participation in the event researched. Taylor took Connerton's concept 'act of transfer' to refer to a feature of performance-based events for transmitting cultural memory and identity (Taylor 2003, p.3). Connerton (1989, p.39) understands acts of transfer to be elements that make memory possible, based on repetition and social persistence. In this sense, both Connerton and Diana Taylor attribute a special relevance to commemorative events and embodied practices which one can analyse in order to understand how knowledge is sustained over time. Diana Taylor (2003, pp.19–21) proposes a distinction between the repertoire, understood as an embodied form of transmission of knowledge, and the archive as an institutionalised and stable form of transmission.

Apart from its reference to Diana Taylor's work, this thesis also takes into consideration the uses of performance in linguistics, anthropology, music and festival studies. In the linguistic realm, Austin's (1962) analysis of language pays attention to the transformative, rather constative, function of language. Sentences and words not only describe and states and objects of reality, but they create and transform reality (if a series of circumstances are accomplished). Meanwhile anthropologist Victor Turner, taking a post-structural position, sustains that cultural performances such a religious rituals, festivities or pilgrimages, do not reflect or expresses cultural configurations and social systems, but they are reciprocal and reflexive, such that they produce a liminal transformation (Turner 1977; 1982a; 1987). Both Austin and Turner's theories have influenced cultural and social theory, consolidating performance studies as a key field of study from the 1980s onwards. For instance, Judith Butler incorporated Austin's notion of the performative, and Derrida's notion of iterability, as theoretical elements for the construction of her theory of gender as a performative achievement (Butler 1993; 1999). Butler argues that gender is not a stable essence or identity, but it is instead a construction based upon the citation and repetition of compulsory norms. Meanwhile Richard Schechner (1985) expanded Turner's notion of cultural performance to include an analysis of theatre as a restored behaviour, that is, he argued, that an act is never original for the first time, but it is based on the repetition of something that already exists.

In the realm of musicology and sociology of music, the performative turn has contributed to criticism of the music text (scores) as the main reference for analysis. Musicologist Christopher Small (1998) criticises the fact that traditional musicological literature has been mainly focused on performance in connection with the composer's notations. Meanwhile, sociologist of music, Simon Frith (1996b), argues that the understanding of music as a performance implies an interest in music as an experience of sociability and as a communicative process; its understanding depends on the cultivation of specific values and judgment in everyday life. In recent years, musicologist Nicholas Cook (2013) explained how the performative turn in the 1990s contributed to a shift in musicological analysis

from the 'page' to the 'stage'. Within the domain of festival studies, Turner's studies on celebrations and festivities (1982a), and Falassi's (1987) study on festivals 'as time out of time' are two influential works on festivals, inspired by performance theory. Indeed, performance-based theories have influenced a variety of empirical studies on festivals' liminal spaces (Cadaval 1998; John 2001; Jaimangal-Jones et al. 2010; Heerden 2011; Bennett and Woodward 2014; Taylor 2014) and festivals as performativity (Duffy 2000; Waitt 2003; Duffy 2005; Spracklen et al. 2013; Córdova 2014; Novak 2017).

### 1.3 Research questions

This thesis will seek to understand the ways in which *El Sueño Existe* and Víctor Jara contribute to the process of transmitting and performing identity. This thesis will focus on different artworks and political expressions performed in the festival, how they contribute to recreating an idea of Latin America, and how they generate community and belonging. The main question posed by the research is: how does the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, and the figure of Víctor Jara therein, perform a sense of belonging, memory and identity among the festival-goers? In order to answer the question, this thesis will focus on four main themes/angles: (1) The legacy of Víctor Jara and the origins of *El Sueño Existe* festival; (2) the experience of Chilean exiles who have actively participated in the festival either in its organisation, or as members of the public; (3) the perspective of musicians who are fans of Víctor Jara and the New Chilean Song movement; (4) the perspective of political activists - Chileans, Welsh and English - who are inspired by Víctor Jara, Salvador Allende and Latin American socialist politics.

This thesis contains four specific questions that are related to each of the themes/angles mentioned above. The first specific research question is: what is the artistic and sociological relevance of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song? This question has two aims. On the one hand, it provides a general overview to the reader about the figure of Víctor Jara and his relevance during his life, his legacy, and how his values have been used as inspiration for contemporary political and

artistic dreams. The second specific question is: how does the festival contribute to creating a sense of belonging, continuity and healing among Chilean exiles who have participated in it? Taking into consideration the experience of political repression experienced by Chilean exiles during the Pinochet dictatorship, and their experience as migrants in the UK, this question is looking to analyse the role of arts and commemorative space in the formation of a sense of belonging and identity among a particular group of Chilean exiles who have participated in the festival. The third specific question is: how has Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song's music contributed to generating a sense of belonging among the musicians who have participated in the festival? Since the festival is not only a focal space for Chilean exiles, but also for amateur and professional musicians who are influenced by Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, this question is seeking to understand how this music is used by these musicians in everyday life and how the festival contributes to reaffirming political and musical preferences among them. The fourth question is: how are political identities performed in the festival, and which kinds of political discourse are performed? This question seeks to analyse the political ideas, discourse, gestures and music that is performed in the festival, and how the festival and Latin American politics contributes to the identity formation of political activists.

#### 1.4 Debates in cultural, migration, festival and music studies

Apart from the discussion of Víctor Jara, New Chilean Song and performance-related concepts, this thesis will discuss other relevant academic theories in order to support, criticise or evaluate specific events and situations. One debate that is implicitly taken into consideration in this thesis is the use of the concept of hybridisation to understand the process of identity formation in a transnational era (Kapchan and Strong 1999, p.245; de la Campa 2000, p.65; Nederveen Pieterse 2004; Kraidy 2005; Moebus Retondar 2008). Garcia Canclini's book *Hybrid cultures: strategies for entering and leaving modernity* (2005) has been crucial to the hybrid paradigm in Latin America. The concept of hybridisation has become, over the past three decades, a hegemonic concept to analyse Latin

America (Moraña 2004; Moraña et al. 2008a). As the main exponents of this concept entreat, it has been used as an antidote to homogeneous perspectives of culture. It proposes a fluid and mobile notion of culture that allows us to understand the process of migration and dialogue between high, folkloric and popular cultures. However, this thesis proposes to distance itself from this concept due to its complicity with the negative effects of neoliberalism from the 1990s onwards, and its omission in recognising imperialism as valuable category with which to analyse culture. In this regard, Kraniauskas (2000, pp.131–132) argues that the hybrid neo-territorialisation does not properly recognise the suffering, violence and relationship of domination and subordination produced by capitalist systems. Following a similar line of thought, Moreiras (1999, pp.376–377) argues that hybridisation became a tactical fabrication of counter calculation; as a form of apparent negation. In this sense, the social function of hybridisation is to create a sense of negation, a sense of counter-logic of neoliberalism that is integral to the conservation of the model. The practice of calculation is central to neoliberal utopia, meanwhile the practice of counter-calculation promoted by hybrid rhetoric, seems to be a necessary antidote to the symptoms of the problem, but not to the causes.

García Canclini (2005, p.229,230,259) framed the consolidation of the concept of hybridisation as a consequence of the weakness of bipolar notions of capitalist/bourgeois, imperialism/anti-imperialist and hegemonic/subaltern that were central to Latin American debates on the 1960s and 1970s. In this sense, the concept of hybridisation has the capacity to introduce multiplicity and diversity in the analysis, beyond bipolarity. The categories anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism are considered old-fashioned or obsolete (Beasley-Murray 2002; García Canclini 2005), and framed negatively as 'bipolar' – therefore, 'constraining' concepts. However, in light of *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara, the bipolar notions of (anti)capitalism and (anti)imperialism are two key ideas and practices that are still valid and reactivated among the participants of the festival. Therefore, this thesis suggests that cultural studies needs to consider these 'bipolar' concepts such as anti-imperialism, not as

marginal or old-fashioned, but as relevant criticism of a contemporary world system (Wallerstein 1990). Consequently, debates on Latin American politics such as research on US intervention in Latin America (Livingstone 2009) or the influence of the right-wing in the region (Domínguez et al. 2011), indicate that capitalism and imperialism are still relevant tropes for the analysis of culture.

Another debate considered in this thesis relates to migration studies due to the role of Chilean exiles in the festival. In the UK, McIlwaine and colleagues (2011; 2016) researched Latin American communities in the UK, focusing specifically on demographic, economic and general cultural characterisation of this community. During the 2000s, Latin Americans in the UK were mostly analysed from the perspective of migration studies; some studies are focused on specific topics of migrant life, such as the role of religion and faith in the production of communitarian forms of solidarity (Wills et al. 2009), the construction of transnational social spaces (McIlwaine 2012a), or the responses of migrants to restrictive legal barriers (McIlwaine 2015). Meanwhile, some research projects have investigated the perspective of migrants from specific Latin American countries, such as Bolivia (Sveinsson 2007), Colombia (McIlwaine 2012b) or Chile (Ramírez 2012; Ramírez 2014a; Gideon 2018). This research has been useful in identifying the features and problems faced by Latin Americans living in London. Apart from specific research on commemorative public demonstration by the Chilean diaspora (Ramírez and Serpente 2012); the role of performative arts in the configuration of identities of Latin American in London (McIlwaine et al. 2016); analysis of Latin American cultural life, including salsa and the production of place in London (Román-Velázquez 1999b; 2009; 2014). To date, there has been less sociological attention paid to performative arts and culture in the formation of identities of Latin Americans living in the UK.

The research by Patria Román-Velázquez deserves special attention due to its analyses of the process of identity formation on Latin Americans living in London. According to Román-Velázquez, Latin Americans are part of London's ethnoscape, even though the British government has not properly included them

in their policies (1999b, pp.46–62). For this author, the salsa music scene in London has contributed to understanding how Latin culture has been used by Latin and non-Latin American groups in order 'to construct the identity of a place and participate in particular cultural practices' (Román-Velázquez 1999b, p.65). This thesis differs from Román-Velázquez's approach due to two reasons. First, Román-Velázquez's conception of identity uses the hybrid formula that was fashionable during the 1990s, stating there are two predominant positions on the study of globalisation - the universal homogenisation and the study of local cultural practices - that have to be overcome in order to analyse the process of negotiation and transformation of identities in the global world (Román-Velázquez 1999b, p.9). Secondly, Román-Velázquez's research tends to homogenise the Latin American culture, reducing it to salsa, and thereby reproducing the categorization of Latinos created by the music industry. Therefore, the making of Latin London (Román-Velázquez 1999b) implies a reinforcement of the stereotype of Latin American culture, without any critique of the construction of this cliché. Taking into consideration this example, this thesis is looking to analyse the New Chilean Song movement, not as a constitutive and central element of the culture of Latin Americans living in the UK, but as one amongst several different ways of experiencing Latin-Americanness. In particular, I am interested in debating the migrant experience of Chilean exiles in light of diverse conceptualisation around the concept of liminality, performativity and music performance, and trying to understand how a diasporic community is effective, socially and politically, performed through the enactments and repetition of aesthetic values and norms.

This thesis will also contribute to contemporary debates on festival studies and music. In relation to festival studies, the book *The Festivalization of Culture* (Bennett et al. 2014) provides theoretical analysis and empirical evidence of the relevance and ubiquity of festivals in the construction of identities and lifestyle preferences in contemporary globalisation. Festivals are considered within a variety of academic debates and empirical research on culture, economy and tourism. It is possible to find studies on festivals, related to economic and urban

impact (Crompton and McKay 1994; Caust 2004; Picard and Robinson 2006; Waitt 2008), the process of cosmopolitanism and flux (Chalcraft and Magaudda 2011; Sassatelli 2011; Chalcraft et al. 2014) and homogenisation of culture (Gotham 2005; Peterson 2009). This thesis will either critique or expand upon some of these approaches. For instance, I will expand upon the concept of festivals as geographies of hope (Waitt 2008) to analyse the politics of *El Sueño Existe*, and I will use the notion of the festival as a display of lifestyle preferences (Bennett and Woodward 2014, p.13) to analyse how the festival is a space of encounter amongst people with similar political and music preferences. Following performance epistemology, this thesis intends to analyse music beyond the written text or score. In other words, to understand more what the music does to a specific group of people, instead of understanding the meaning and value of the music *per se* (Madrid 2009). Taking into consideration questions on music fan-researchers (Bennett 2003) and ethnography influenced by the performative turn (Conquergood 1985), I have been using my music performance of New Chilean Song music as a tool to generate confidence, access and validity among the community I am researching. I will reflect on how my experience of listening, performing and sharing music has contributed to a personal process of recognition, revalorisation, and reinterest in Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song's music. In other words, this research is advocating for the relevance of learning and playing music as a central element of the research purpose.

### 1.5 Chapter outlines

The thesis is divided into eight chapters in total, including this introduction. The following chapter (2) consists of the literature review. It is oriented to describe, understand and analyse three concepts related to performance studies: liminality, performativity and music performance. First, I will explain the concept of liminality, taking into consideration its origins in folkloric studies (Gennep 1960), its development by Victor Turner (1982a; 1987; 2002; 2006), and his application to studies on festivals and identities. In the second section of this chapter I will take a sociological approach to music performance based on Simon

Frith's (1987; 1996b) notion of music performance as social and communicative experience, Andy Bennett's (2004; 2005; 2016) discussion on music in everyday life, and finally, DeNora's (2000) concept of music as a technology of the self. In the third section I will explain the concept of performativity, paying attention to Austin's (1962) linguistic approach, Butler's (1993; 1999) notion of gender performativity, and its application in festival and identity studies. This chapter will provide the theoretical and conceptual insights for the analysis of the festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara.

Chapter 3 outlines my methodological approach. First, I will reflect on the performance epistemology, taking into consideration how performance studies became a lens to analyse a variety of social phenomena. I will pay attention to performance epistemologically to propose an anti-representational (Phelan 1993) and anti-objective methodology (Conquergood 1991). Considering the distinction between narratives and scenarios proposed by Diana Taylor (2003), I will reflect on my process of conducting interviews and undertaking ethnographic work in dialogue with contemporary debates about performative methodologies (Denzin 2001; 2003). In this chapter I will also reflect on issues of positionality and reflexivity, developing an analysis of my experience as a fan researcher and amateur musician (Bennett 2003), and as a member of an affective, artistic and political community. Finally, this chapter will reflect on the question of translation (Boyle 2000), paying attention to the challenges and limitations of translating poetry and interviews from Spanish to English.

Chapter 4 is the first analytic chapter in which I will analyse the sociological relevance of Víctor Jara. Using musicological (Fairley 1984; Torres 1998; Schmiedecke 2013), political (McSherry 2015b) historical (Velasco 2007), and theatrical (Sepúlveda 2001) sources, in combination with my ethnography on *El Sueño Existe*, I will pay attention to Víctor Jara's life, his death and his dream. In relation to his life, I will describe biographical elements and his theatrical, musical and political trajectory. I will contextualise his artistic trajectory in relation to the folkloric boom in 1950s Chile, the New Song movement in Chile and Latin

America, and his connection with Popular Unity. In the section on his death, I will narrate the circumstances of his death in the Estadio Chile, the censorship of his music during the Pinochet dictatorship, the role of his widow, Joan (1998), and musicians in exile in the commemoration of his legacy. I will also describe how Víctor Jara's legacy was commemorated during the post-dictatorship period, and the impunity of the perpetrators in his case. The final section of this chapter will develop the idea of Víctor Jara's dream. I will demonstrate how Víctor Jara became an inspiration for the origins and development of *El Sueño Existe* festival in Wales.

Chapter 5 is based on the experience of Chilean exiles in the festival. I will use the concept of spatial and temporal liminality (Falassi 1987; Turner 1987) to discuss the experience of Chilean exiles. I will use the concept of psychosocial liquefaction by Stenner (2017, p.24) to explain the 'defrost' function of the festival, in which Chilean exiles can revive, with vital subjectivity, the memories, ideals and values that they have carried since the era of Popular Unity, until now. Moreover, following Turner's (1977) notion of ritual, I will discuss how the festival is an alternative vehicle to biomedicine, to overcome pain and traumatic experiences through sociability, encounter, and affectivity. *El Sueño Existe* festival, as a performance-based event, has the capacity to provide a voice to the defeated and to generate a mechanism of symbolic reparation of trauma and loss, in a similar way to that of other trauma-driven performances (Taylor 2006). I will develop the concept of *ideological communitas* to explain how Chilean exiles experience a special type of relationship during the liminal temporality of the festival, through the recitation and reactivation of aesthetic norms and practices.

Chapter 6 explores the perspective of musicians. Based mainly on interviews with various musicians who have participated in the festival, I argue that the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is used by festival-goers as a source of belonging and identification, that provides guidelines for everyday life. First, I will use DeNora's (2000) analysis of music as a technology of the self to indicate how New Chilean Song music is a vehicle that transports musicians to different

temporalities and emotions. New Chilean Song music is used as a testimonial, allowing musicians to explain what happened to them in different circumstances of their lives. In the second section, I will use Bennet's (2005) notion of music as counterculture to explain how Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song music is used by musicians as a device to challenge a variety of hegemonic and mainstream lifestyles and music. For instance, this music is used to encourage an ideal of rural life for organisers of the festival, and it is used as a form of challenging the entertainment function of popular music. In the third section, using Foucault's (1997b) notion of ethos I will expand the concept of 'music as technology of the self' in order to explain how Víctor Jara became a philosophical and ethical figure for some of the musicians who participated in the festival.

Chapter 7 considers the politics of the festival. This chapter will focus on the festival as a space that reaffirms and reproduces a political normativity through the repetition and reactivation series of ideas, discourse and gestures connected with notions of anti-imperialism, anti-neoliberalism, and international solidarity. I will demonstrate this argument by analysing political speeches and music performances that took place in the festival, and paying attention to interviews with British political activists. In the first section, I describe briefly how Latin American intellectuals such as Boal (2008) and Freire (2000), and the New Chilean Song genre, provided the inspiration to incorporate political discussion and speeches into the festival. In the second section, I will use the concept of political repertoire (Taylor 2003) to analyse the political speech of Chilean academic and political activist, Francisco Domínguez, and the performance of the song 'El Sueño Unido Jamás Será Vencido' (The People United Will Never Be Defeated). In the third section, I will explain how the space of the festival is used as a counter-hegemonic discourse that denounces the contemporary political repression towards union leaders in Latin America, and the struggle of Welsh nationalists to conserve their own language and culture when faced with British imperialism. In the final section I will develop the concept of Latin America as a geography of political hope (Waitt 2008), to illustrate how Latin American politics celebrated in

the festival, has been used by British political activists to reactivate and reaffirm their political hopes and desires for socialism in Britain.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of the thesis and will provide a final overview of the main findings and discussion of the thesis. I will explain the limitations of the research and the possible future lines of study. In relation to the theoretical debate, I will analyse the conceptual and theoretical commonalities and differences between the concepts of liminality, performativity and music performance. In addition, I will reflect on the dual character of the festival as a simultaneously normative and anti-normative event, that encourages a series of aesthetic and political norms and values, whilst at the same time encouraging the suspension of specific norms of time, place and politics. In relation to the limitations and potential lines of research for the future, I will reflect on how studies on gender and masculinities, religion, and music migration, can be feasible themes that might be approached and analysed in relation to New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara.

## Chapter 2. Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I analyse key concepts that I will use in my thesis. I will show how my thesis is connected with contemporary research on festivals and performance, and I will explain the main argument of the thesis. This thesis will take into consideration the contributions and criticism of the concept of cultural performance, music performance and performativity, to analyse how the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, and the legacy of Víctor Jara produce a sense of belonging, memory and identity. This analysis of contemporary literature on festivals and performance will establish the theoretical grounds for the analysis of *El Sueño Existe* and the legacy of Víctor Jara. In addition, in this chapter I will explain the theoretical assumptions to argue that *El Sueño Existe* is a liminal space that suspends the norms of time, space and politics, through the re-enactment of a set of repertoires that promote a sense of belonging.

The first debate I will introduce is related to the role of festivals in contesting and criticising specific norms and structures that are present in everyday settings. In the literature on festival, the concept of liminality is key to understanding the function of festivals as suspension of everyday norms. The concept of liminality was coined by French folklorist, Van Gennep (1960), and then expanded by Turner's (1987) anthropological theory of cultural performance. Liminality has been used to analyse festivals as a space that inverts, criticises and reflects dominant discourse and quotidian roles and structures. This thesis will follow this line of thought, arguing that the festival, through the invocation of the legacy of Víctor Jara, New Chilean Song, and Popular Unity, creates a liminal space for the critical reflection of politics, history and space. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will explain the theoretical contribution of liminal theory and its limitations.

The second debate to be discussed in this chapter is the role of Jara and New Chilean Song music in the formation of communities and everyday life conduct and values. Most of the literature on Jara and New Chilean Song has focused on the artistic production or the experience of musicians<sup>15</sup>, but there is less attention paid to the fans of this music and the uses of this music in everyday life. For this reason, the second section of this chapter will introduce debates on sociology of music, to analyse how this music is part of the experience of sociability (Frith 1987; 1996b), a device for transformation of conduct (DeNora 2000) and a hub for music collectives (Bennett 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2005). In the second section of this chapter, I will provide an explanation of these discussions to illustrate how interest in specific music genres is based on specific rules, judgments and ideas that are cultivated in everyday life. In addition, I will explain how the music is a technology that produces changes in everyday life.

The third debate I will analyse is the notion of performativity as citationality and belonging. Considering the sense of belonging and identity in festive events is produced by the invocation and reactivation of specific political and artistic traditions, the third section of this chapter will analyse the concept of performativity, to discuss how identities are produced through the repetition and citation of specific norms, discourse and values (Fortier 1999; Taylor 2003). Finally, the fourth section of this theoretical framework will reflect on the double function of festivals as spaces of critique of dominant discourses and reproduction of traditions and norms, and it will explain the main argument of the thesis.

With attention to these three debates, this chapter will show that the literature on performance and festivals is focused on either the suspension, or reproduction, of normativity, but there is less interest in analysing how festivals have both effects. This distinction is replicated in the antagonism that some authors have proposed in relation to the concept of liminality (related to the suspension of normativity), and performativity (related to the reproduction of

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<sup>15</sup> I will explain this lack of literature in chapter 4.

mandatory discourse/norms). For instance, Duffy (2008, p.101) criticises the liminal separation of festivals as different from everyday life, arguing that festivals are performative and affective events. Meanwhile, Aly (2015) also proposes that there is opposition between liminality (in reference to cultural performance) and performativity. According to Aly, the tone of Turner's concept of cultural performance (intrinsically related to liminality) refers to active subject agents and creative features such as game, frame, irony and play, while the tone of Butler's performativity is related to subject formation in relation to forced identifications and injunctions. This thesis proposes to overcome this dual distinction between reproduction and suspension of normativity, to analyse how the music and political legacy of Víctor Jara (and by extension, New Chilean Song and Popular Unity) are used simultaneously as a critique of established norms and the continuity of a political and musical tradition.

I then argue that the festival is a space that simultaneously acts to both suspend, and to reproduce, normativity. I suggest that *El Sueño Existe* festival is a liminal space (Falassi 1987; Turner 1987) for Chilean exiles, international musicians and political activists, which ultimately works to reaffirm political, musical and diasporic identities, through the re-enactment of a set of repertoires that promote a sense of belonging and identification (Fortier 2000). The festival has the capacity to break certain norms of time, place and political establishment, producing elements of nostalgia, re-localisation and counterhegemonic politics. However, following concept performativity and belonging (Bell 1999), I suggest that the process of reaffirmation is not exclusively created by the means of breaking normativity; it is also constructed through the citation of discourse that creates membership among those who belong to the community. Víctor Jara becomes an ethical figure for festival-goers; he performs an ethos that illustrates exemplary behaviour - of how to be a revolutionary, left wing and creative. The festival-goers recognise their own values, sacrifices and struggles in the figure of Víctor Jara and other Latin American artists and politicians who are connected to his legacy.

## 2.1 Liminality, cultural performance and festivals

From the perspective of cultural performance, festivals have been analysed as liminal events that become extraordinary moments which are governed by rules that are different from everyday life (Cohen 1980; Turner 1983; Falassi 1987; Cadaval 1998; John 2001; Halnon 2006; Jaimangal-Jones et al. 2010; St John 2010; Heerden 2011; Taylor 2014). A central discussion in relation to liminality is the notion of suspension of normativity in the extraordinary space of the festival. This thesis will contribute to the discussion on festivals as liminal spaces indicating that *El Sueño Existe* festival is a liminal event that challenges established versions in history (for instance, to challenge Popular Unity as a defeated political project), produce an alternative sense of place (Latin America as geography of hope) and propose a criticism of contemporary hegemonic political forces (critique to neoliberalism and neo-imperialism). Therefore, this section will explain and debate the theoretical assumptions of the theory of liminality, paying attention to contributions from folklorist Van Gennep, the anthropologist, Turner, and empirical research that has adopted this concept to study festivals. I conclude this section explaining that in spite of the strengths of the liminal theory for the analysis of the critique reflexivity, this theory is not sufficient to understand the role of music judgment and citational practices, and in the formation of identities. Therefore, debates coming from sociology of music and theory of performativity are necessary to have a broader understanding of the process of transmission of identity and memory of the festival.

### *2.1.1 Liminality and critical reflexivity*

The concept of liminality was coined by Van Gennep (1960) to describe the dynamism of rites of passage in traditional cultures. According to Van Gennep, the rites of passage are rites that imply a transition from one state to another. They are compounded by pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal rites. The pre-liminal phase occurs when an individual or group is detached from a fixed point in the social structure or cultural condition. The second phase is the transition, or

liminality, where the ritual subject is in an ambiguous position and the characteristics of individuals/groups do not correspond with the features of the past or future state. Finally, the post-liminal phase of incorporation is the consummation of the rite, where the ritual subject is in a stable state. British anthropologist Victor Turner (2002) applied Van Gennep's concept of liminality to the study of rituals in Ndembu people in central South Africa. Turner illustrates the liminal phase, explaining that during puberty rites carried out by Ndembu people, neophytes, are hidden from society since they do not have a clear status. Turner argues that in this context, liminal people are ambiguous because they elude normal positions and states. They are situated in between, in a marginal position, out of the structure of kinship (Turner 2002, p.98). Turner's concept of liminality implies the use of this concept as an attribute of people and attribute of a period. Therefore, liminal people are ambiguous and undetermined because they elude normal positions and states, they are 'neither here nor there' (Turner 1977, p.95). According to Turner (1974), in the context of post-industrial societies, the concept of liminality can be replaced by 'liminoid'. The suffix *oid* means resembling. Thus, the concept liminoid is a resemblant of, but not identical to, liminality.

Although Turner's first application of liminality started with rites of passages and the analyses of transitional periods, the concept of liminality was expanded by Turner as a conceptual category to explain how rituals and events alike, modify structures and rules that are present in everyday life. Limen means threshold, and in the context of Turner's theory, this concept is synonymous with transition, marginal and in-between. For Turner, the liminal period is a moment and space that blurs and inverts everyday life hierarchies and fixed structures. Turner identifies different types of liminal functions in rituals. For instance, the rituals of status elevation are rituals in which the ritual subject is transported to a high position in relation to the system of positions of this society, meanwhile the rites of status reversal are rites in which people, normally positioned in a low status, are holding a temporal position of authority over superiors, in which the weak enacts the fantasy of superiority. An example of rites of reversal in the Western

world is Halloween, a period where adolescent children express their power and dominance to the adult world, wearing masks and representing death (Turner 1977, pp.167–168). In his analysis of the carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Turner argues that this event is a moment in which the fantasies that are suppressed and constrained in quotidian life are expressed and displayed during the liminal period of the festivity. Thereby, the carnival can blur and invert some gender, age or labour roles that are fixed in everyday life (Turner 1983, p.123).

An idea central to Turner's concept of cultural performance, is that they are active devices of change and reflexivity, which means that performances do not express cultural configurations and social systems, but they are reflexive and reciprocal because they propose a critique of social life (Turner 1987, p.22). In Turner's words, 'performance is often a critique, direct or veiled, of the social life it grows out of, an evaluation (with lively possibilities of rejection) of the way society handles history' (Turner, 1987, 22). Therefore, cultural configurations are not merely expressed in the performances, but they are contested and reflected in an active way. Turner uses the metaphor of 'magic mirrors' to illustrate the function of performative events in which people can see and recognise events and relations that are not present in daily life (Turner 1987, p.22). Unlike Marxist conception of culture as a 'false mirror' of the structure and source of alienation, Turner argues that cultural expressions are reflexive, however, they can be anti-structural because they propose creative activity and they critique the status quo. Turner proposes that performative events not only reinforce social structures and norms, but also invert them. They have the power to promote anti-structural creative processes, to break accepted norms. Therefore, there is a dialectical and reflexive relationship between the normativity of everyday life, and the liminality of cultural performances. Turner's argument does not deny the existence of a conservative and structural function of rituals such as those described by Durkheim (1995) in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, however, it considers subversion as a relevant element of the liminal dimension of rituals. Thus, rituals are spaces in which people can critique the dominant social discourse.

This thesis will use Turner's concept of liminality and it will critique reflexivity to argue that the liminal celebration and commemoration of Víctor Jara and Popular Unity, is not a passive representation of the past, but it is a critical reflexion of contemporary politics, society and culture. Therefore, the music of Víctor Jara and the political values of Popular Unity are used as the basis for criticism of contemporary cultural and political life. As I will explain throughout the thesis, the critical reflexivity is created through the incorporation of a series of sonic, visual, affective and social relationships and interactions that produce the effect of breaking specific norms of time, space and politics.

### 2.1.2 *Communitas, subjunctive mood*

The concept of liminality was developed alongside the concept of *communitas*. Turner (2002, p.100) argues that during the liminal period, a liminal group is created based on a community of comrades or equals of people located in an in-between position or status. For instance, during the liminal period, neophytes within the Ndembu people, treat each other as equals, and the food is shared equally, independently of the status of their families, and they sleep around fires in specific groups generating special bonds between themselves. Turner (1977, p.96) coined the concept *communitas*<sup>16</sup> to describe the type of human interrelatedness that emerges in the liminal period, based on the communion among equals. This type of relationship is the opposite to a structured social system based on political, legal and economic hierarchical positions. Turner's *communitas* 'designates a feeling of immediate community' among people who share specific knowledge; it is based on honesty and openness (St John 2008, p.7). Turner identifies three types of *communitas* (1977, p.132), that represent different levels of tension between structure and anti-structure. First, the 'spontaneous *communitas*' that is free from structure and constituted without a plan. Second, the 'normative *communitas*' that is a mode of communitarian relationship

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<sup>16</sup> Turner uses the concept *communitas* instead of community because the latter concept refers to an area of common living. Meanwhile, the former emerges outside of everyday life practices.

organised according to specific norms, but still located in a marginal position in relation to social structures. Third, the 'ideological *communitas*' that is based on the replication of utopian models/ideals carried out by already existent *communitas* in non-marginal structures<sup>17</sup>.

Turner's concepts of liminality and *communitas* are looking to understand the relationship between structure and anti-structure as a fluid and dynamic connection. Turner argues that society is a process in which humans alternate between fixed and floating (inclined to move) worlds. In this sense, Turner's conception analysis of culture was critical of the Marxist notion of culture as an ideological reflection of economic conditions; Durkheim's notion of ritual events as reinforcement of social structure; and Levi-Strauss's interest in the meaning of myth and rituals as 'superorganic arrangement of parts' (Turner 1977, p.126). Turner uses the concept 'subjunctive mood' to explain that liminal periods have the capability to enact potential realities and thereby, to express what is wished or imagined (Turner 1977, p.vii)<sup>18</sup>. Turner argues the expression of desires and possible worlds – antistructure - are active elements of social structure rather than passive effects of the legal, economic and political. Therefore, the concept of liminality is useful in understanding a fixed relationship between structure and anti-structure positions and states. Liminality and *communitas* are not experiences apart from social structure, but they are connected with it. Society functions adequately because of the dialectical relationship between liminality and structure. In this thesis, I will apply Turner's concept of *communitas* (Turner 1977, p.132), using the concept of *ideological communitas* to explain how the festival proposed a special type of relationship that is based on the citation of

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<sup>17</sup> These three types of *communitas* can be sequential according to specific historical events. Turner exemplifies the dynamic of change of the different types of *communitas* in relation to the hippie movement of the 60s that began spontaneously through events such as rock concerts (spontaneous *communitas*); then it developed as an established community with specific normativity but in the margins of social structure (normative *communitas*). Finally, it was a movement that was used as an ideal model for the establishment of *communitas* in society as a whole (ideological *communitas*) (Deflem 1991 p.15).

<sup>18</sup> According to the Oxford Dictionary, subjunctive means 'relating to or denoting a mood of verbs expressing what is imagined or wished or possible'. See <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/subjunctive>.

specific music values that are validated among the group that participated in the liminal experience (Chapter 5).

### *2.1.3 Liminal festivals and criticism*

The validity and usefulness of the concept of liminality have been discussed in current debates on festival studies. On one hand, it has been considered a rich concept to understand processes of hierarchical inversion and transformation of identities, including new ways of experimenting with time, space and sociability (Falassi 1987; Bennett and Woodward 2014). On the other hand, liminality has been criticised for its fixity and lack of context to festivals; becoming an excessive celebration of chaos and inversion; and, omitting the role of cultural performances in reproducing established norms and structures (Heerden 2011). In relation to the former point, there is an important corpus of literature that used the concept of liminality for the study of festivals (Cohen 1980; Turner 1983; Falassi 1987; Cadaval 1998; John 2001; Halnon 2006; Jaimangal-Jones et al. 2010; St John 2010; Heerden 2011; Taylor 2014). In this sense, Turner was the pioneer of a school of thought that was expanded by different scholars, on festivals.

Following Turner's notion of liminality, Falassi (1987) defines festivals as 'time out of time'. This notion means that festivals provide a temporality different from that experienced in everyday life, and thus, festivals change the daily meaning of time and space. According to Falassi (1987, pp.3–5), the main functions of festivals is to renew energies and vision among people who share similar worldviews; to sanction established institutions; to create a space in which people do things they normally would not do. On this line of thought, festivals are rites of inversion, a display of symbolic elements of a community, and dramatization of the myths and collective memory of communities. An example of the transgression of roles can be found in the Mardi Grass carnival in New Orleans, in which participants perform actions that they would not perform in everyday life, and they are transformed into characters that enable excessive behaviour in terms of music, noise, eroticism and violence (Mitchell 1995, p.4). In support of Turner's theory,

Cadaval's (1998, p.26) study demonstrates that the stories and narratives performed at Latino festival in Washington, are based on reflexive creativity. In this Latino festival, the use of public space generates a symbolic imitation of the canonical urban disposition of Latin American cities, and it proposes an interesting intersection between the liminal condition of migratory experience – to be in between two places - and the symbolic liminality of ritual events.

The theory of liminality and *communitas* has also been applied to study festival of music dance and music performance. For instance, St John (2010, pp.227–228) argues liminality and *communitas* are useful concepts for the study of festivals, in particular the trance produced in dance rituals carried out by the psytrance movement, transporting people to a different state of mind, in which participants are liberated from their everyday psychological state and they are transported into a world of immediacy and pleasure. *Communitas* is an occasion when many obtain extraordinary energy from strangers (St John 2014, p.54). Another liminal approach to dance music festivals argues that these events are a rite of passage that include phases of separation, transition and reincorporation; so the journey to the location of the event is a central part of the liminal spiritual experience (Jaimangal-Jones et al. 2010). In the domain of music studies, the performance of specific music genres are conceived liminal experiences that propose utopian alternatives to contemporary commercialism and spectacle (Halnon 2006).

Recent research on liminality has highlighted the need to connect the concept of liminality, to lifestyles practices. As Bennet and Woodward (2014) suggest, the liminal capability of suspending everyday life normativity, opens up the opportunity for new possibilities to display lifestyles preferences. A key contribution of these authors is to acknowledge that everyday practices are not suspended in liminal events, but they are displayed as common, shared lifestyles among festival-goers.

According to some festival researchers, a pivotal quality of festivals in this respect is their liminality. As liminal spaces are removed from the more mundane

process of everyday life, it is argued that festivals offer opportunities for experimentation with identity and the articulation of identity politics that may often be less feasible and acceptable –and in some cases socially circumscribed – in everyday settings. (Bennett and Woodward 2014, p.11)

These authors then argue that festivals are events where a group of individuals share their lifestyle culture that is generally articulated at a subliminal, non-conscious level. From this viewpoint, the liminal function of the festival does not operate in terms of the suspension of lifestyle preferences, but rather it displays and experiments with them in a new context. The study of the relationship between festivals, liminality and lifestyles is developed by various contributors to the book *The Festivalization of Culture*, including analysis of Pride festivals in challenging heteronormativity (Taylor 2014); the role of free festivals in criticising commercial ways of living (Martin 2014, p.95); or the analysis of outdoor dance festival as spaces that encourage hospitality and kindness (Luckman 2014, p.201).

In spite of the widespread use of the concept of liminality in festive events, this concept has been criticised because of its limitations in providing analytical tools to analyse the reproduction of normativity and to acknowledge the rules and codes that are taking place in the liminal period. As St John (2008, p.16) notes, liminality has been criticised for removing the relevance of indicative dimension in rituals. Indicative mood is the opposite to subjunctive mood, and it refers to the mood of verbs that express facts. Thus, cultural performances, such as funerals or commemorative days, can be analysed not only as subjunctive events or magic mirrors, but as events that reproduce established norms, as expression of the factual structure. Therefore, liminal fixation to anti-structural events omits the analysis on how the symbolic realm of cultural performances are managed and controlled (Alexander 2004, quoted in St John 2008, p.16). So, liminality has been considered, not in the margins of society, but as central to dominant institutions - for instance, use as a marketing strategy. Following this line of thought, festivals, instead of proposing a critique of dominant discourse they can manipulate, control population and neutralise conflict (Waterman 1998, p.60). In

a similar line of critique, liminality has the risk of highlighting only the exaggeration of carnivalesque atmosphere, excess of chaos, disorder, but omitting the fact these events are also operating according to specific rules and expectations (Heerden 2011, p.57).

Considering the advantages and disadvantages of the concept, this thesis will analyse the festival as a liminal event, however, understanding that this theory is not sufficient to analyse specific rules, values and norms that are part of the festival. In other words, I suggest that the liminal effect of the festival is not created on the basis of anomic subversion, but it is through the invocation of specific norms and values connected to the festival. Therefore, it is necessary to establish dialogue and to contrast points between this theory and other approaches from performance studies that explain the normative dimension of music and rituals.

## 2.2 Music performance: music values, technologies of the self and communities

As I will explain in chapter 4, literature on Víctor Jara has focused on his artistic, historic and political legacy, but there is less attention paid to the social effects of his legacy and his impact on fans. Therefore, this thesis will include debates and contributions from the sociology of music and arts in relation to the social value on music and how music produces communities. I argue that festival encourages certain political and artistic values that are epitomised by the figure of Víctor Jara. So, the legacy of Jara is experienced by some participants of the festival, as a role model and example for imitation. This implies that Víctor Jara is an authoritative exemplar in relation to specific values and ideals, who others want to follow and imitate.

In this section I will explain that music performance is not merely a sonic event, but an experience of sociability (Frith 1996b, p.204). This implies that the success of a music performance depends on the capacity of the audience to understand the specific rules and codes that are exhibited in the music performance. These

rules and codes are cultivated in everyday life. Therefore, I suggest that the sense of belonging and identity produced in the festival is connected to the capacity of the festival-goers to understand the codes and rules that are part of the music of Víctor Jara. This idea has different implications. First, Víctor Jara became, not only an inspiration for subversion and critique - an inspirational figure for the liminal moment of the festival - but also an ethical figure who shared a series of norms, values and rules. As I will explain in detail in chapter 4, the norms and values encouraged by Víctor Jara are connected with the aesthetics of New Chilean Song, the politics of Popular Unity, and the international solidarity movement with Chile. The second implication is that Víctor Jara is an ethical figure, a role model that people try to follow in everyday life. In order to develop this last idea, I will critically use DeNora's concept of 'music as a technology of self' (DeNora 2000, p.46) (Chapter 6). This section will analyse and debate the sociological contributions used to analyse music performance as a social experience related to judgement, rules and everyday life practices. And, finally, I will analyse debates on different concepts that are connected to music communities such as subculture, neo-tribes and scenes.

### *2.2.1 Performing music values, judgement and ways of listening*

In this thesis, I will consider the contributions of the sociology of popular music, to a broader understanding of the music of Víctor Jara, taking the perspective of his fans. In this regard, the contribution of the book *Performing Rites: on the value of popular music* by Frith (1996b, pp.203–204) is key to the analysis that music performance is not only an activity carried out by the producers of music, but also by the listeners. Hence, Frith is not interested in music performance as a text, but in its context, as an experience of sociability (ibid., 204). For Frith, performance is a communicative process in which the success of the artist depends on the capacity of the audience to understand their body gestures, pose and movement; and, a capacity that is cultivated in everyday life (ibid., 206). Frith uses Goffman's concept of frame to illustrate the fact that the elements staged in music performance depend on - or are framed by - specific rules that conditioned the

behaviour of the performer and the performance (ibid., p.206)<sup>19</sup>. These are different kinds of rules such as technical, semiotic, ideological, commercial and juridical (ibid., p.90). So, the success of the performance depends on the response of the public to the performance and the mutual understanding of these rules. Frith proposes a dual distinction in relation to music and everyday life. On one hand, music performance is a communicative experience based on rules that are part of everyday life (ibid., p.207). On the other hand, music as a public performance is an event that is 'marked off' from the everyday<sup>20</sup>. So, the music performance accomplishes both the functions of reinforcing, and escaping, everyday life norms. This idea is relevant to my thesis since I argue that the festival is not only a liminal space for the suspension of norms, but also that it reinforces and repeats specific codes and rules that are related to the aesthetics of the New Chilean Song and Jara, such as using music as a political and revolutionary art.

Frith argues that the performance in popular music is not only based on the sonic elements of the music, but it refers to all the elements that are played on the stage. Therefore, the popular singer is not only performing a song, but is also performing the 'performance of the song' (1996b, p.211). In other words, the singer is performing all the elements that are part of the stage: music, gestures, clothing, speeches, and so on. As Frith points out (ibid., p.211) 'to hear music is to see it performed, on stage, with all the trappings'. Consequently, music performance implies the enactment of a series of embodied codes such as emotional states (anger, sadness) or clothes that are languages *per se* (ibid., p.217-218). In short, the body of the musician is a performative instrument (ibid.,

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<sup>19</sup> Goffman (1956) employs the principles of theatrical performance to the analysis of social life. His performance theory is oriented on understanding how individuals in work situations present themselves to a specific audience (ibid., p.13). Goffman defines performance as any human activity that occurs before the presence of observers and has effects on them. 'Setting' is a set of elements that constituted the stage where the action is played (ibid., p.19-20). Meanwhile 'dramatic realization' occurs when individuals introduce actions with signs that emphasise facts through a dramatic representation. If an activity is significant to the observers, it's because individuals prepare her/his activity to express what she/he wishes to express.

<sup>20</sup> According to Frith (1987, p.144) 'the way in which it seems to make possible a new kind of self-recognition [and] free us from everyday routines and expectations that encumber our social identities'.

p.219). This notion of performance provides analytical elements to understand different topics such as sexuality, in which female musicians have different requirements facing an audience, based on the conventional sexual gaze produced by patriarchal authority (ibid., p213). Since this thesis focuses on the social impact of Jara and New Chilean Song, I will analyse how specific elements of Jara's music performance, including the lyrics of his songs, his participation in political events, or wearing specific clothes, are elements that fans and followers are trying to imitate and incorporate into their everyday life.

Another relevant idea discussed by Frith, is the notion of musical judgement. Frith's discussion on music performance can be circumscribed in a broader discussion on the value and judgment of popular music carried out by the listeners. Apart from sociological research, Frith (1987, p.143) was involved in music criticism in newspapers and magazines, an experience that contributed to an understanding of the value of music from the perspective of fans. As a consequence of his analysis of the fans' judgment, Frith argues that music performance is a social interaction based on the construction of value arguments related to specific genres or specific pieces of music (Frith 1996b, p.3). Value arguments in music are established according to the capacity of people to provide reasons and evidence for the judgment. This judgment is not simply taking the decision 'I like' or 'I dislike', but rather is connected to 'ways of hearing, about ways of being' (ibid., p.8). Taking into consideration my fieldwork in *El Sueño Existe* and interviews with the participants, this thesis argues that the music and the legacy of Víctor Jara is related to a series of judgements on music, politics, philosophy and spirituality. As I will illustrate in Chapter 6, the music of Jara and New Chilean Song is relevant for some participants of *El Sueño Existe* festival, because it allows them to judge commercial and entertainment music, neoliberal culture of consumption and the collective forgetfulness of the critical times of Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship.

Frith also refers to music performance as both fantastic and real experiences. Music enacts a series of fantastic and imagined desires, thereby it enables people

to feel what they really are, but also what they would like to be (Frith 1996b, p.274). In other words, music is a real activity that is experienced in everyday life that provides elements of fantasy and dreams. In Frith's words: 'music gives us a real experience of what the ideal could be' (ibid., p274)<sup>21</sup>. Frith explains this dualism using a different theoretical framework, in particular in Gilroy's elaboration on music performance. In *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) Gilroy reflects on the role of music in relation to diverse black communities. Gilroy (1993, p.102) argues that music is an example of the way Black identity seems to be the product of practical activities such as gestures or language that create a sense of spontaneity and naturalness. In Gilroy's text, music performances 'produce the imaginary effect of an internal racial core or essence by acting on the body through the specific mechanisms of identification and recognition that are produced in the intimate interaction of performer and crowd' (Gilroy 1993, p.102). Gilroy states these practical activities are not completely constructed or fantastic - an idea proposed by radical constructivism - neither are they the production of the interiority of the subjects - as essentialist approaches suggest (ibid., p102). Criticism directed towards radical constructivism is that subjectivity - the soul in Foucauldian terms - is not an illusion, it is real and permanently within, on, or around the body. And the criticism of the essentialist view is that this soul or subjectivity does not come from inner features or an interiority (for instance, the anatomical body), but it exists because of the presence of specific technologies of power that constrain and exert the body.

In short, Gilroy's concept of music performance highlights the fact that music creates the *fantasy* of racial connection and identification through the enactment of practical and *real* embodied gestures formed by specific technologies of power/knowledge. In this thesis, I will develop the idea of Jara's music as a

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<sup>21</sup> Frith's definition of music as both a real and fantastic experience, resonates with Turner's concept of subjunctive mood, because music provides elements to create imaginary and hypothetical worlds. However, Frith did not use this theory as a main theoretical framework to explain this relationship.

power/knowledge technology, in terms of their capacity to change and transform reality. In terms of power, I will demonstrate that a central element of Jara and New Chilean Song music, is empowerment of popular classes and transformation of politics and society (Chapter 4). In terms of knowledge, this music accomplished the function of teaching and transmitting knowledge about Chilean history, pre and post-coup (I will develop this idea in chapters 5, 6 and 7).

### *2.2.2 Music as technology of the self: power relations and ethics*

A second debate in sociology of music that I will discuss in my thesis, is the role of music in everyday life, and in particular, DeNora's (2000) analysis of the uses of music in everyday life. This approach is a response to speculative and abstract analysis of music and society, such as Adorno's sociology of music (DeNora 2003). DeNora argues that music is involved in a variety of dimensions of social agency and it has the power to provoke specific modes of conduct in everyday life, such as the constitution of bodies or feelings about specific situations or people<sup>22</sup>. Taking contributions from sociology technology (Winner 1980; Latour 1992) and sociological analysis of the formation of the self in late modernity (Giddens 2008), DeNora analyses music as a technology of the self.

In relation to the concept 'technology', DeNora (2000, p.34) suggests that the materiality of objects and devices – such as music - is not neutral, but rather, a source for social regulation. In this sense, music should not be considered a passive material to the constitution of agency, but instead, an active and relevant one. In relation to the concept of self, DeNora (ibid., p.46) argues that in spite of the fact that the topic of the reflexive self is commonly debated in contemporary sociology, there is little attention paid to including music as a central element of the constitution of the self. DeNora takes into consideration the notion of aesthetic reflexivity to suggest that music, as an aesthetic practice, has become a

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<sup>22</sup> For instance, the introduction of classical music in bus and rail terminals in New York decreased hooligan conduct; background music in stores has been used to influence consumer choices (DeNora 2000, p.18).

reflexive hallmark of identity - or self - in the context of the rapid change of late modernity. Another central idea of DeNora's notion of 'music as technology of the self' is to propose an alternative to studies conducted by music psychology to analyse the relationship between music and individuals (ibid., p.47). Instead of focusing on specific psychological aspects of everyday life such as sensorial matters or mood change, DeNora is interested in music as a self-regulatory and socio-cultural practice. DeNora's main finding is that music is a technology capable of shifting energy levels or mood as part of the care of the self (ibid., p.53); providing virtual realities in which people can express themselves according to specific moods such as anger or violence (ibid., p.56); and, invoking ways of being or feelings of the past (ibid., p.66).

This thesis will use two elements of DeNora's analysis of music of technology of the self. First, the notion of music as a device for change. As I will illustrate in Chapters 5 and 6, the music of Jara and New Chilean Song is relevant for some festival-goers because this music has the power to evoke memories, trigger emotions and provide guidelines for quotidian activities such as work. In particular, I am interested in DeNora's notion of music as a temporal medium (ibid., p66). DeNora illustrates how music helps people to recall specific moments and identities from their past. In this sense, music is a device for biographical constitution. This capacity of music to reconstitute past experiences has effects on the constitution of the self since this introspection also provides materials to project present identities and imagine future projects. I will develop the idea of music as a biographical device in chapter 6, taking into consideration the capacity of the New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara's music to evoke past moments and experiences for some festival-goers. Another relevant idea related to DeNora's concept of music as a technology of the self, is the function of music as a 'magic mirror'. Taking into consideration Turner's concept (explained in the last section), DeNora (ibid., p70) suggests that music is a structure of self-perception. In other words, people can see elements of their subjectivity, such as personal life and biographies, through music, thus producing changes in everyday life conduct, and structures.

In spite of its strengths in analysing the function of music in everyday life, especially as a device for change and a temporal medium, this thesis also proposes a critical analysis of DeNora's concept of technology of the self. DeNora's theory on music in everyday life has been criticised because it overestimates the relevance of the process of self-constitution and self-identity in music behaviour, omitting a deeper analysis on the structures of power (Frith 2002; Hesmondhalgh 2008). I will follow this criticism, proposing two ways of expanding the notion of music as technology of the self. The first idea is to analyse music behaviour and identity as an effect of power/knowledge institutions. As mentioned above, the implications of power/knowledge in music was developed through Gilroy's (1993) analysis of the music of the black diaspora. In order to develop his argument, Gilroy uses Foucault's notion of soul as an effect of certain forms of power and knowledge that constrained the body (Foucault 1979, quoted in Gilroy 1993, p.102)<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, music can be understood as a power/knowledge effect that regulates and normalises subjectivity. This subjectivity does not come from internal features of the body – such as race - but by the structures of power/knowledge that the body has been subjected to.

This idea is useful in analysing the New Chilean Song movement since it did not emerge as a consequence of pure creativity or originality of their main exponents, but it was part of a broader political and cultural institutional arrangement. The music was used as a tool for liberation, and it commonly refers to specific structures of power that constrain individuals and groups, such as US military forces in Vietnam, oligarchic exploitation of peasants and police repression in student movements or in shanty towns. In this sense, the music of Jara, as a technology of the self, is generally related to, and in tension with, specific structures of power. In short, I want to suggest an expansion of the concept of

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<sup>23</sup> In *Discipline and Punishment: The birth of the prison*, Foucault (1995) disagrees with the idea that soul is an illusion or product of ideology, but it has reality. This reality does not imply that the soul has a substance, but it is the product of certain forms of power/knowledge operations. In Foucault (1995, p.30) words: 'The soul is the effect and instrument of a political anatomy; the soul is the prison of the body'.

music as technology of the self, not only as a reflexive device, but also as a technology that operates according to specific mechanisms of power. I will develop this idea in Chapter 6 based on interviews with musicians who have experienced Jara's music as a form of subversion of the mainstream music proposed by western cultural industry.

The second means through which this thesis will expand the notion of 'music as a technology of the self' is through the concept of 'ethics' developed by Foucault (1997b). Foucault maintains that Greek philosophy defined technologies of the self as skills that allow individuals to produce certain operations in their bodies, conduct and ways of being to change themselves to accomplish a state of purity, wisdom or immortality (Foucault 1997b, p.225). In concrete, in Greek philosophy, the 'technologies of the self' were forms of abstinence, regulation and limitation that were part of different aspects of life, such as dietetics, sleeping, sexuality and domestic economy. These techniques were also called 'aesthetics of existence' or *tekhne to biou* (Foucault 1997b, pp.208–209), and thereby, they were experienced as arts of living (Elden 2016, p.177). According to Foucault, these technologies of the self were necessarily learned through *askesis* or exercise. *Askesis* means exercise or training, and it is a stoic principle based on the assumption that 'truth is not in oneself but [...] in the teaching of the masters' (ibid., p238). This idea refers to the fact that in the late antiquity, the technologies of the self were not abstract discussions, but practical rules for personal and social conduct through specific exercises such as *gimnasya* or *melete* (meditation). Therefore, the truth was not in oneself, but it was taught by masters and achieved through exercise. Consequently, a man who possessed a splendid ethos -understood as a way of living- was considered an example that people tried to imitate. In Foucault's (1997b, p.286) words:

The Greeks problematized their freedom, and the freedom of the individual, as an ethical problem. But ethical in the sense in which the Greeks understood it: ethos was a way of being and of behaviour. It was a mode of being for the subject, along with a certain way of acting, a way visible to others. A person's ethos was

evident in his clothing, appearance, gait, in the calm with which he responded to every event, and so on. For the Greeks, this was the concrete form of freedom; this was the way they problematized their freedom. A man possessed of a splendid ethos, who could be admired and put forward as an example, was someone who practiced freedom in a certain way [...] But extensive work by the self on the self is required for this practice of freedom to take shape in an ethos that is good, beautiful, honourable, estimable, memorable, and exemplary.

As I will explain alongside the thesis, Víctor Jara's ethos is connected with values of beauty and memory and is exemplary because of its extraordinary political and music trajectory, but also his sacrificial death. In this thesis, I will take into consideration this definition of technology of the self to analyse the music of Víctor Jara as a technology used and exercised by musicians to conduct themselves in specific aspects of everyday life. Specifically, Víctor Jara can be conceived as an ethical referent or role model who provides guidelines for conduct in everyday life. I will develop this idea mainly in chapter 6, in which different amateur and professional musicians explain the relevance of Víctor Jara as an ethical referent.

### *2.2.3 Music communities: subcultures, scenes, neo-tribes*

The third line of thought I consider relevant to the discussion of music performance, is connected to a set of concepts associated with music communities such as subcultures, scenes and neo-tribes (Bennett 1999; Bennett and Kahn-Harris 2004; Bennett and Peterson 2004). According to Bennet (2004), the concept of subcultures has been used mainly by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) to analyse deviant characteristics of youth subcultures after the World War II. Hebdige (1991, pp.2–3), one the main exponents of the CCCS subculture theory, defines subcultures as 'expressive forms and rituals of [...] subordinate groups'. Taking this view, subcultures are styles that are created by mundane objects that accomplished the role of criticism of hegemonic conventions and expressed prohibited identities. Bennet and Kahn-Harris (2004, p.6) criticise CCCS's concept of subculture because of its rigidity and

sense of coherence and solidarity, considering that groups are not the main source of sociability in post-modern life, but individuals can assume different identities in specific locations or sites. In relation to music, these authors criticise the concept of subculture since music creates, rather than reaffirms, communities (ibid., p.10) - so, according to them, alternative concepts such as taste and lifestyles are more adequate to analyse postmodern identities than CCCS's concept of subculture. The former concept is useful in understanding how music taste can blur structural features such as class, age and education through the creation of 'common musical expectations' (ibid., p.10); meanwhile the latter is related to how commodities are cultural resources for creation meaning in everyday practices (ibid., p.13)<sup>24</sup>.

Bennet (1999) argues that the concepts of neo-tribes and scenes are more useful than subcultures in understanding the fluid and changeable dynamics of music in post-modern societies. Neo-tribe is a concept coined by Maffesoli (1996, quoted in Bennett 1999, p.599), to refer to the type of relationship produced in specific music sites that produces identification, not for specific gender, class, occupational or location features, but for lifestyles preferences (Bennett 1999). As an example of neo-tribes, football hooligans and New Age hippies can be mixed on the same dance floor, beyond their visual stylistic preferences. As Bennet points out, a key feature of the neo-tribal concept, is the assumption that musical identities are temporal and changeable instead of stable and permanent. Since the concept of neo-tribes has highlighted the ephemerality of music sociability, this concept has been related to *communitas* in some studies on festivals (John 2001, p.66; Jaimangal-Jones et al. 2010, p.255).

Meanwhile, in spite of it having been used in journalism from at least the 1940s onwards, the concept of scene was explicitly introduced into the academic debate from the 1990s onwards (Bennett and Peterson 2004, p.2,3). Two pioneering pieces of academic research on scenes can be found in Straw's (1991) analysis of

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<sup>24</sup> Bennet (2005, p.4) highlights that the concept of lifestyle has been developed by Goffman as the incorporation of social roles that individuals used to performed in specific ways.

communities in popular music, and Shank's (1994) empirical study on the rock n' roll scene in Texas. As Hesmondhalgh (2005) notes, Straw's analysis on scenes provides a criticism of stable notions of music communities based on geographically situated traditions, and proposes the idea of scene should refer to the connections of specific music spaces with larger, de-territorialised music cultures. Meanwhile, Shank's analysis defined music scene as a space of overproduction of significance with the ability to interrogate hegemonic forms of domination. Both Straw's and Shanks's studies were important for further research on the theme, since the concept of scene was implemented in different studies on popular music, and it became an important category of analysis in its field (Hesmondhalgh 2005, p.27). Bennet and Peterson (2004) proposed a further development of this concept, identifying local, trans-local and virtual scenes. According to Bennet and Peterson (2004), local scenes are related to specific geographical space, although it is necessarily based on organic relationships between music and local histories, but they can emerge as a consequence of the appropriation of global networks. Trans-local scenes refer to the established communication between local scenes that follow particular musical tastes and lifestyles. The interaction within local scenes is based on the interchange of bands, recordings, fans and fanzines (ibid., p9). Virtual scenes connect dispersed people via the internet, for instance through chat-rooms. Virtual scenes fostered and mediated the relationship between people, principally fans, who share specific information on music such as favourite performers or performances (ibid., p.10).

In spite of the widespread use of the concepts of neo-tribes and scenes, they have been criticised due to their ambiguity and complicity with consumer society (Hesmondhalgh 2005). As Hesmondhalgh notes (ibid., pp.28-29), the concept of scene is ambiguous in terms that refer both to the use of particular music genres in specific sites - such as a city or town - and the global and cosmopolitan meanings and implications of music. Hesmondhalgh (ibid., p.24) has also criticised the concept of neo-tribe when used as a celebration of society or consumption, in which individuals are freely able to decide with aesthetic agency

they want, while there are constraining forces that limit these possibilities. In other words, Hesmondhalgh's criticism of neo-tribes is that this notion overestimates the self-constitution of agency and its excessive criticism of structural approaches on culture (ibid., p.25).

In this thesis, I suggest that the concept of neo-tribe is too dispersed and ambiguous to analyse the role of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song music as a relevant device for the constitution of identity and memory. In short, the use and interest in this music is not a consequence of a market choice that neither pick up as one among different lifestyles preferences, but, as I will illustrate in the thesis, this music is important for some festival-goers because it is connected with relevant life-experiences, such as the liminal experience of Popular Unity for some Chilean exiles, or the significant experiences of Latin American politics for some British activities such as participation in solidarity campaigns. In addition, I suggest that the fascination and interest in this music is not a consequence of the existence of homogeneous subcultures (Hebdige 1991), so it is an articulator of counterculture discourse based on the citation of specific codes and traditions. As I will explain in chapter 6, Jara and New Chilean Song music has been used as a mark of differentiation from mainstream tendencies like urban alienation or commodification of Latin American music.

### 2.3 Performativity as citationality and belonging

Performativity is another concept I will discuss in this thesis, in order to analyse the process of formation, negotiation and contestation of identities. As I will explain within the thesis, the festival generates a sense of belonging and identity because this event cites and repeats specific codes, rules and norms that create a feeling of membership and belonging. This notion of citation and repetition is central to the theory of performativity. This theory suggests identities (such as gender or ethnic identities) are not self-constituted but they are formed based upon the citation of normative conventions and discourse (Bell 1999). Therefore, identities are not constitutive by internal attributes such as anatomical sex or

race, but through the performative citation of norms. In my thesis, I will demonstrate that the musical and political identities performed in the festival are not consequences of creativity or self-determination, but they are based on the citation of specific political ideas and artistic codes and repertoires that produce an effect of normalisation of identities. The citation of the discourse of leftist political leaders in Latin America, or the use of specific embodied gestures such as the closed fist, are part of the performativity of the festival. In addition, the festival produces a re-normalising effect since it creates a space in which the values and ideas that were or are subjected to neglect, punishment and censorship in specific contexts (for instance during the Pinochet dictatorship among Chilean exiles), became normal and legitimate in the space of the festival. In this section, I will analyse the theory of performativity, taking into consideration its connection with the concepts 'performative sentences' and 'citationality'. I will then explain how belonging is performatively created through the quotation of norms.

### *2.3.1 Performative sentences and citational practices*

The first element I will highlight in this section is the roots of the concept of performativity in linguistic debates on performative sentences. Austin (1962, pp.1–24) disagrees with the notion that statements are constatives, which is that they only describe or state facts, arguing that some utterances perform or do things. Performative sentences do not describe or report anything, they are not true or false, but they perform actions. For instance, the utterance 'I do' in a marriage ritual is not only describing a fact, but also performing an action. These utterances are performative sentences or performatives - meaning the words perform actions and are not only descriptions of the facts. In Austin's words, '... it seems clear that to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to describe my doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it' (1962, p.6). According to Austin, the performative sentence is effective if the circumstances of the utterance are appropriate, for instance, if in a Christian wedding the wife/husband who proclaims the performative 'I do', meets the

requirements for the event. There are no true or false performatives, but there are happy or unhappy ones. If the performative fails, for example, if the circumstances of the wedding are not appropriate, the utterance is unhappy, and vice versa<sup>25</sup>. Austin's argument is original in linguistic theory because it conceives of communication as a non-semiotic or non-symbolic concept.

In this thesis, I will use Austin's notion of performative sentence to analyse America as a performative concept in dispute (Taylor 2007) and to criticise neoliberalism as a performative economic discourse (MacKenzie and Millo 2003). The notion of performative sentences implies that language creates what it names, not just describing an objective reality. Following Austin's theory of language, Diana Taylor argues that 'America' is an unhappy performative. Taylor (2007) suggests that the word America is not a constative sentence, but a performative invention. This implies that this concept has no essential status, and therefore it is a concept in dispute - or unhappy - since for some people it refers to the US, meanwhile for others it refers to the whole continent. This thesis will problematise the concept of America in light of New Chilean Song and the views of some festival-goers. As I will explain in chapter 4, some New Chilean Song artistic production uses the concept 'America' to refer to a Pan-American political and cultural unification, and thereby, to challenge US appropriation of the term. Meanwhile, economic performativity is the process through which economics brings into existence what is enunciated, and is more than a mere description of an external reality (Cochoy et al. 2010)<sup>26</sup>. In relation to neoliberal performativity, I will analyse the festival as a space that challenges neoliberalism as the predominant discourse to explain economic success. Through the analysis of the speech of one of the main political speakers of the festival (Chapter 7), I will

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<sup>25</sup> Austin (1962, pp.14–15) maintains there are some conditions required in order to have a happy performative: the existence of conventional procedures and effects; the existence of appropriate circumstances and persons; all participants have to execute the procedure completely and correctly; the person who invokes the procedure must have the thoughts and feelings necessary for the occasion; and the participants must conduct themselves according to these thoughts or feelings.

<sup>26</sup> Another example is class performativity which implies that 'class theorists bring into effect that which name' (Skeggs 2012, p.286).

explain how words and citation of specific economic data are used to criticise neoliberal economic indicators of success, and to propose alternatively, a notion of economic success based on social justice and public access to basic goods such as education, health and housing.

A further approach to the concept of performativity is related to the notion of citationality. Returning to debates on linguistics, as Derrida (1982, pp.307–330) notes, rather than implying transportation to the meaning referred to, Austin's performative theory operates and produces effects. The referent of a performative is not outside of or before the utterance, but it operates within and transforms specific situations; therefore, this theory replaces the value of truth (based on the binary, true/false) by the value of force (to transform situations). In this sense, Austin's linguistic theory consequently gives special value to the context in which the communication is performed and to the existence of conventions as a condition for happy performatives. However, Derrida disagrees with Austin's idea that the performative and its relationship to the context, is a singular and original event. He argues that utterances are structured by a system of citation or iterability, i.e. 'a structural characteristic of every mark' (Derrida 1982, p.324). Therefore, the intention of an utterance is not exclusively located in the utterance itself or its content, but rather in its relationship to a structure of citation.

Taking Austin and Derrida's theories as a reference, Butler (1993, p.225; 1999, p.xiv) argues that gender is performative as a type of enactment that appears to be a manifestation of an internal truth, however, it is actually induced by the citation of mandatory norms. The apparent interiority of gender is an effect of social discourse regulated by hegemonic and compulsory heterosexuality. An example of the performative quality of gender is the event in which a medical doctor says, following the scan of a pregnant women 'it is a girl or boy'. The words 'girl' or 'boy' bring into existence what it names. Butler (1993, p.120) uses Althusser's concept of interpellation to argue that the act of calling out a person constrains the person to occupy a specific position according to a pattern of

power established by authoritative power. According to Butler, gender categories are performatively constituted when the body is categorized as 'male' or 'female' through an interpellation based on heterosexual hegemony. Therefore, Butler uses the notion of *gender performativity* instead of *gender identity*. The former notion refers to the fact that gender is performed through the citation of regulatory conventions, meanwhile, the latter notion implies a process of self-constitution and stability.

Butler established a parallel between the action of gender and ritual social dramas proposed by Turner (2006), in terms that both require the repetition of specific acts that are the re-enactment of a 'set of meanings already socially established' (Butler 1988, p.527); however, the performance of gender outside theatrical space is governed by regulatory and punitive social conventions. For instance, a transvestite onstage can be applauded and can provide pleasure through entertainment, but offstage can unwittingly cause rage or fear. Thus, a theatrical performance is only a single act or play that brings into existence an imaginary reality, but in public spaces, there are no theatrical conventions to demarcate the imaginary character of the act. Thus, it is possible to trace a difference between performance and performativity, since performance as a theatrical-type event presumes the existence of a subject that is doing the action in a specific theatrical frame, meanwhile performativity assumes the subject is not the doer but is constrained to repeated acts according to a specific regulatory frame (McKinlay 2010, p.234; Huarcaya 2015, p.809)<sup>27</sup>.

In this thesis, I will discuss the concept of performativity as citationality using Diana Taylor's application of the term. Taylor introduces the concept of 'scenario'

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<sup>27</sup> At this point it is important to mention convergence and divergence between the concepts of performativity and performance. Firstly, there is no complete consistency between performativity and performance, but rather, an eclectic, and sometimes contradictory, relationship, in terms of one being unable to completely accommodate the other (Velten 2012). As Velten notes, both concepts derive from the verb 'to perform' which has two main definitions: to execute an action, and to present something to an audience. It seems that performativity refers to the former definition, and performance to the latter. However, this distinction is not clear since some literature has related performativity to the aesthetic quality of artistic representation, meanwhile other literature has used performance to describe the quality of utterances to produce effects.

to analyse performances. Taylor suggests that scenarios are formulaic structures that include simultaneously both actors assuming a role and the performativity of 'social actors assuming socially regulated patterns of appropriate behaviour' (Taylor, 2003, p. 30). This focus on scenario blurs the bipolarity between performativity and cultural performance (explained in the previous paragraph) to illustrate the tensions and continuities between the regulated patterns of behaviour and the assumed roles that are played in on-stage events. The existence of formulaic structures implies a process of repetition and citation that allow us to trace traditions that can be continue or resisted. In Taylor's (2003, p.32) words:

By considering scenarios as well as narratives, we expand our ability to rigorously analyse the live and the scripted, the citational practices characterize both, how traditions get constituted and contested, the various trajectories and influences that might appear in one but not in the other.

Taylor's concept of citationality - influenced by Butler's notion of performativity - will be relevant to analysis of New Chilean Song as a tradition that is cited and repeated in different events, moments, and forms throughout *El Sueño Existe* festival, producing the effect of transmission of memory and identity. For instance, I will demonstrate how specific gestures and speeches cited and reactivated in the festival, are related to the political values of New Chilean Song and Popular Unity (Chapter 7). I will analyse the process of citationality alongside Schechner's (2002, p.28) concept of 'restored behaviour', which asserts that performances are never original events, since they always include the restoration of specific behaviour that already exists<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Schechner (1985, p.35) coined the term 'restored behaviour' to refer to a type of behaviour which exists independently of the performers who activate it. In this sense, Schechner argues that performances are based on repetition; they are reflexive and symbolic and include multiple meanings that can be transformed, transmitted and manipulated. This implies the consideration that ordinary behaviour is never for the first time. Usually, people are not aware of this situation.

### 2.3.2 *Performativity as belonging*

Another discussion related to performativity is connected with the notion of belonging. The concept of performativity suggests that belonging to any group or identity is problematic because an individual does not ontologically or essentially belong to any specific group - her/his/their belonging is a consequence of the performance. In this sense, 'the performativity of belonging "cites" the norms that constitute or make present the "community" or group as such' (Bell 1999, p.3). This highlights the repetition of normalised codes that materialise and produce the sense of belonging. This notion of belonging and performativity has been discussed in studies on festivities and rituals, in which the citation of specific norms, symbols or conducts in these events, are considered either as reproduction or contestation of hegemonic identities. This line of thought assumes that the subject is not the author or originator of his/her discursive effects, but he/she is conditioned by conventional citational practices.

For instance, Fortier analysed how the repetition of specific gender and ethnic norms in festive and ritual events produce a sense of belonging. Fortier (1999b) argues that diasporic community is produced as a consequence of institutional discourse and performatively constituted practice. As a case study, Fortier takes the performative practices of an Italian migrant culture such as processions, first communions and Mass, to be regulatory acts that produce a sense of belonging and membership within this diasporic group. As normative and collective practices, these performative events produce embodied effects in their participants by materialising gender and ethnic identities. For instance, the St. Peter's Annual Procession celebrated annually in London on 16<sup>th</sup> July or the following Sunday, is an ethnic and religious festival, an invented tradition experienced as authentic. Fortier argues that during this procession, Italian Catholicism is performed as a normative imperative, a definitional ritual of a particular truth. Moreover, this ritualised commemoration constructs an image of femininity represented in the construction of fixed family roles inspired by the figure of the *Madonna* or Virgin, whose sense of existence is to serve her father,

husband, and children; this has become a symbol of the sacrificial diasporic condition. Fortier (2006) establishes that the performative events also encourage the existence of 'communities of feeling' and 'ethnic intimacy'.

Duffy (2000; 2005; 2008) gives further support to the notion of performativity as belonging, analysing music festivals in Australia. Instead of analysing processions or mass events as Fortier does, Duffy is interested in analysing music as a performative act (2005, 682). This implies that music, instead of representing or reflecting specific identities, produces them<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, Duffy suggest that community music festivals are spaces for the celebration of illusory identities activated through performativity. In this sense, music is a process of belonging, and the music performed in festivals creates a symbolic space where collective identities are established. Using Butler's performative theory, Duffy defines the process of identification as a fantasy in which subjects construct a consistent and coherent self. According to Duffy (2005, p.681), the 'sonic, moving self' of festivals is an expression of identity that is the result of musical gestures and sounds instead of essential notions of ethnicity or nationality. Therefore, music is able to affirm and contest the values and structures of a community; it activates myths that are shared by the community who participate in this ritual.

The idea of performativity and belonging in festive events is developed by some scholars (Waite 2003; Spracklen et al. 2013; Huarcaya 2015). For instance, Spracklen and his colleagues' 2013 study on real-ale festivals in the north of England suggest that drinking alcohol is a mark of belonging based on a construction of gendered identities and exclusion. The participants of this type of festival are mainly heterosexual men who express their masculinity through drinking excess alcohol (or pretending to) as a signal of strength; meanwhile,

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<sup>29</sup> Duffy's theory is critical to the liminal theory, since she argues this concept neglects the everyday and subtle connection relationships between place and people. However, I argue there is nothing in the theory of liminality that suggests that festival cannot be performative, affective and reaffirm everyday behaviour. In other words, Duffy' theory of performativity misunderstands the critical reflexive function of liminal events, since these events are not a passive suspension of everyday life norms, but they actively propose transformation and change through critical reflection.

women play the role of passive partner. Performativity of gender in this type of festival is consistent with a broader conservative attitude towards gender in the north of England. In this sense, Spracklen's analysis of performativity suggests that festivals are spaces that reproduce hegemonic identities and are therefore a space of both inclusion and exclusion.

Meanwhile, another corpus on literature uses the concept of performativity to analyse how festivities produce a sense of belonging, subverting hegemonic gender or ethnic identities. For instance, Waitt (2003) analyses performativity of belonging in Sydney Gay Games. According to Waitt, this sports festival produces a sense of belonging to LGBTI citizens through the subversion of heterosexual hegemony of competitive sports. However, Waitt suggests that, paradoxically, these sport games are also reproducing norms of heteropatriarchal society through the hyper stylisation of bodies. In relation to race and ethnic performativity, Huarcaya (2015) suggests that the performativity of race in Ecuador has positioned indigenous people in a subaltern position<sup>30</sup>. In this context, racial labels such as 'white' or 'indigenous' are not a consequence of the physical attributes, but they are based on the reproduction of a hierarchical system. In the context of racial discrimination and exclusion according to white normativity, the performance of indigenous festivities events are spaces of contestation of white hegemony, and thereby, reinforcement of indigenous identities<sup>31</sup>. Similarly, Cordova (2012; 2014) analyses two festivals in Bolivia to investigate the process of performative exclusion and belonging. According to Cordova, the hegemonic national discourse of *mestizaje* is predominant in the Oruro festival, the main festivity in this country. Following Butler's notion of performativity, Cordova suggests that the Oruro carnival is citing and reproducing the hegemonic national discourse of *mestizaje* and Catholic

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<sup>30</sup> A similar criticism of white hegemony is proposed by Muñoz (2006) who coined the concept 'performativity of race' to analyse the effects of racial hierarchies in the production of a sense of exclusion and depressive mood for ethnic minorities in the US, which is indecipherable for normative citizens

<sup>31</sup> Huarcaya's (2015, p.818) analysis is also critical of republican, governmental and intellectual positions that consider indigenous festivities as irrational spaces.

religiosity, and thereby, it excludes indigenous ethnicities that are not identified within this discourse. As an alternative, Cordova proposes to analyse Aymara festival, *Anata Andina*, as a performative political event that challenges mainstream Bolivian discourse.

In this thesis, I will acknowledge the contribution of the notion of performativity and belonging, to analyse festivities as space that necessarily cites and reproduces specific norms, either to criticise hegemonic identities, or to subvert them. This implies an understanding of the process of belonging in festival as a normative process. In other words, the sense of belonging and identification with the festival depends on the level of adequacy and understanding of the codes and norms that are cited in the festival. I suggest that the sense of belonging produced in the festival is produced according to the capacity of the festival-goers to understand or reproduce the aesthetic and political norms that are cited during the festival.

#### 2.4 Conclusions: festival as space of belonging and critique

Music festivals are paradoxical activities. They do function as sites in which notions of identity, tradition, community and belonging are consolidated, but they also provide opportunities to question, to subvert hegemonic practices, to playfully, even forcefully, challenge notions about who we are, how we are represented, and how we connect (Duffy 2008, p.106)

In this final section I will explain how the theories explained in the chapter will be useful in analysing *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara. This thesis will focus on the simultaneous function of festivals as spaces that criticise dominant discourse and norms, and also reproduce and repeat specific traditions. In this sense, the quotation by Duffy reflects on this dual situation of the festival - that both are connected with notions of tradition and community, but also challenge hegemonic practices. This thesis will focus on the double function of festivals as spaces of belonging and subversion, but instead of considering it to be

paradox as Duffy proposes, I suggest that these are considered to be different layers or dimensions of the festival.

Considering the critical, anti-normative function of the festival, I suggest that the festival is a liminal event that challenges established temporal, spatial and political structures. This analysis will contribute, then, to the analysis of cultural performance as 'time out of time', 'place out of place', challenging established political discourse. First, I suggest *El Sueño Existe* festival performs a 'time out of time' (Falassi 1987). It is a point of entry to the past, a medium for breaking the norms of time. The repetition of iconic symbols and repertoire from Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song creates an imaginary bridge between the political experience lived in the 1970s for Chilean exiles, and British activists involved in the solidarity movement with Chile. In this sense, *El Sueño Existe* festival could be analysed as a nostalgic festival (Bennett and Woodward 2014, pp.14–15) based on the reproduction of repertoire and practices associated with the politics and culture of the left in the 1960s and 1970s, especially the culture of New Chilean Song and Popular Unity. Therefore, Víctor Jara is a reference point for the collective celebration of nostalgia. Nevertheless, this nostalgia does not exclusively belong to a former time, but plays a significant role in the definition of identities in the present (Bennett and Woodward 2014, p.15), so the performance of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song's repertoire is important to the definition of festival-goers identities nowadays.

The second dimension of analysis I will develop, is the notion of spatial liminality. I argue *El Sueño Existe* festival breaks the norms of space, creating imaginary bridges and exchange between the here and there in Wales/UK and Latin America. It is a temporal suspension of distance. For Chilean exiles, *El Sueño Existe* festival is a space for the performance of their music and their political and cultural legacy, in a diasporic space, similar to other Latin American festivals around the world (Cadaval 1998). Music, dance and politics evoke the culture of the migrants' original place. *El Sueño Existe* festival has the capacity to solve, temporally, the spatial fragmentation of diasporic experience. This thesis will

explain the role of festival events and the contribution of the arts in generating a sense of belonging and attachment among Chilean exiles<sup>32</sup>. Meanwhile, for British left-wing activists, it is a moment that transports them to a geography of political revolution (Waitt 2008, p.526); a place where fantasies of socialism and communism - that are impossible to reach in their homelands - are brought into existence (Chapter 7).

Third, I will analyse liminality from a political perspective. The festival provides a platform for temporally breaking the norms of political establishment, providing an alternative discourse to that encouraged by corporate media in relation to a series of political events. In this sense, it is a ritual of critique of dominant discourse (Turner 1987, p.22), since it implies a critique reflexivity of the current political regime (neoliberal austerity and conservatism in the UK, US imperialism and neoliberalism in Latin America). Politically, the festival is also ritual of inversion of defeat. Although Popular Unity was defeated and the transition to socialism was incomplete, the desire to persevere with the ideas and values of this political project, is still present. The festival is a consequence of this desire for continuity. The idea of conceiving of Popular Unity as a liminal project is consistent with certain literature on liminality which argues that revolutionary periods are liminal (Thomassen 2014). As Thomassen (2014, p.196) notes, '[be]cause such mobilizations [during revolutionary periods] take place outside and against existing institutional orders, they are experienced by involved subjects as extraordinary, liminal moments'. Based on the experience of Chilean exiles (Chapter 5), I will show how Popular Unity was experienced liminally for some festival-goers, in terms of it being an extraordinary event that impacted upon their lives, compelling them to return to this period.

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<sup>32</sup> This argument of liminal 'in-betweenness' of migrant experiences is common in research on migration (Sharpe 2005; Menjívar 2006; Sargent and Larchanché-Kim 2006; Noussia and Lyons 2009; Wilcox 2011), however, the work by Cadaval (1998) has the particularity of connecting the migrant in-between in relation to festivals, since this author argues that the drama of the separation from the home country is symbolically solved and expressed throughout the liminal period of the festival.

In relation to the reproduction of normativity, reflection on the 'technology of the self' is seeking to understand music performance and behaviour as a normative practice based on judgment, value structures and ways of living. In other words, the music of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara is experienced as a role model or ethical example the musicians are trying to follow, not only for their music practice, but for different practices of everyday life. Following the debate on the role of music in everyday life proposed by music and cultural sociologists such as DeNora (2000), Bennet (2005), and Frith (2002), I will analyse how the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is used as a technology, or device, for enacting past memories and emotions, as a source for counterculture practices and opinions, and also as a philosophy or ethics of life. This thesis will expand DeNora's approach to 'music as technology of the self', taking into consideration Gilroy's (1993) notion of music as power/knowledge effect, and Foucault's (1997b) notion of ethics.

Another element I will discuss is the reproduction of normativity through the process of citation of political and music norms. I argue that the festival produces the effect of normalisation of identities, aesthetic and political practices through the materialisation of specific ideas, gestures and discourse. In the space of the festival, festival-goers feel that their own political ideals, values, connection to socialism, and anti-capitalism, are not unusual. In the case of Chilean exiles, they have experienced 'political correction' and punishment during the Pinochet dictatorship. They were persecuted or imprisoned due to a wave of anti-Marxism that affected different countries in the southern cone of Latin America. In this sense, the festival is a space that allows Chilean exiles to have some continuity with these cultural and political values<sup>33</sup>. Meanwhile, for some British leftist activists, the festival allows them to reinforce political values that are also portrayed by mainstream media as unusual or abnormal<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Yúdice (2003, p.73) mentioned how disciplinary and repressive institutions encourage a constraining force in relation to performative styles carried out by anti-neoliberal activists in Latin America.

<sup>34</sup> In relation to the anti-communism in Western mass media, see Herman and Chomsky (1988, p.2).

I suggest that this effect of renormalisation is materialised through the repetition and citation of gestures, songs, political statements and movements during the space of the festival, in an iterability process that Diana Taylor termed 'reactivation' (2003, pp.29, 32). In addition, I will use the concept of 'liquification of mundane life' (Stenner 2017) to explain how the festival produces the effect of mobilisation and reactivation of practices and ideas that were, some years ago, part of everyday life for some Chilean exiles. This last idea refers to how liminal, extraordinary space of the festival, can re-normalise practices that are kept in a 'solid state' during everyday life. In synthesis, this thesis proposes varying strategies to analyse the simultaneous effect of suspension and reproduction of normativity. Argument on the double effect of suspension and reproduction of normativity is seeking an understanding of how the suspension of some specific norms (such as the norms of time, place or politics), can take place through the reproduction or reactivation of specific political and aesthetic conventions and practices, producing a sense of belonging among the participants.

The next chapter will refer to the methodological aspects of the thesis. My methodology will focus on performance theory. I argue performance is a fruitful concept to study identities and festivals because it proposes a variety of methodological elements for the analysis of social and cultural practices.

## Chapter 3. Methodology

My methodology is informed by my theoretical stance. The concept of performance and performativity that is explored in the thesis is methodologically fruitful because it is a multidisciplinary and multifocal approach that allows us to consider identities from the perspective of discursive practices, rituals, embodiment and memory. Performance epistemology challenges the written text as the main system of knowledge in relation to Western culture (Taylor 2003). This concept helps us to consider cultural events, not only through textual forms and official historiography, but also through embodied and ritual events. In other words, the process of transmission of memory and identity can be investigated, not exclusively from the perspective of geopolitics and written forms of production of knowledge such as geography, official history or literature, but rather from the perspective of the effects of arts and performative practices in the construction of identities. Performance is a methodology of practice. Therefore, the researcher does not have a neutral position and is part of the reality being researched. Thus, the research will not study an exotic 'other', but will instead be part of the production of knowledge. This idea is related to the feature of festivals as face-to-face events. Festivals are performance-based events since they are focused on specific places and times, they require presence, so people need to attend to experience their originality (Sassatelli 2011, p.18).

Taking into consideration performance as a methodological tool, in this chapter I will explain my epistemological assumptions; my personal journey through the research process; my ethnographic experience in *El Sueño Existe*; the festival as a space for reflection on my family history, music and politics; and, cultural translation as a methodological challenge.

### 3.1 Performance as epistemology

According to Diana Taylor (2003, p.3) performance epistemology aims to focus on embodied practices as a system of transmitting knowledge. That is, performance challenges the written text as the predominant way of knowing in Western thought. As Taylor maintains, '[t]he writing = memory/knowledge equation is central to Western epistemology' (Taylor 2003, p.24). Consequently, performance epistemology allows us to go beyond the written text and look for embodied practices. This epistemology invites us to remap and rethink Latin America, proposing an alternative to the literate and historiographic traditions. As explained in the previous chapter, Taylor maintains that the Americas –a term that refers to the plurality of ways to conceive the region, such as North America, Latin America, Central America, and so on - could be analysed as a performance. The Americas is neither a fact nor an object, but is a belief or invention 'conjured into existence through visual and verbal performatives' (Taylor 2007, p.1421). The Aztec maps of the 16th century conceived the space in terms of embodied practices and ceremonies that shaped the daily lives of people, while the European maps focus on the geographical location viewed from above, and omit embodied practices. Both maps are performative - they conjure, and therefore invent, a version of the world<sup>35</sup>.

From the perspective of performance epistemology, the imposition of writing text was a strategy used during American colonisation to decimate the predominant forms of knowledge among the native population, which were based on performative and oral communication. This form of colonialism introduced two sets of discourse against native performance: one dedicated to devaluing the episteme of indigenous performative traditions (such as sacrifice), and a second committed to abolishing pre-Colombian religious content by categorising it as idolatry or bad objects. Mayan and Aztec books were eliminated

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<sup>35</sup> As Benedict Anderson (2006) illustrates, the invention and massification of maps, mathematically organized, was a key element for the creation of imagined nations from the 19th century onwards in South East Asia.

as a result (Taylor 2003, p.33). Roman Catholicism was the symbolic system used to eliminate indigenous performance. Taylor emphasises that performance-based forms such as theatre and music, were relevant to the process of American colonisation. Theatre played a significant role in Catholic evangelisation during the 16th century, and it was used to manipulate natives and reaffirm the drama of their defeat (Taylor 1990, pp.1–2). As Taylor suggests, the Incas and the Mayans afforded dramatic rituals particular relevance because of their power to harmonise the supernatural and material existence. The theatre was not a tool for legitimisation or representation of power, but was itself a form of power. Colonisation inverted this way of experiencing theatre and the ritual drama and religious ceremony supported and legitimated the new order.

Indeed, research on oral poetry and traditional music in Latin America shows evidence of the use of performative arts as a form of evangelisation during colonisation. Colonisation was achieved not only through the imposition of military forces, but also as a conquest of minds. Catholic missions, especially the Jesuit congregation, imposed the Catholic doctrine and ideas from the Bible using European-based poetry and music to evangelise indigenous people whose primary form of communication was orality. Forms such as the *décima*, a poetic stanza of ten eight-syllable verses, or the *romance* narrative poems were introduced as a strategy to indoctrinate indigenous people into the Catholic religion (Sepúlveda 1994; Astorga 2000). Nowadays, it is possible to find rural and traditional singers reciting poems with specific Biblical content using aesthetic forms 'learned' from Catholic authorities; furthermore, baroque music was used in order to evangelise native peoples in the Guaraníes and Chiquitos reductions. At the start of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century native reductions were established in modern day Paraguay and Bolivia, where Jesuit bishops taught music in mission schools as a basic form of education. Catholic historiography considered the use of music for evangelisation, as an achievement (Nawrot 2000; 2004).

Diana Taylor's central argument is that performance - understood as an embodied and oral form of transmission of knowledge - became an alternative to

official historiography, transmitted through written text and written by hegemonic groups. Taylor maintains that orality and embodied practices were central forms of knowledge transmission among native people before the arrival of European colonisation in America. Official historiography presents an abstract and disembodied version of the past; this is particularly clear in the history written during colonisation by representatives of the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, rituals, live music, theatre, dances, processions, *etcetera*, constitute a living form of knowledge. Official history focuses on written materials, thus historians have attempted to 'discover' the meaning of the objects that they are examining. However, performance analysis is centred on living forms of transmission of knowledge, and the researcher is bodily engaged with the object of analysis. Moreover, the official written history generally represents the perspective of the conqueror, the triumphal version of history.

Performance proposes an alternative to the logocentric interpretation of history using the quotation of embodied practices of the past. Taylor (2006) illustrates the differences and tensions between written and oral memory through analysis of a festival that takes place in Tepoztlán, a small village in Morelos, Mexico. This feast started in the 16th century and still continues today. The core of the Tepoztlán feast is El Reto (The Challenge), a representation of the attack on Tepoztecatl by its neighbours as a result of their conversion to Christianity during the 16th century. According to the canonical historical version, the conversion of Tepoztecos to Christianity was accomplished through its defeat. In the feast, however, this transformation is represented as a triumph. The idea of oral memory is important for my research because I considered *El Sueño Existe* festival a space for the transmission of knowledge. As a performance-based event, this festival includes multiple forms of knowledge transmission that require presence. Here, knowledge involves not only rational knowledge, but also emotional and non-verbal forms of transmission. Following performance epistemology, the festival can be analysed as a scenario that includes live participants, a schematic plot and an intended end (Taylor 2003, p.13). In short, Taylor's performance epistemology proposes a symbolic inversion of hegemonic-specific forms of

colonial and post-colonial power. This idea is present in different areas of Diana Taylor's analysis, for example, political theatre as a form of contestation regarding the political crisis in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s (Taylor 1990), or public demonstrations carried out by mothers of the disappeared in Argentina as a contestation of legal and political impunity (Taylor 2006b). Clearly, this idea of challenging the hegemonic order has to be analysed in light of *El Sueño Existe* festival, as explained in the previous chapter.

An important methodological and epistemological challenge of using performance is its relationship with the concept of representation. Performance proposes an anti-representational ontology. Phelan (1993, p.146) maintains that the ontology of performance art is non-reproductive: '[p]erformance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations [...] To the degree that performance attempts to enter the economy of production it betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology'. The constitution of performance has to deal with the paradox that ephemeral events are brought into existence just once. In this view, all recordings of ephemeral events are representations rather than the events themselves. So, any representation of the performance alludes to a past event. Social researchers generally translate events into recorded mediums, and once a performance is recorded and represented, it has lost its instantaneous condition<sup>36</sup>. It can therefore be argued that the paradox of the representation of ephemeral events is complex, considering that a significant part of the knowledge gained in transitory and evanescent events cannot be translated into durable and stable forms (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2008).

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<sup>36</sup> The ephemeral ontology of performance was refuted by Schneider who maintains that performance is indeed saved and recorded in the body. Schneider suggests that Phelan's performance ontology is reproducing an archival notion of saving or keeping in non-archival phenomena. In this sense, performance is not ephemeral, does not vanish, but is kept in the body through different forms of retention such as memories, trauma, gestures, and behaviours (Schneider, 2001, pp. 102–103).

However, from my point of view, this paradox can be solved if we consider the diverse forms of performance registration, not only as mediums that reactivate a memory of a past event, but as mediums that can generate effects on the social situation in which they are watched or listened. This means that pictures, sound recordings, and videos of festivals are not passive mediums that represent a moment of the past, but that they also produce effects on people. In this sense, they are performative. These mediums have a self-contained significance rather than being subjugated exclusively to the original events to which they refer. This idea is crucial to my methodology since I will consider *El Sueño Existe* festival as an event that is not exclusively restricted to the specific time frame in which it takes place. Methodologically, it is crucial to attend, to participate in the festival. However, I argue that the diverse forms of registration also bring these types of events into existence. Therefore, documents, posters, press documents, *etcetera*, are materials susceptible to be analysed, not only as a reference to the past, but also as devices that have a meaning of their own.

Another epistemological discussion involving the concept of performance, requires consideration of its relationship to the concept of 'otherness'. The performative turn challenges the concept representation and the study of the 'other'. Anthropology has pinpointed the crisis of representation from the perspective of post-colonialism, i.e., the way the West represents the 'other' (Ebert 1986). After World War II, the ethnographer was no longer considered a veracious authority of reality or a conveyor of truth. The meaning of socio-cultural reality is not outside of the process of the production of knowledge in which the ethnographer takes part. Clifford (1983) situates the crisis of representation in the context of the end of colonial power from the 1950s onwards, and the emergence of critical cultural theories in the 1960s and 1970s. In the post-war period, anthropologists had to rethink their complicity with the imperial order as a science that studied the 'other' from the perspective of Western hegemony. The crisis of representation implies a questioning of the way that human and social sciences interacted with others. A common practice in US and European anthropology during the first half of the 20th century was the promotion of

intensive fieldwork about an exotic 'other'. According to performance epistemology, ethnography is not an interpretation of the 'other' reality and is instead a process that involves interaction among political subjects. A discursive paradigm of ethnographic practice highlights the intersubjectivity of speech and its performative context. A representational approach is based on the existence of an asymmetric difference between 'one' and the 'other'; it implies an exotification and exercise of control over the other. Therefore, the challenge of this thesis was to overcome a representational perspective using a performative approach that includes my own positionality and subjectivity, in the process of constructing knowledge.

In summary, performance epistemology proposes a critique of authoritative forms of transmission and registration of knowledge such as official historiography or representative ethnography. Embodied and oral systems of communication present an alternative to hegemonic versions of knowledge, usually kept in 'immobile' forms of registration such as written text and archives. I will therefore consider *El Sueño Existe* festival as a space for the transmission of knowledge and memory, and thereby as a space for social debate. This approach highlights the idea that public debate is not exclusively verbal; it can also be expressed in non-verbal expressions such as dance, ritual, gesture, music, *etcetera*. Furthermore, pictures, film and different creative forms that capture the expression of festivals are not inert forms of representation, but rather they have their own life and self-contained meaning.

### 3.2 My personal journey in the research

Performance has become a way of knowing in which the researcher situates her/himself in the reality being analysed. Key elements of performative ethnography are the relevance of engagement over neutrality, connection over autonomy, and dialogue over monologue (Tedlock 2005, p.152). Clearly, engagement, connection and dialogue were crucial in my research since the key ideas, concepts and methods proposed during the early stage of my research

changed according to my interaction with the people and cultural practices that I experienced whilst studying festivals. I proposed my research as a co-construction - a co-production of knowledge in dialogue with the people who participate in the festivals and cultural practices performed in these events. Following this line of thought, I will explain my journey through my research process, taking into consideration the ups and downs, and how my encounter with specific people changed the course of my research.

The initial focus of my PhD was to study processes of identity formation in Latin American festivals in London. Initially I proposed to study *El Carnival del Pueblo* and *La Linea*<sup>37</sup>. So, this initial project for my PhD process was far away from studying *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara. However, specific situations and motivations led my research to follow this current direction. The first situation was my disappointment with *El Carnival del Pueblo* and *La Linea* due to their commercial orientation and inflated branding. On one hand, *La Linea* festival is an event oriented to bring renowned Latin American artists from abroad, and to promote concerts in different venues in London. Because of the price, I realised that *La Linea* was financially inaccessible to me. In addition, since the dynamic of the festival was similar to that of a music concert, the participation of local communities was not relevant. *Carnival del Pueblo* looked like an event that was more engaged with local communities in London, since it was an open event organised near Elephant & Castle, a neighbourhood with a significant number of Latin American residents (McIlwaine et al. 2011, p.33). However, the problem was that in spite of their self-advertising on their webpage as the biggest Latin American festival in the UK, the festival never took place in 2014, 2015 or 2016. It was a phantom festival, advertised every year on the webpage, but cancelled continuously.

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<sup>37</sup> *Carnival del Pueblo*, was advertised as one of Europe's largest festivals of Latin American Culture and it has been running since 1999 (Greater London Authority 2010). Meanwhile, *La Linea* is London Latin Music Festival and takes place in Central London every April (<http://www.comono.co.uk/live>). This festival was first held in 2001 and Como No is a company that produces live events at different venues in London.

I also participated as a member of the public in other Latin American festivals such as the Latin American and African culture festival at Grow Pub, located very close to the Olympic Park in Hackney, London, during October 2014. According to the advertising, this festival included live music, workshops and performances<sup>38</sup>. I arrived at the festival with the expectation that there would be plenty of people. However, there were only a few people and the environment was very quiet. On reflection, I was impressed with the way that Latin American festivals in London, like Grow's, used the term 'festival' as a strategy to promote and advertise a sum of activities connected to Latin American culture, but without the effervesce and volume of people I had seen in previous festivals in Latin America. In this context, I experienced the relevance of marketing, the tourism industry and city branding to promote and generate an image of festivals in post-industrial cities (Evans 2003; Waitt 2008). In my view, these festivals presented too little reflexive and critical material for analysis; they were not dissimilar to other events of Latin American culture oriented to commercial ends<sup>39</sup>. There was no community behind them, neither was there a contestation of hegemonic identities. These festivals also did not provide enough opportunities to engender a performative, close participation.

In that period, questions on standardisation of culture (Peterson 2009; Ritzer 2015), problems of neo-colonial representation of Latin America (Mendieta 2006; Moraña et al. 2008a), and discussions on the commodification of festivals (Gotham 2005), were suitable research areas. However, I was looking for a festival that I could identify with or have a sense of belonging to. Therefore, I opted to open up my case study to other Latin American festivals such the *London Latin American Film Festival* and *CASA, Latin American Theatre Festival*. Both were interesting cases, with a non-profit orientation, and both were open to communities. For instance, in spite of CASA being oriented to bring renowned

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<sup>38</sup> <http://growhackney.tumblr.com/>

<sup>39</sup> For instance, during 2015, Wahaca food retail produced an event on Mexican day of the Dead that includes music, food and art. Considering that Wahaca is a transnational organisation, for me is clear that this company instrumentalised festivals in order to improve its corporative image.

artists from outside the UK - as *La Linea* does - this festival includes activities related to Latin America people living in the UK, such as the exhibition of plays by emergent Latin American companies, an open community show and an open Latin community day (McIlwaine et al. 2016). Meanwhile, the *London Latin American Film Festival* was created in the early 1990s and was oriented to exhibit films without commercial ends<sup>40</sup>. I attended, as a member of the public, both festivals, and I approached the organisers to draw their attention to my research. However, the potentiality of this festival to study processes of identity and belonging, in my experience in *El Sueño Existe*, was significantly different since I was politically, artistically and emotionally more connected to this festival compared to the others.

I considered three key moments in my research that were a turning point in relation to researching *El Sueño Existe*. The first was my participation as a member of the music band *La Veleidosa*, at the 2015 festival. Second, the establishment of a friendship and collaboration with Tony Corden and other organisers of the festival. And third, the preliminary interviews I conducted with three Chilean exiles which were very intense and interesting for me. In relation to my experience of playing with *La Veleidosa* in May 2015, I offered a music concert at the Goldsmiths Graduate Festival, themed on the music of Víctor Jara. A Chilean friend attended the event and saw the performance. She invited me to participate in the 2015 *El Sueño Existe* festival as a musician with her band *La Veleidosa*<sup>41</sup>. The opportunity to play at *El Sueño Existe* was unique since it gave me the chance to share specific artistic knowledge. Our performance included solely repertoire by Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara. In addition, we created *décimas*. I created one *décima* in homage to Víctor Jara and María Bernardita, the leader of the band, created another in homage to Violeta Parra. We presented these *décimas* in the concert with a translation into English.

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.latinamericanfilmfestival.com/>

<sup>41</sup> *Veleidosa* means 'capricious'.



Figure 1. La Veleidosa performing at The Marquee, *El Sueño Existe* festival 2015  
(Photo by Daniela Pérez)

My friendship with Tony was cultivated after my initial participation in the festival. During the 2015 festival, I stayed in the hut that is located in the garden of his house. I did not speak a lot with him during the festival because he was very busy with the organisation of it, however, he found time to be interviewed by me three months later, in October 2015. In this interview, he explained the history of the festival and his passion for Víctor Jara. In May 2016, Tony invited me to Wales to play songs by Víctor Jara and Violeta Parra in the exhibition for the movie, *The Pearl Button*, by Chilean filmmaker Patricio Guzmán (2015). During this visit, I stayed at Tony's house and we walked through the green hills that surround Machynlleth. During this visit, Tony asked me to be part of the organisation committee for the festival, taking the role of webmaster for the festival webpage. I accepted the invitation. Tony also showed me and lent me a folder with several news articles, posters and information on *El Sueño Existe* festival. I brought these materials to my home, scanned them and returned them to Tony. Since then, I have been participating in the festival organisation, through either contributing to the webpage, distributing leaflets, or playing music at different events, including the festivals of 2016, 2017 and 2018.

Finally, a third connection was made through the interviews with three Chilean exiles: Roberto Navarrete, Alejandro Reyes and Jorge Morales, during May and June 2016. I interviewed Roberto in Machynlleth. I was very interested in his life history and his view on Latin American politics and in particular, his opinion on

support for refugees, considering his own experience as a political refugee in the 1970s. About one week later I interviewed Alejandro Reyes in his house. He was a member of the Chilean Cuncumén – Víctor Jara's first band - so he knew Jara very well, and other members of New Chilean Song such as Violeta Parra, Rolando Alarcón and Angel Parra. Two weeks later, I interviewed Jorge Morales, who was a member of the band Los Copihues Rojos, and he also explained to me his history as an exile and his interest in politics, music and culture. These three interviews were crucial to open and reflect on the exile - a theme that was very important for me because of the experience of my father and because of my interest in the formation of Chilean culture and identity abroad. Over time, I established a relationship of friendship and music collaboration with Alejandro Reyes and Jorge Morales.

### 3.3 Performative ethnography and interviews

The crisis of representation in post-colonial anthropology entails the diminution of the authoritative role of the ethnographer and researcher. Performative anthropology is more interested in particular practices and people rather than universal belief systems. Performance analysis implies thinking about culture as a verb or process, instead of a noun or product (Conquergood 1991, p.1990). Thus, rather than being entities based on original principles, identities are performances in the process of construction. Performance methodology blurs the lines between observers and the observed sustained by empiricism. The social researcher becomes part of the performance, and this situation has replaced the notion of the laboratory led by social research. According to Conquergood (1991), the model of ethnography as an objective science, finished with the end of colonialism. The crisis of representation arises as a consequence of the weakness of objectivism, initiating a questioning of epistemological, ethical and methodological issues. Ethnography is an embodied practice and therefore the body is an instrument for the production of knowledge. In this sense, human kind is *homo performans* and self-making of culture. In particular, performance emphasises participatory and embodied practices. The discussion and

relationship with reality are not exclusively verbal, but these elements are debated in dance, music, gesture, ritual, *etcetera*. Therefore, my own experience and knowledge are integral to the analysis.

Following this line of thought, I took an ethnographic approach to the festival which was divided into three roles. The first was my participation as a member of the public in the 2015, 2016 and 2017 festivals. My second role was my participation as a musician during the festivals and other events organised by the *El Sueño Existe* organisation. Finally, I participated in the festival as member of the organisation committee from 2016 onwards. In relation to my role as a member of the public, I was able to make audio recordings and take pictures and notes at the 2015 festival about Colombia. I was also able to record sporadic videos at the 2016 mini-festival, on the Spanish Civil War and the modern refugee crisis. At the 2017 festival in Ecuador, I recorded more than ten hours on the diverse performances and political talks of the festival. In relation to my role as a musician, I performed with La Veleidosa in the 2015 and 2017 festivals. I played alongside Tony Corden on Magic Lantern Cinema on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2016; I played with Los Copihues Rojos band - Latin American folklore - in a mini-concert at Welsh venue, Tafarn Dwynant, in February 2017, the Caffi Alys in March 2017, and also at the 2017 festival. Additionally, I played with Alejandro Reyes at the 2016 mini-festival. Finally, in my role as a member of the organisation committee, I attended meetings in Machynlleth in October 2016, February 2017, and February 2018. I also participated in the 'Latin American Conference Adelante!' in 2016 and 2017, in the event, 'Viva Lenin!', organised by Unite the Union in March 2017, and the event 'Ayotzinapa 43! 3 years later on, no justice' that took place in the National Education Union section headquarters in Sept 2017<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> See more at: <https://www.teachers.org.uk/news-events/events/ayotzinapa-43-3-years-later-no-justice>



Figure 2. Organisation meeting at Tony Corden's house. 29 Oct 2016

(Photo by the author)

In order to describe and analyse my participation in the festivals, I took notes, sound recordings, pictures and recorded videos of the festival. These forms of registration were not only committed to representing the world, but also to capturing and intervening in it (Bell 2012, p.147). In this sense, photography, film, and sound recordings were not only useful in complementing or illustrating the sociological textual analysis, but they became effective tools to capture the social world and create new forms of communication for sociology work beyond the text. Following the live methods manifesto (Back and Puwar 2012), this thesis used the sociological imagination to think of new alternatives to analysing the social world as a consequence of the emergence of innovative tools and possibilities given by digital culture in an interconnected world. The representations of the social world cannot only be configured through words, but it is necessary to extend to new devices and attentions such as the fleeting, the emotional, and the multiple aspects of social life and attend 'to how a wider range of the senses changes the quality of data and makes other kinds of critical imagination possible' (Back 2012, p.29). In this sense, festivals have given us many possibilities to explore multisensory and affective sociology, considering that they generally include a variety of expressive forms such as music, dance, food, interaction, movements, images, and so on.

As part of my ethnography, I conducted formal interviews with different participants of *El Sueño Existe* festival. A performative interview means that the interview is not just an instrument for gathering information. It is not a commodity that we have to exploit, but instead it belongs to a community (Denzin 2001). This thesis is based on the assumptions that interviews are performative events where the transmission of information is a shared experience. Words are not only a representation or passive mirror of the external world or the internal subjectivity of those interviewed, but they have effects and affect people. In other words, they are relevant for people who participate in them. I argue they are not a method of accumulating information, but they have become a space for story-telling that includes a performer and an audience. They are active texts where the meaning is performed and created. The interviewer's position is central to the way that knowledge is produced and mediated (Manderson et al. 2006). The researcher is part of the process of co-creation of knowledge, is part of the world being studied.

I conducted 34 interviews in total, across 30 unique participants, since three interviews relate to both Keith Jackson and Tony Corden. I divided participants into four groups related to the four main themes that are discussed in the thesis: Organisers (Ch4), Chilean exiles (Ch5), Musicians (Ch6), Political Activists (Ch7). In addition, I interviewed my father and my mother to know about their experiences during Popular Unity and the Pinochet dictatorship. I did not ask explicitly about the age of the interviewees, though it is possible to infer that many of them were in their 50s or 60s because they participated either in Popular Unity, or in the solidarity campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, there is a generational bias. The bias of the sample is created mainly by those who have a deep connection with, and commitment to, the festival. Therefore, I did not include the views of people who took a sporadic and distant approach to the festival. This is crucial to understanding that the interviewees have a pre-disposition to have a positive view both of the festival, and of Víctor Jara. However, this bias was deliberate since it was precisely the profile of people I was

seeking, to understand how this event created a sense of belonging, memory and identity.

I intended to hold one-hour interviews, however the actual interview time varied according to the availability of each interviewee. The themes of the interviews were connected mainly to their opinion on the relevance of Víctor Jara (and by extension, New Chilean Song and Popular Unity) and their experience of *El Sueño Existe* festival. In the particular case of the Chilean exile, I included questions about their biographies, in specific relation to their experience in exile during the 1970s. Interviews were conducted in various locations, including the homes of participants, Tony Corden's home, Y Plas, Unite the Union, cafés in London establishments, videocall and phone. Tony Corden and Keith Jackson played a key role in providing the access and contacts for those connected with the festival.

#### 3.4 Reflexivity: My family history, music and politics

Performance epistemology allows us to understand the relationship between the scenario studied, and the researcher as dynamic and changeable. There is no neutrality, and the researcher modifies the scenario studied, meanwhile the scenario studied modifies the identity of the researcher. Since neutrality is not a central paradigm for social research, the position of the researcher is relevant, and it is part of the scenario studied. Following a performance epistemology, I considered myself part of the scenario studied, which implies that my own participation was not neutral. It generated a change, a transformation of the scenario studied, and in return the scenario studied changed and affected my own positionality, the performance of myself. I played a role and my actions had an effect on the reality studied. Certainly, this participation will not generate a huge impact, but its contribution cannot be discounted. My intention is to consider *El Sueño Existe* festival, not only as an event that I will use to validate or reject pre-defined hypotheses, but as a space of theoretical and practical dialogue.

From a performative approach, the auto-ethnography concept has become relevant to the observation of participation (Chalklin 2012). In this sense, observant participation is an observation of oneself in a specific context. I did not propose to present a total or complete version of *El Sueño Existe*; my experience is only fragmented and participatory and is governed by my affective, intellectual, physical and practical possibilities. In this research, my position has played a key role in my relationship with the people, music, and politics of the festival, since my condition as a Chilean fan and performer of Víctor Jara and of New Chilean Song's music, has been useful in providing access to the world and lives of the people and activities connected to this festival. My connection with Víctor Jara and *El Sueño Existe* festival provided me with a better understanding of the festival and also the themes and ideas that were behind it (Taylor 2011). Indeed, the key concepts I am researching are related to my own experience in the festival. For instance, the notion of liminality refers to the extraordinary moment that I lived during the festival, that allowed me to re-connect with my music values, specific politic ideas and to engage with Chilean exiles.

As mentioned in the introduction, I came from a family with a communist history, and my parents knew Víctor Jara directly. My experience of researching the festival triggers continuous conversations with my parents - especially my father - about their experience during Popular Unity and the Pinochet dictatorship. During various informal conversations, and later, through a formal interview, my father told me about his experience as a voluntary worker during the Popular Unity period, his participation in painting murals with the brigade Ramona Parra (Espinoza 2006, p.78), his participation in the commemoration of Neruda's homage after he won the Nobel Prize (Feinstein 2004, p.391), and of course, the critical moment that he was taken prisoner in Estadio Chile alongside Víctor Jara and many other comrades. In the interview, my father told me that he went to the University to defend the government of Popular Unity, in part, because he was prepared to die as a consequence of his ideological education that included him reading the *Ten Days that Shook the World* (Reed 2007) or *How the Steel Was*

*Tempered* (Ostrovski 2015). Both books refer to the Bolshevik experience of the Russian Revolution.

Meanwhile, the interview with my mother was mainly focused on her traumatic experience during the military coup and the Pinochet dictatorship. On the day of the coup, and following the advice of my great-grandmother, my mother's father, Sergio, did not attend his workplace and instead went to the house of a right-wing relative as soon as he could. The day after the military coup, my mother's family burned and buried Marxist books which were in the house, to prevent retaliation. They also buried music albums of Quilapayún. A few days later, military forces came into the house looking for my grandfather but they did not find him. The *Dirección Nacional de Inteligencia* (DINA), the secret police of the regime, also came into the house but did not find anything. One year later, the military forces returned again to take my communist grandfather, they found him and took him prisoner. He was released a few hours later that same day. This was one among many other traumatic memories experienced by my mother during the first years of the dictatorship, including the disappearance of Martín Elgueta, a neighbour who was a member of the leftist movement Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario, MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement). My mother also explained the difficulties that she had creating bonds and relationships of trust with people during the dictatorship. I knew of some of these experiences described by my parents before the research, however, my experience of researching *El Sueño Existe* and the legacy of Víctor Jara allowed me to have a more systematic, broader idea of these experiences, and connect them to broader processes and experiences of other people.

The experience of my grandfather who was taken prisoner twice due to his political militancy during the 1940s and the 1970s<sup>43</sup>, my father's experience in

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<sup>43</sup> My maternal grandfather, Sergio, was a member of the Chilean Communist Party since the 1940s. During 1948, Chilean President Gonzalez Videla created an anti-Communist law that legalised the persecution of militants from the Communist party. During this period, Chilean Communist poet, Pablo Neruda, escaped from the country in an epic history described in the film 'Neruda' by Pablo Larraín, screened in 2017 *El Sueño Existe* festival. During that period, my grandfather was taken and set aside in a city located in Northern Chile. A few months ago, I

detention and then exile, the traumatic experience of my mother during the Pinochet dictatorship, and the experience of close people, such as the killing of Gregorio Mimica - a friend of my father, student from Technical University - and the disappearance of Martin, were events that allowed me to have an emphatic and emotional connection with the festival and the people who were part of it - especially of Chilean exiles. I feel I am able to understand this feeling of punishment and persecution some of them held on to, and the necessity of having safe spaces in which they can continue celebrating and commemorating the politics and culture that they followed before the coup. On a political level, the festival transmits to me the passion and interest in figures like Salvador Allende and Jeremy Corbyn. As I will explain in Chapter 7, the festival and Jeremy Corbyn have been a mutual support, since Corbyn has been at the festival to highlight the relevance of the legacy of Víctor Jara and Salvador Allende, meanwhile the festival explicitly supported the candidacy of Corbyn during the 2015 Labour elections, and successive campaigns.

My journey in the festival has been one of rediscovering things I thought I would not have to share in the UK context. This happened with politics, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, but it also happened with music and poetry. The festival reinforced and encouraged my passion for Chilean and Latin American music and poetry, because it provided a network of artists, a public and a space that celebrate this tradition. As an example of this, and as I described above, the festival triggers inspiration to create a *décima* about Víctor Jara. *Décimas* are rigorous and regular in rhyme so the process facilitates memory and communication (Boyle 2009, p.79). Víctor Jara created some songs with *décimas*, and Violeta Parra has an extraordinary autobiographical (Parra 1976), mundane and religious *décimas* (Parra and Alcalde 1976, pp.55, 67). I am referring to my process of creating a *décima* to reflect on the notion of sense of belonging and citation of norms as explained in the previous chapter. Through the re-citation of a *décima*, I invoked a tradition - with specific norms and structure - that allows me

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received a declassified CIA document with a political profile of my grandfather, in which he was under vigilance because he was teaching Marxist Political Economy to university students.

to evoke specific knowledge and to share it with others in the space of the festival. It also reflects the idea of following Víctor Jara and Violeta Parra as masters or role models that I want to follow or imitate because of their virtue and memorable example.

Because of my emotional connection and interest in Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song music, I was able to express my affectivity with the musicians I have played with. For instance, the first time I visited Alejandro at his house, we played guitar and sang, mainly Chilean repertoire. I demonstrated my knowledge of plucking *cuecas* and of some Chilean folk songs I played using the guitar with alternative tuning. Meanwhile, he showed me some *tonadas*<sup>44</sup> and music he learned in Chile during the 1950s. We also shared a cup of tea in the kitchen and we talked about our lives and our interest in music and politics. Alejandro was happy with my visit. We arranged a new meeting at which he would play some of his music and I would learn from him. In the folklore tradition of the central-south Chile, the use of oral strategies for the transmission and learning of music is very common in face-to-face meetings (Chavarría et al. 1997; Pinkerton 2007). We use these strategies to establish a process of teaching/learning. Since the beginning of 2016 until now, I have regularly visited Alejandro to play music together, not only in the festival, but also in different spaces. In other words, I suggest that the network of people I knew through the festival permitted me to show my Chileanness and to connect with my family history. Diasporic music spaces help people to express anxieties, hopes and pressures experienced in everyday life (Seidler 2006a, p.407). When I played this music, I forgot I am an outsider to the UK, and I felt at home. Thus, I can construct a home, symbolically and materially, through my participation with other musicians. I experience the music as a discursive practice for place-making (Benson and Jackson 2013), i.e. place can be performatively constructed through music.

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<sup>44</sup> For more information about *tonadas*, see Loyola (2006).

### 3.5 Cultural translation as methodological challenge

In this section, I will discuss the process of translation as a methodological issue. I suggest that the process of translation is relevant in this thesis, because of the performative orientation of the case studied. Alongside this thesis, I will use lyrics of songs created by Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song musicians. Therefore, the process of translation of these songs into English is important for the understanding of the legacy of Víctor Jara and the festival. In addition, many of Jara and New Chilean Song's musical compositions were created based upon musical instruments, music and poetic genres that are not well-known in English speaking worlds, therefore, they must be named in their original language. Music or poetic genres such as *tonada*, *cuecas*, *décimas*, *cumbias*, *huaynos*; Latin American musical instruments such as *charango*, *quena* cannot be translated because they lose their meaning, so I decided to put them in italics. Therefore, my question in this section is how to be clear and transparent in relation to the original meaning of the words and sentences, without betraying them?

As Boyle (2017a, p.201) suggests, the process of translation of dramaturgical plays implies a series of hermeneutic steps that include a process of understanding the cultural frame or context in which the play was written. So, the efforts of translation are focused on providing fluidity and continuity, the translation of a play from one culture to another. The effort of explaining the legacy of Víctor Jara is related to this effort of translation. Víctor Jara played with the translations, since his music includes some lyrics at least that were originally written in English. One is 'Las Casitas del Barrio' that is translated originally from 'Little Boxes', a song created by the US folk singer Malvina Reynolds. The other song is 'El Martillo', a translation from 'If I had a hammer', a song created by Pete Seeger and Lee Hays. These songs refer to the connection between Jara and Anglo-folk musicians. As mentioned in the introduction, after his death, Víctor Jara was known in the English speaking world because of Joan Jara's (1998) book *Victor: An Unfinished Song*, originally published during the 1980s. In my view, this book played an important role in the cultural translation of the legacy of Víctor

Jara into the English language. Joan's biography of Víctor includes the translation of some of Víctor Jara's songs such as 'Cuando voy al trabajo' (On my way to work) or 'Vientos del Pueblo' (Winds of the people). More importantly, it provides a context for Víctor Jara's artistic and political trajectory.

This thesis will also use the translation of some of Víctor Jara's lyrics, based on the book *His Hands Were Gentle: Selected Lyrics of Víctor Jara* (Espada 2012). The title of the book is inspired by a poem written by Adrian Mitchell who contributed to the translation included in the book. Many poems written by Víctor Jara were written using a specific metric that is very difficult to translate into English, such as *coplas* (Atero 1996). Since this thesis will use the lyrics in English, the translation lost the metric formula of the original verse, and therefore provides a different flavour of the poem than that of the original version. I am also including the translation of lyrics that are not included either in Joan Jara's book, or in *His Hands Were Gentle*. These translations were found, in part, on internet webpages and in academic articles. As the festival shows, the lyrics of Víctor Jara have been translated into Welsh. In particular, Welsh folk singer Dafydd Iwan translated the song 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz' into Welsh: 'Yr Hawl I Fyw Mewn Hedd'. As I will explain in Chapter 7, this song was translated due to its call for international solidarity with Vietnam, who was facing US invasion at the end of the 1960s. The song was popular and its message resonates - according to Iwan - with the Welsh people's struggle against imperialism.

Another way of analysing translation is the through the production of music scores. As mentioned in the introduction, the music oeuvre of Víctor Jara was transcribed into a music score and published in *Victor Jara. Obra Musical Completa* (Torres et al. 1996). This book has been crucial to my process of learning about the music of Víctor Jara. The book includes the music scores and lyrics of around 90 music pieces that were created by Víctor Jara since 1957, up until his death. According to the authors, the popular music tradition that Víctor Jara was part of, the music performance, is changeable according to the performer, therefore the music scores simplified some musical elements of the original version to provide

clarity (Torres et al. 1996, p.58). Therefore, some repetition in the voice did not include the rhythmic variations, and the rhythmic patterns of the percussion approximate the original. As I mentioned in the introduction, this thesis will not focus on the music as written text, but my point here is that the process of transcription of Jara's music entails a process of translation of a popular and oral music tradition, into a written one, through which the music becomes transformed. Therefore, the experience of listening to Jara's music in live contexts such as the festival, provides special elements in which it is possible to attend to some dimensions that cannot be analysed in the music score.

In addition to the problem of the translation of the music and its different elements, this thesis is also interesting in view of the problem of the translation of key concepts and ideas that have different connotations in Spanish and English such as 'popular', 'performance' and 'American'. In relation to the term popular, literature on cultural studies has reflected on the differences between the use of the concept of popular in Latin America and other places (García Canclini 2005, pp.146–147). The concept popular is relevant in my thesis, since it is crucial to the political project that Víctor Jara was part of. Unidad Popular was related to a project of emancipation of people living in subaltern conditions. Here popular could be conceived as an opposition to oligarchy, or bourgeoisie. It was not only referring to the working class since it includes a series of actors such as peasants, students and union leaders (Schmiedecke 2013, p.77). I suggest that Víctor Jara's music can be analysed through the lens of popular in two senses, since he was part of the movement of popular emancipation, but also because he was a music icon. However, as popular icon, Jara differentiates his music with music icons who are part of the mainstream cultural industry. As I will explain in chapter 4, Jara rejected the label of protest music which was ascribed to him, since he argues this label was created by the US music industry to capture and commodify music that had social content. Therefore, he argues that revolutionary song is not only performed through the content of the songs - like singing against capitalism - but that it was based on a broader commitment with politics and cultural institutions.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, as a scholar coming from the south, I disagree with the misappropriation of the term 'America' in English. Considering the historical conflict relations between Anglo and Latin America - from Doctrine Monroe onwards (Dominguez 2012, p.101) - it is possible to analyse how concepts are problematic, because its utterance relates to different versions and worldviews. In the case of the legacy of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, this misappropriation was challenged through the creation of a music album that refers to Pan-American folklore such as *Canciones Folkóricas de América*, or songs like 'Si Somos Americanos'<sup>45</sup>. In my view, another concept where difficulties in translation are evident, is performance. Diana Taylor argues this concept is mainly used in Spanish to refer to specific performance arts (Taylor 2003, p.1). The word performance is included in the Royal Dictionary of Spanish as a word that originates from English language and can be defined either as *rendimiento* - like efficiency- or as an artistic activity based on improvisation and direct contact with the public<sup>46</sup>. Meanwhile the Collins Dictionary's translation of the word 'performance' offers words such as *representación, interpretación, función, sesión*<sup>47</sup>. In this sense, the term in Spanish is either more restricted in relation to the English use, or it can be translated into a series of words that diffuse or divide the semantic richness of the word in English. An example of the semantic richness of the word 'performance' is included in the biography of Víctor Jara written in *Victor Jara: Obra Musical Completa*. The authors used the term performance - in English- to analyse the 'staging' dimension of Jara's music. They state they used this word because this term integrates the notion of music interpretation (*interpretación*), staging (*escenificación*), and representation (*representación*) (Torres et al. 1996, p.55).

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<sup>45</sup> 'Si Somos Americanos' is a song created by Rolando Alarcón. This song is on the homonymous album by Inti Illimani in 1969.

<sup>46</sup> <http://dle.rae.es/?id=SbFtbrL>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-spanish/performance>

Another difficulty in relation to the translation of performance-related concepts is that the prefix 'perform' is not well-known in the Spanish speaking world. Additionally, the translation of the concept performativity, into *performatividad* (Nieto and Droguett 2008; Madrid 2009) is complicated since in common use in Spanish the root of the word -'perform'- is not used in everyday life. A final example of the difficulties of translation is related to the name of the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, that was inspired by a concert to commemorate Salvador Allende in 2003 in Estadio Chile. In Spanish, the concept connects the dream (*El Sueño*) with the notion of existence (*existe*), which, in English, refers to the notion of 'lives on' that is synonymous with 'endure' and 'survival'. So, in the Spanish version, the dream is a being, a substantial entity, meanwhile the English version refers to the idea of survival and continuity. The former idea refers to a temporal condition, the dream is real and true, meanwhile in the latter, the dream has an initial moment which it maintains over time.

### 3.6 Conclusions

Based on a post-modern performative methodology, my research into *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara focused mainly on embodied and face-to-face forms of transmission of knowledge. Taking into consideration an anti-representational theory, this thesis is not looking to provide generalisations and objective information on the case, but rather, it is intended to focus on the particular and the subjective, providing an opportunity to reflect on emotions, embodied relations and multisensorial elements. In this methodological chapter I explained how my research journey on the PhD was not lineal, neither was it based on hypothesis or scientific method, but rather was modified according to my experience of specific events and people I encountered. In addition, the multidisciplinary perspective of performance theory has the capacity to include reflections on ethnography and methodology and to take into consideration linguistic challenges such as the validity of cultural translation. This methodology is able to ascribe a role to the researcher in the scenario studied, and thereby, it is possible to analyse how the scenario studied and the researcher's identity are

reciprocally influenced by each other. In this sense, the general question of my thesis on how *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara contribute to general sense of belonging and identity, also applies to analysis of my personal experience as a fan of Jara and as an active participant in the festival.

Considering the first three chapters of this thesis are focused on the introductory, theoretical and methodological aspects of the research, the following four chapters will be oriented to provide an empirical analysis of *El Sueño Existe* festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara. In particular, the next chapter will provide a general overview of the life, death and dream of Jara.

## Chapter 4. The Life, Death and Dream of Víctor Jara

This chapter will analyse the life and legacy of Víctor Jara in order to understand his relevance as an emblematic figure for the revolutionary song, processes of claiming justice and leftist international solidarity. Therefore, the question *Why is Víctor Jara sociologically important?* will guide the analysis of the chapter. I argue that the social relevance of Jara can be explained threefold. The first reason is Jara's contribution to the theatrical, musical and political scenes from the mid-1950s until his death in 1973. In this regard, I suggest that the creative genius of Jara cannot be understood solely due to his individual talent, but also because he was able to understand and incorporate into his artistic repertoire, the values and norms of the artistic movements and institutions that he was a part of. The second explanation for his social relevance, was the circumstances of his death. Víctor Jara's death is sociologically relevant because it symbolised a broader process of systematic repression and persecution of Marxist people and ideals in Chile during the 1970s and the 1980s. Because of his role as a public figure, his music and legacy have been commemorated by his family, New Chilean Song musicians, Chilean exiles and solidarity movements, to denunciate the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship and the inability of the legal system to punish the perpetrators of those crimes.

The third aspect that I will illustrate with regard to the sociological relevance of Jara, is that he was considered a dreamer, or a visionary person. Víctor Jara was not only relevant because of his prolific artistic trajectory and his sacrificial death, but also because he had a vision that people want to celebrate. In this regard, *El Sueño Existe* festival was created, in part, as a consequence of the desire to continue Jara's dream. Returning to Turner's theory of cultural performance, Jara's legacy is used to animate the subjunctive mood of the festival, it has the capacity to enact alternative realities and then to express what is imagined and

desired (Turner 1977, p.vii). Since the festival started with the question 'what would Víctor Jara be singing if he were alive?', the conditional *if* is related to the subjunctive mood, and it is an expression of the desire to maintain his spirit, legacy and values, alive. Thus, Víctor Jara is relevant, not only because of his artistic talent and the circumstances of his death, but also because he enacts a series of political and music values that people want to preserve and celebrate in order to continue his legacy. In sum, I argue that Jara's sociological relevance is based on his status as role-model - a revolutionary artist based on his prolific and committed artistic trajectory, his sacrificial death and the celebration of his world vision<sup>48</sup>.

The body of literature I will use in this chapter comes from musicological (Fairley 1984; González 1996; Torres 1998; Ruiz 2006; Schmiedecke 2013; Karmy and Farías 2014), political (McSherry 2015a; McSherry 2015b; McSherry 2016), theatrical (Sepúlveda 2001) and historical (Velasco 2007; Gavagnin 2016) perspectives. Although this literature is useful in gaining an initial understanding of the life and legacy of Víctor Jara in connection to broader process such as New Chilean Song, Popular Unity, or the experience of Chilean exiles, I suggest that this literature evidences the lack of attention paid to the analysis of the social effects of the legacy of Víctor Jara, such as his glorification (Heinich 1996), its invocation in celebratory and commemorative acts (Turner 1987), his presence in a trans-local music scene (Bennett and Peterson 2004), or as creator of music values and judgment (Frith 1996b). As explained in previous chapters, following my performance-based epistemology, I am interested in the effects of the music and legacy Víctor Jara *does* have in common with people, instead of

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<sup>48</sup> This idea resonates with Heinich's (1996) book *The glory of Van Gogh*. This book is a clear example of a sociological analysis of the artist, since Heinich is considering the social process through which Van Gogh became a legend. Heinich (1996, p.35) suggests that an element of this glorification was the abundant references to Van Gogh in biographies and articles that, instead of providing new information, are repeating his life in a celebratory and commemorative way. For this reason, Heinich established this link between these biographies and hagiography, i.e., biographies of the saints. This idea is useful in analysing the sociological relevance of Jara in terms of its celebration in both commemorative events, such as festival and biographies.

understanding his music scores (Torres et al. 1996), lyrics (Espada 2012) or biography *per se* (Jara 1998).

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I will explain the reasons why Víctor Jara was relevant to the artistic and cultural scene in Chile and Latin American from the mid-1960s until his death in 1973. In the second section, I will explain the relevance of the figure of Víctor Jara in transnational cultural and political scenes after his death, taking into consideration the way that his music was prohibited in Chile during the dictatorship. I will also consider his legal case, and I will analyse the way that his music and legacy was acclaimed and performed outside of Chile by Chilean exiles, solidarity campaigns, international musicians, and human rights organisations. In the third section I explain how Víctor Jara became an inspiration to the festival *El Sueño Existe* in Wales, in relation to the process of the commemoration of Popular Unity, denunciation of the Pinochet dictatorship, the revitalisation of the progressive left in Latin American since the 2000s, and other political struggles in the UK. The conclusions will analyse the sociological relevance of Jara in light of the theory of cultural performance.

#### 4.1 Víctor Jara's life

A sociological approach to music performance implies some attention to the structures of power that the music and/or musicians are part of. In this sense, a musician is not necessarily the author of her/his practice. As Gilroy (1993, p.102) suggests, music is a power/knowledge effect that regulates subjectivity. As I explained in the conceptual framework chapter, this idea is useful in analysing the life of Víctor Jara, because I suggest that his creativity and musical genius was a consequence of broader cultural and political conditions that he was part of. Based on these assumptions, this chapter will analyse Víctor Jara's life, taking into consideration the beginnings of his artistic trajectory, his connection with Popular Unity and New Chilean Song, and his music values.

#### 4.1.1 *The beginnings of his artistic trajectory*

In relation to his biography, according to diverse sources (Gutierrez 1998; Jara 1998; Torres 1998; Sepúlveda 2001), it is suggested that Jara was an exceptional and disciplined artist who overcame a difficult childhood and youth to later achieve a significant position on the Chilean and Latin American music and theatre scenes. Also noted is his commitment to social justice and political activism. Jara was born into a poor peasant family in 1932 in a little town located in the central-south Chile. In 1938 he and his family moved to a village near the capital, and in 1944 they moved to a peripheral area of Santiago (Torres et al. 1996, pp.10–11). His mother died in March 1950, the year Jara joined a Catholic seminary. He left the seminary in March 1952, and a few weeks later he was called up for military service, an institution that he remained in for around a year (Sepúlveda 2001, p.44). Shortly after leaving the Infantry School in 1953, Jara started work as a caretaker in a hospital, but he did not like this job. In 1954 he travelled to northern Chile to research folk music. In 1955, Víctor Jara joined a mime artists group.

1956 was a key year for the development of his artistic trajectory since Jara went to an audition for the Theatre School of the University of Chile and he started a course in acting. During his tenure as a student in the theatre school, Jara had financial problems since he did not have a stable source of income for food, clothing, and accommodation. He then received support from classmates and sometimes he slept within the school building (Sepúlveda 2001, p.48). In 1957, Jara started to play alongside folkloric group, Cuncumén. Jara recorded, as a soloist, the folkloric song 'Se Me ha Escapado un Suspiro' in *El folklore the Chile* (The Chilean Folklore), the first Long-Play album by Cuncumén. One year later, Cuncumén published a second album that included a couple of songs by folklorist Violeta Parra, performed by Víctor Jara (Torres et al. 1996, p.30). In 1959 Jara was at the last stage of his studies in acting, and he had his first experience as theatre director, directing the play 'Parecido a la Felicidad' (Almost Happiness) by Chilean scriptwriter Alejandro Sieveking. This play was successful and they presented it in

many Chilean cities and across a variety of Latin American countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico (Sepúlveda 2001, pp.62–63). Because of this success, Jara decided to study Theatre Direction in 1960. One year later, Jara toured with Cuncumén in Europe after which he returned to Chile and started a relationship with Joan Turner, an English dancer who had been one of his teachers when he was an Acting student (Gutierrez 1998, pp.485–487).

In 1962 Víctor Jara became an established member of the Theatre Institute of the University of Chile. During the 1960s he directed the plays of various playwrights such as 'Ánimas del día claro' by Alejandro Sieveking, 'Dúo' by Raúl Ruiz, 'Los Invasores' by Egon Wolff, and 'La Mañana' (originally called 'The Knack') by Ann Jellicoe (Sepúlveda 2001, pp.73, 83, 93, 101). In 1962 Jara left the group Cuncumén, and a year later he created a school of folklore based on a cultural centre located in Santiago. During this period, there is evidence of his political commitment to communist and left ideas. In 1964 Jara participated in some singing events in support of the socialist candidate Salvador Allende during the presidential elections campaign. In 1965 Jara was part of the Peña de Los Parra<sup>49</sup>, a space for sharing music and ideas between folklore singers with progressive ideas, created by Violeta Parra's children, Angel and Isabel. During the second half of the 1960s, Jara felt disappointed with the Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei President, and his music started to become less personal and more political (Gutierrez 1998, pp.487–488).

In 1966 Víctor Jara was the artistic director of Quilapayún, a new music band that would later play a key role in the revolutionary song in Chile in the following years. That year Víctor Jara launched his first solo music album called *Víctor Jara* which focused mainly on the description of the lifestyle of rural workers. Since then, Jara

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<sup>49</sup> *Peña* is a Spanish word that refers to a group of people participating in diverse activities such as a hobby. See "Diccionario Real Academia Española" Available at: <http://dle.rae.es/?id=SUooflu> [Accessed: 08 Jan 2017]. According to Fairley (1984, pp.110–111) *peñas* are "traditional meeting places for those actively interested in making music and poetry and those involved in politics". These meeting places proliferated in Argentina and Chile during the 1960s.

created one album per year until his death in 1973. This first solo album included eight songs he had composed, and four songs that were collected from traditional music. Some of these songs refer to the biographical experiences of Jara such as the song 'La Luna es Siempre muy Linda' where he remembers his absent father and his mother working day and night (Schmiedecke 2013, p.65). His second album also called *Víctor Jara*, published in 1967, was a mix of different musical influences from Latin American folk with complex instrumental arrangements using *queñas*, *charangos* and *queñas*. This album includes five of Jara's own compositions, four songs from Latin American folklore, one song from a sixteenth century anonymous author and two songs composed by two Chilean artists. The main theme of the songs were everyday life experiences of working-class people, love songs, and anti-imperialist songs that highlighted the life of historical characters connected with the struggle against US imperialism, such as that of guerrilla fighter Ernesto 'Che' Guevara (Schmiedecke 2013, pp.65–66). University Reform started in 1967. At that time, Jara was involved in the University of Chile as a teacher in the theatre school and as director of the Theatre Institute, a period when Jara intensified his relationship with trade unions and started to play music for workers and peasants.

In 1968 Jara produced his third album *Canciones Folklóricas de América* (American Folkloric Songs) with Quilapayún. This album included thirteen songs, six anonymous from Bolivia, Venezuela, Spain and Israel, five covers from North and Latin American artists of that period, and two songs written by Víctor Jara. The instruments used were guitar, *charango*, *quena*, *bombo* and *maracas* (Schmiedecke 2013, p.67). In 1969 Jara obtained the first prize in the first New Chilean Song Festival celebrated in the Catholic University of Chile with his music composition, 'Plegaria a un Labrador' ('Prayer to a Labourer'). Jara launched his fourth album *Pongo en tus manos abiertas* in 1969. The lyrics included songs against US government politics and supported social movements amongst students, guerrillas in Colombia and urban workers. The lyrics include references to historical figures from Latin America such as the Chilean communist leader, Luis Emilio Recabarren, and the priest, Camilo Torres, who participated in the

National Liberation Army in Colombia. The instrumental arrangements included in this album were more stripped back than previous albums because the music was focused on the content of the lyrics, so many songs included only one guitar and one vocal (Schmiedecke 2013, pp.68–69).

#### 4.1.2 Víctor Jara, *Popular Unity and New Chilean Song*

In 1970 Jara actively participated in Allende's presidential election, leading a political campaign committee. Allende was the leader of a new coalition called Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) consisting of socialists, communists and radicals, amongst other left-wing parties. That year Allende won the election and was proclaimed president of the Chilean Republic. In the days before the 1970 presidential campaign, Jara launched his fifth album, *Canto Libre*. The topics of the song lyrics were similar to the previous album, including songs about rural workers, historic events, denunciation of US Imperialism and cultural traditions. Six songs were written by Jara, three songs from Latin America folklore, and two from other Latin American musicians. This album proposed a mix of social criticism and optimism for the future using rich instrumentation (Schmiedecke 2013, pp.69–71). Jara launched his next album, *El Derecho de Vivir en Paz* (The Right to Live in Peace) in 1971. This album was inspired by Vietnam's resistance against US intervention. Some songs were a parody of political and social groups who did not support Salvador Allende's government. Jara included lyrics about self-determination, such as 'Vamos por Ancho Camino' (Jara, 1970).

During the period of Popular Unity, Jara became a Chilean culture ambassador, participating in international tours and TV shows representing Chile, to provide some contrast with anti-government propaganda (Rodríguez 2017, p.6,7). For instance, Jara participated in the *Congreso de Música Latinoamericana* (Congress of Latin American Music) in Cuba organised by Casa de las Americas in 1972<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> The success of the Cuban revolution triggered a new intellectual effervescence in the country and in Latin America as a whole. The new culture policy increased the quality of education and created many cultural institutions, for instance, Casa de las Americas in 1959, in order to promote,

That year Jara organised the screening of a series of documentaries in order to create awareness of the risk of a fascist reaction in Chile, using, as examples, Nazism and the Spanish Civil War (Gutierrez 1998, pp.487–490). Jara launched his seventh album *La Población* in 1972. This album was based on testimonies of shanty town people. Key themes of the recording are, land occupation, struggles against the police and the portrayal of *pobladores* lifestyles. This recording included more theatrical resources than previous albums. Some songs started with spoken testimonies of people relaying their experiences. This album sought to exhibit the history of excluded people in urban settlements (Schmiedecke 2013, pp.73–75). Jara started to produce his last album *Canto por Travesura* in 1973, but he did not finish it before his death. This album includes music from Chilean folk without any reference to politics (Schmiedecke 2013, pp.75–77).

Another key element to understanding the relevance of Víctor Jara was his role as a key figure in New Chilean Song. New Chilean Song was a movement inspired by the musician and artist Violeta Parra - who committed suicide in 1967 - and was followed by renowned artists such as Isabel and Angel Parra, Patricio Manns, Rolando Alarcón, Inti Illimani and Quilapayún, among others<sup>51</sup>. Gustavo Becerra (1978, p.109), a Chilean musicologist and composer, argues that Víctor Jara was a hero of the Chilean Revolution and of the Chilean cultural scene, since Jara provided artistic resources such as dramatic staging, political commitment and a connection with the public, to key New Chilean Song bands such as Quilapayún, Inti Illimani and Aparcoa. New Chilean Song started in the themed-1960s (González 1996, p.25) and it was intensively developed until the 1973 Chilean military coup. Key cultural activities of the movement were Peña de los Parra created in 1965 and *Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* (New Chilean Song festival) which took place in 1969. New Chilean Song renowned musicians and

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research and award Latin American artists, or Consejo Nacional de la Cultura (National Council of Culture) in 1961 (Miller and Yúdice 2002, p.134). Havana became a Latin American centre of literature and arts, which included regular visits from famous writers such as Neruda, Vargas Llosa, and Carlos Fuentes (González Echevarría 2011, pp.99–100).

<sup>51</sup> Other musicians considered part of the New Chilean Song movement were Aparcoa, Lonquimay, Los Curacas, Tiempo Nuevo, Los Amerindios, Payo Grondona, and Illapu (McSherry 2015a, p.6).

supporters maintain that this cultural movement contributed to providing a voice for counterhegemonic classes, mainly peasants and urban workers, against the dominant system of power encouraged by the Chilean elite and transnational companies (McSherry 2015a, pp.1–8). New Chilean Song put forward criticism of commodified music encouraged by cultural industries from the US and Europe, and it also put forward a critique of de-politicised Chilean folk music that highlighted the values and culture of Chilean landowners. In this sense, the official rhetoric of the New Chilean Song movement encourages a series of values connected to popular power, solidarity and social justice against under-development and oppression.

New Chilean Song aims to innovate in music using indigenous folkloric Latin American influences, and lyrics with relevant political content. Music bands used indigenous words to name themselves, such as Quilapayún which means three beards in the Mapuche language<sup>52</sup>. New Chilean Song encouraged the use of Andean instruments such as *charango* or *quena*, and the compositions of songs that allude directly to the problems faced by indigenous and working-class people in Chile<sup>53</sup>. In terms of folklore, New Chilean Song was inspired by poetic and music forms of the peasant people who were previously excluded from landowner folklore and mainstream Western music. Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara went to rural areas of Chile in order to discover the music from 'hidden' musicians and they promoted this music in their albums. Collecting music from rural areas was not an activity limited to members of New Chilean Song, but it was also part of a boom of folklore music encouraged in different countries in Latin America during the 1950s and 1960s (Fairley 1984 pp.109–112). The difference between traditional folklore and New Chilean Song was that the latter used folklore as a potential tool for social change.

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<sup>52</sup> Inti Illimani means "sun of Illimani" in Aymara language, in reference to mountains in the Bolivian Andes. <http://inti-illimani.cl/historia/1966-1977/> .

<sup>53</sup> For instance, "Arauco tiene una pena" by Violeta Parra (1999).

During the 1970s, the members of New Chilean Song used music to encourage social change and Chilean socialism, and they explicitly supported Salvador Allende and Popular Unity (Morris 1986, p.117). Allende participated but was defeated in the 1952, 1958 and 1964 presidential elections, but he finally obtained the presidency in the 1970 elections with 36% of the total vote (Garretón and Moulian 1979, p.170). Popular Unity proposed the nationalisation of copper (Garretón and Moulian 1979, p.172) and intensification of agrarian reform to redistribute the access to land (Winn and Kay 1974, p.139). The main aim of Popular Unity was to generate a disruption to the capitalist model of dependence, proposing 'The Chilean Way to Socialism' (Garretón 1977, pp.1295–1299). This model aimed to achieve socialism using democratic and constitutional means. Therefore, it proposed an alternative to the guerrilla tactics proposed by the Cuban Revolution. Popular Unity was a political experiment in as much as it proposed a Marxist Socialism using peaceful means (Labrousse 1972). It is relevant to contextualise the political period in which Popular Unity and New Chilean Song emerged, and their the importance of their connection to the Cold War as a moment of global polarisation (Velasco 2007, pp.141–143)<sup>54</sup>.

Some authors (Fairley 1984; Velasco 2007; Vila 2014) argue that New Chilean Song was part of a movement of 'New Song' in Latin America. They define New Song as a political and aesthetic movement that believed in the transformational power of song and music in Latin America. New Song in Latin America is defined as being music functional to politics and ideologically identified with the left, involved with folk and native traditions, and consisting of music mainly from the

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<sup>54</sup> After WWII and the consolidation of the US and the USSR as the two primary forces in the global scenario, the US started the Truman Doctrine as a foreign policy to stop the spread of communism around the world. In 1947 the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, or Rio Treaty, was established as an agreement of mutual assistance between the US and many Latin American countries (García-Mora 1951, p.1). This treaty consolidated the military power of Anglo-America over its southern neighbours. One year later, the Organization of American States emerged to strengthen security and peace across the continent. In line with its anti-communist policy in Latin America, the US bombed Guatemala in 1954 in retaliation for agrarian reforms, and it was a staunch opponent of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. This opposition was accentuated by the Missile Crisis in 1962. During the same decade, Latin America started to be recognised as a third world region, along with Africa and many Asian countries, distinguished by their poverty and subaltern political position in relation to capitalist and communist hegemonic blocs.

educated middle- class. According to Fairley (1984, pp.107–108) the New Latin American Song was consolidated in *Encuentro de la Canción Protesta* (Congress of Protest Song) held in Casa de las Américas, Cuba, in 1967. The movement was integrated through Latin American musicians - many of them members or supporters of the Communist Party- who sustained that song is a weapon to combat consumption culture and imperialism<sup>55</sup>. New Latin American Song took diverse forms according to the local realities in which it was developed. *Nueva Trova* was the specific form of New Song in Cuba.

The New Chilean Song boom ended with the defeat of Salvador Allende. Popular Unity was strongly opposed by the centre and right-wing parties in Chile, and it was opposed by the CIA. In June 1973, there was the first attempt at a coup; finally, on 11 September military forces lead a coup that ended the life of President Salvador Allende. The coup was the beginning of the military regime lead by dictator, Augusto Pinochet, who remained in power for 17 years, until 1990. The military coup included the bombardment of the Government Palace *La Moneda*, the assassination and imprisonment of civilians, systematic killings, disappearances, torture, starting with a politics of persecution of Marxist political parties and supporters. Víctor Jara was killed just a few days after the military coup. Some of the renowned artists went into exile, and the music of New Chilean Song was banned in Chile.

#### 4.1.3 Music values

At this point, I will analyse some of the music values that Víctor Jara implicitly and explicitly proposed during his life. This notion of values can be connected with Frith's concept of value arguments of specific genres that connected us to ways of living and ways of being (Frith 1996b, p.3). During his music trajectory, Jara followed the music value of genuine original roots of Chilean and Latin American

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<sup>55</sup> Velasco (2007, pp.145–146) proposes a list of around 30 musicians from Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Cuba, Uruguay and Venezuela, such as Silvio Rodríguez, Daniel Viglietti, Atahualpa Yupanqui, Ali Primera and Caetano Veloso.

repertoire, in opposition to the repertoire imposed by a mass culture encouraged by the US (Schmiedecke 2013). In this sense, Jara's interest in original roots was not a chauvinist practice, but it proposed as a form of recognising the values of traditional culture hidden by the hegemonic music industry and elite classes (Schmiedecke 2013, p.61). In addition, Jara placed special value on different popular traditions such as folkloric instruments and music genres, and his music includes references to peasants, working-class people, and historic heroes, in order to highlight national and continent-wide problems (Ibid., p.77). Thereby, a key value of Jara and, by extension, New Chilean Song, was to use music as a dynamic, transformative force, proposing a different 'aesthetic' to traditional folk (Ibid., p.60).

In this respect, Víctor Jara held a clear position in relation to the value of music as a revolutionary force, in opposition to the commercial music proposed by US cultural industry. In his words:

The cultural invasion is like a leafy tree which prevents us from seeing our own sun, sky and stars. Therefore, in order to be able to see the sky above our heads, our task is to cut this tree off at the roots. US imperialism understands very well the magic of communication through music and persists in filling our young people with all sort of commercial tripe. With professional expertise they have taken certain measures: first, the commercialisation of so-called 'protest music'; second, the creation of 'idols' of protest music who obey the same rules and suffer from the same constraints as the other idols of the consumer music industry - they last a little while and then disappear. Meanwhile they are useful in neutralising the innate spirit of rebellion of young people. The term 'protest song' is no longer valid because it is ambiguous and has been misused. I prefer the term 'revolutionary song'.

Víctor Jara (Jara 1998, p.117)

In this comment, Jara is asserting a criticism of the commercialisation of protest music, as an example of how even those idols who are supposedly judgemental towards specific structures of power, are producing an ephemeral, superficial

message, since they are still constrained by the music industry. This comment has three key implications. The first is that according to Jara’s musical judgment, the message of the song was enough to produce a revolutionary song, but he was aware of the conditions of production of music as a central element to judge what constitutes revolutionary music and what does not. The second implication is that Jara was critical of the ephemeral fame of the music produced by the US music industry, and thereby, implicitly he was looking for music that transcends over time. The last implication is that Jara uses the metaphor of the sun, sky and stars to refer to the elements that he wants to both see and show through his music. So, the connection with natural elements bears relation to his music values.

This critical position of ephemerality and commerciality is also expressed in his song ‘Manifiesto’, which is, in my view, a summary of Jara’s musical and artistic values:

#### Manifiesto<sup>56</sup>

Yo no canto por cantar  
ni por tener buena voz  
canto porque la guitarra  
tiene sentido y razón.

Tiene corazón de tierra  
y alas de palomita,  
es como el agua bendita,  
santigua glorias y penas

Aquí se encajó mi canto,  
como dijera Violeta  
guitarra trabajadora  
con olor a primavera

Que no es guitarra de ricos  
ni cosa que se parezca,  
mi canto es de los andamios  
para alcanzar las estrellas.

Que el canto tiene sentido  
cuando palpita en las venas

#### Manifiesto (Translation)<sup>57</sup>

I don’t sing for love of singing  
or to show off my voice,  
but for the statements  
made by my honest guitar.

For its heart is of the earth  
and like the dove it goes flying,  
tenderly as holy water,  
blessing the brave and the dying.

So my song has found a purpose,  
as Violeta Parra would say,  
yes, my guitar is a worker,  
shining and smelling of spring.

My guitar is not for killers,  
greedy for money and power,  
but for the people who labour  
so that the future may flower.

For a song takes on meaning  
when its own heart beat is strong

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<sup>56</sup> Song created in 1972 and published posthumously by XTRA-Transatlantic Records in 1974 in Jara’s homonymous album.

<sup>57</sup> Translation by Adrian Mitchell (Espada 2012, p.71).

del que morirá cantando las verdades verdaderas.	sung by a man who will die singing truthfully singing his song.
No las lisonjas fugaces ni las famas extranjeras sino el canto de una lonja hasta el fondo de la tierra.	I don't sing for adulation or that strangers may weep I sing for a far strip country narrow but endlessly deep.
Ahí donde llega todo, Y donde todo comienza, canto que ha sido valiente siempre será canción nueva siempre será canción nueva	In the earth in which we begin, in the earth in which we end, brave songs will give birth to a song which will always be new to a song which will always be new

Víctor Jara used the poetic form *copla* - stanzas of four octosyllabic lines with assonant rhyme in the second and fourth lines, to transmit his message. The lyrics of this song refer, first of all, to the fact that beauty and autonomy are not the aesthetic values that he is following. Instead, he is singing with specific purpose and reason. As he notes in the fourth verse, he is singing to achieve the stars, the same idea he mentioned in his criticism of the label 'protest music'. In the same verse, Jara mentioned that his guitar is not coming from the rich, in reference to upper classes, proposing a clear statement in relation to his origins as a peasant and coming, himself, from the working-class. Meanwhile in the last verse, Jara levels a criticism of the ephemeral flattery and foreign fame that is promoted by the mainstream music industry. In three of the five verses there are allusions to the connection between music and nature, since the song is like sacred water that has the power of purification, and the guitar smells of spring. The final verse explains and alludes to the main feature of the new song - bravery. This last idea is important since it expresses a key feature of the New Song. In the fifth verse, Jara uses the expression 'truly truth' as a feature of the meaningful song. This line alludes to his perception of the authenticity of his music.

As explained in the beginning of the section, I suggest that these verses are not only produced through the geniality and creativity of Jara, but that it is part of the performance of a broader system of values that was very important in the folk revival of the 1950s, developed simultaneously in Latin America and the US (Frith

1981, p.161; Fairley 1984, p.111). As Frith (1981, p.162) points out, the political folk ideology developed in the US during the 1940s and the 1950s also considered music to be a weapon, an educational device and a form of expression of working-class culture. Unlike the ideology of rock - based on individuality- the folk ideology established a notion of authenticity based on the creation of class consciousness and solidarity.

#### 4.2 Víctor Jara's death

A second reason for the sociological prominence of Jara is due to him being a symbol of the impunity of the criminal perpetrators in Chile, and his testimony has been used by Chilean exiles and solidarity movements to denounce Pinochet's repression and the ideals of popular movements in Chile (McSherry 2015b). Thus, his legacy was transmitted and used by a series of political and cultural actors to denunciate the political crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship, including the use of state apparatus to both systematically disappear and kill people in Chile, and banned cultural expression related to his legacy. In the following chapter, I will explain the death of Jara in three parts. First, the circumstances of his death in the days following the military coup and the censorship of his music during the Pinochet regime. Second, the role Jara played in international solidarity to both denunciate the crimes of the regime, and his public commemoration in Chile in the post-dictatorship period. Finally, I will describe the legal case relating to Jara.

##### *4.2.1 Circumstances of Jara's death and censorship*

On September 11, 1973, Jara went to the Technical University. Military forces took the University and Jara was taken as a prisoner to Chile Stadium where he was tortured until his death on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1973 (Torres 1998, p.14). On September 18<sup>th</sup>, a young man who was working in the morgue visited Joan Turner's house to tell her that Víctor was dead. They went together to the morgue to identify the body. Joan Jara entered the building and saw hundreds of bodies.

On the second floor of the building, Joan found the half-naked and bullet-ridden body of Víctor Jara, with his wrists broken. Joan took Víctor's body to the General Cemetery of Santiago and buried him there (Jara 1998, pp.233–236). Joan Turner left Chile to live in London, UK, where she started to use Jara as her surname (Jara 1998, pp.4–5).

Víctor Jara wrote a poem during his detention in the Chile Stadium, about the critical situation of prisoners and disappeared people in Chile:

Estadio Chile	Chile Stadium <sup>58</sup>
Somos cinco mil en esta pequeña parte de la ciudad. Somos cinco mil. ¿Cuántos seremos en total en las ciudades y en todo el país? Sólo aquí, diez mil manos que siembran	There are five thousand of us here in this small part of the city. We are five thousand I wonder how many we are in all in the cities and in the whole country? Here alone are ten thousand hands which plant seeds and make the factories run.
Y hacen andar las fábricas	
¡Cuánta humanidad con hambre, frío, pánico, dolor, presión moral, terror y locura!	How much humanity exposed to hunger, cold and pain, moral pressure, terror and insanity?
Seis de los nuestros se perdieron en el espacio de las estrellas.	Six of us were lost as if into starry space.
Un muerto, un golpeado como jamás creí have believed se podría golpear a un ser humano.	One dead, another beaten as I could never a human being can be beaten.
Los otros cuatro quisieron quitarse todos los temores, uno saltando al vacío, otro golpeándose la cabeza contra el muro, pero todos con la mirada fija en la muerte [...]	The other four wanted to end their terror one jumping into nothingness, another beating his head against a wall, but all with the fixed look of death. [...]

During the first years of dictatorship in Chile, the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song was banned since the government had main control of the mass media and public space. New Chilean Song's music was removed from record

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<sup>58</sup> Extract poem 'Estadio Chile' (Chile Stadium) by Víctor Jara, translated by Joan Jara (Espada 2012 p.77).

stores, confiscated and burned and the musicians of this movement went into exile or were imprisoned or killed<sup>59</sup>, and the government prohibited Andean instruments such as *quena* and *charangos* (Morris 1986, pp.122–123). Leftist music and culture were considered ideological weapons against national security, and under this rationale, they too were prohibited. For instance, in 1981, 800 cassettes with the songs of Víctor Jara were confiscated because they violated internal security law (Morris 1986, p.129). More than 1,000 detention and torture centres were established during the Pinochet dictatorship, and Jara's music was used as a resource for resilience in detention centres (Chornik 2013; Chornik 2015). According to the testimony of a political detainee in the *Academia de Guerra Naval*, the song 'Ni Chicha ni Limoná' by Víctor Jara, performed by a group of women during his detention, helped him to forget the physical pain and to awake from his state of lethargy<sup>60</sup>.

This cultural censorship not only impacted music, but also the arts and media in general. For instance, the production and circulation of literature was affected by the burning of books and by increasing tax payable by independent publishers. Additionally, censorship was applied to newspapers, television, cinema, radio and live performances (Else 2013, p.192). By 1980, the regime significantly reduced the taxation for foreign musical imports creating the conditions for the easy entry of foreign music and musicians which were harmless to the regime in form and content (Party 2010, p.681). The concept 'cultural blackout' was used to describe the negative consequences of the Pinochet dictatorship in the realm of culture (González and Bravo 2009). Despite the censorship of political song, a new

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<sup>59</sup> Although he is not considered a member of the New Chilean Song movement, the musician Jorge Peña was another recognised artist killed during the firsts months of the dictatorship as a consequence of the operation *Caravana de la Muerte* which took the life of more than 70 leftists during September and October 1973 in different regions of Chile (Castillo 1998). The Chilean poet and Nobel prize-winner, Pablo Neruda, was another renowned artist who died on 23 September 1973 - supposedly as a consequence of cancer. However, Neruda's case took a surprising turn in 2011, when Neruda's driver said the poet was killed in the clinic that was treating his cancer. In 2013, Neruda's body was exhumed and analysed in forensic laboratories in Chile, Spain, and the US, in order to investigate the cause of death. In 2016, Neruda's remains were returned to Chile. Neruda's case is still open and there is no certainty about the cause of death and whether he was killed or not.

<sup>60</sup> See more in <http://www.cantoscautivos.cl/canciones/ni-chicha-ni-limona/>

movement emerged in Chile in 1976 called Canto Nuevo, inspired by the New Chilean Song movement, but adapted to the censorship mechanisms imposed by the regime. The use of metaphor and sarcasm, as well the incorporation of new instruments such as electric guitar and bass, were part of this new movement that operated in clandestine and informal cultural spaces (Morris 1986, p.130; González and Bravo 2009). Although there were difficulties with playing political songs, allusions to the legacy of Víctor Jara were carried out by Chilean artists, such as the band Santiago del Nuevo Extremo who wrote a song in homage to Víctor Jara, driven by a nostalgic desire to return to the hope and friendship built in the past (Morris 1986, p.131; Elsey 2013, p.195).

#### *4.2.2 Jara in international solidarity and Chile post-dictatorship*

Outside of Chile, the work to preserve the memory and legacy of Víctor Jara was carried out by his widow, Joan, Chilean exiles, musicians from New Chilean Song and international solidarity. Joan Jara left the country alongside hundreds of thousands of Chileans who were exiled during Pinochet's dictatorship. She established herself in the UK in 1974 (Jones 2014, p.74) and her testimony of Víctor Jara's assassination was recorded and published in a documentary called *Compañero: Víctor Jara of Chile*, and it was produced the same year she arrived, by British filmmakers Martin Smith and Stanley Forman. Joan Jara became a human rights activist committed to denouncing the political situation and crimes in Chile, and she was a moral authority in the fight for human rights in the international community (Jones 2014, p.195). As mentioned before, in 1983 Joan published a key biographical book in memory of her assassinated husband, called *Victor: An Unfinished Song*. An estimated 200,000 Chileans were exiled for political reasons, and hundreds of thousands more went into exile due to a periodical economic crisis, making a total of one million exiles (Shayne 2009 cited McSherry 2016, p7). The Chileans who went into exile between 1973-1988 represented around 2% of the total population of the country (Wright and Oñate 1998, p.ix). Chilean exiles went to around 140 countries worldwide - many of them were intellectuals and artists. During the 1970 and 1980s, the exiles provided key information to the

United Nations, organised solidarity committees and conferences, and organised cultural events around the world. New Chilean Song musicians participated actively with exiles and international supporters in demonstrations against the Pinochet dictatorship, showing solidarity and raising consciousness of the repression in Chile. New Chilean Song musicians were public figures who had the facility to access cultural leaders and send money raised from concerts, to Chile (McSherry 2016, pp.7–8). For instance, Quilapayún played all over the world participating in solidarity events to raise money, and Patricio Manns published an album *Songs of the People's Underground in Chile* in 1975 with the Quebec-Chile Solidarity Committee (Else 2013, p.193).

Around 3,000 Chilean exiles arrived in the UK in the 1970s (Ramírez 2014b, p.34) as part of the first large wave of Latin American arrivals in the UK (McIlwaine et al. 2011, p.13). Many Chilean exiles arrived in the UK as refugees, and they received the support of a network of institutions such as solidarity campaigns, churches, unions, and the Labour Party, among others. At the time of the Chilean military coup in 1973, the Conservative Party was in government and the policies for reception of Chileans were limited. However, with Harold Wilson as Labour prime minister in 1974 the policy of reception and cooperation with refugees changed (Bayle 2013, p.211)<sup>61</sup>. In the UK, the solidarity with Chile had started prior to the military coup, with organisations such as the Association for British-Chilean Friendship and Liberation, an organisation that supported Popular Unity. After the coup, the solidarity increased, and the focus changed to human rights. British activist Mike Gatehouse was a key figure in the development of the Chilean Solidarity Campaign. He was in Chile during the military coup, and was taken prisoner and tortured in the National Stadium (Jones 2014, pp.25–26). Following his release and return to the UK, Gatehouse co-lead the Chilean Solidarity Campaign (CSC) that received support from national unions, constituencies of the Labour Party, trade councils, student unions, and a variety of institutions associated with labour and trade union movements (Jones 2014, p.34). In

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<sup>61</sup> Roberto Navarrete, interview, 29 May 2016.

September 1974, the CSC participated in the organisation of a demonstration in commemoration of the anniversary of the coup. Hortensia Bussi, Salvador Allende's widow, and Inti Illimani, participated in the demonstration that took place in central London. A giant banner for Chilean solidarity was displayed in Trafalgar Square. The banner bore the sentence 'Chile Vencerá' (Chile will overcome) along with an image of Víctor Jara with a guitar (Jones 2014, p.54). During the first anniversary of the military coup, the Chile Solidarity Movement organised a concert at the Queen Elizabeth Hall with the participation of Inti Illimani, Isabel Parra and Joan Jara. Another key institution supporting the solidarity movement in the UK was the Chile Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), a registered charity based in London, which carried out the programme for the adoption of political prisoners. CCHR was associated, not only with Labourism and trade unions, but also with churches and human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International (Jones 2014, pp.74–76).

Towards the end of the 1980s, Víctor Jara's music started to re-emerge and it became more widely circulated in Chile. In 1987, Youth Communists organised a Víctor Jara festival in Santiago, under the vigilance of police and state intelligence apparatus. This festival was the first of many organised in different Chilean locations<sup>62</sup>. Pinochet's dictatorship ended in 1990. During the post-dictatorship period there began a process of official recognition of the legacy of Víctor Jara in Chile. Joan Jara and musicians from New Chilean Song returned to Chile. Joan Jara participated in an event which performed the symbolic purification of the Chile Stadium, in 1991<sup>63</sup>. In 1993 Joan created the Víctor Jara Foundation with the purpose of supporting a cultural movement that contributed to the promotion of genuine expressions of Latin American people who were in opposition to profit and commercial-oriented culture, and to recover the collective memory of Víctor Jara<sup>64</sup>. The Chile Stadium was officially renamed the Víctor Jara Stadium in

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<sup>62</sup> See the Víctor Jara Foundation webpage: <http://fundacionvictorjara.org/sitio/la-fundacion/> [Accessed: 08 Jan 2017].

<sup>63</sup> The poem *Estadio Chile* was sung by Isabel Parra in this act of purification (Espada 2012).

<sup>64</sup> <http://fundacionvictorjara.org/sitio/la-fundacion/>

2003<sup>65</sup>. Many activities and commemorative acts were performed in Chile from 1990 onwards, in order to avoid losing the memory of what happened during the military coup and dictatorship. Throughout 2003 there were many celebrations and commemorations of Salvador Allende and Víctor Jara, such as the *El Sueño Existe* concert in the National Stadium with artists from New Chilean Song and a new generation of musicians.

#### 4.2.3 *The legal case*

Víctor Jara's death has symbolised the failing of the Chilean legal system to punish the perpetrators of the crimes committed during the dictatorship. Jara's case is part of a broader circumstance which saw the impunity of the perpetrators of the crimes against those who were killed, disappeared and tortured for political reasons during the dictatorship. In 2005, there were around 700 open cases relating to crimes committed during the dictatorship, including Jara's case (McSherry 2015b, pp.52–53). In this regard, Víctor Jara has become a symbol of that impunity towards dictatorship crimes, because of his high profile. Jara's family filed a judicial case in 1978, but it was immediately closed by the military court. New Chilean Song musicians in exile participated in activities supporting Víctor Jara's judicial case (McSherry 2015b, p.56). Jara's family reopened the legal case in 1998 at the point at which Pinochet was arrested in England. In 2004, Mario Manríquez, the commanding officer of the Chile Stadium in September 1973, was charged with the murder of Víctor Jara. Nelson Caucoto, Jara's family lawyer, established that Pinochet had to testify in Jara's case in 2004, however, the former dictator did not do so. According to Judge Fuentes, he ruled that Manríquez was the only person responsible for Jara's murder, before closing the case. Jara's family were surprised by the closure of the case and they started a campaign to reopen it. Jara's family collected information from prisoners and conscripts who were in the Chile Stadium when Víctor Jara was killed, and they provided this information to the judge. However, it was not possible to collect

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<sup>65</sup> <http://www.monumentos.cl/monumentos/monumentos-historicos/estadio-victor-jara-estadio-chile>

testimonies from superior officers due to their code of silence (McSherry 2015b, p.57).

The case was reopened in 2009 and Víctor Jara's body was exhumed for investigation. Following that, the Víctor Jara Foundation organised a funeral ceremony with a large-scale march to the cemetery. Manríquez died in 2009. A conscript, José Paredes, testified that he was involved in the murder of Víctor Jara and provided names of superior officers. He stated that Jara was tortured, subjected to some officers 'playing' Russian roulette with him and, finally, a lieutenant shot Jara in the head. Paredes was imprisoned for his part in the homicide. Judge Miguel Vásquez, who was in charge of the case in 2012, sent the order to arrest eight former military officers who were in charge of the detainees at the Chile Stadium. Half had been trained at the US School of the Americas, and one of them, Pedro Barrientos, had become a US citizen and was living in Florida. Barrientos was accused by the press, of being one of the main perpetrators of Víctor Jara's murder. The judge called for Barrientos's extradition, but the US government did not consider the request (McSherry 2015b, pp.57–59).

It was more recently, in July 2018, that Miguel Vásquez was able to sentence the eight military officers to 15 years in prison and one member of military personnel, to five years in prison for the homicide of Jara and Littré Quiroga, a former director of prisons<sup>66</sup>. In addition, Vásquez ordered the Chilean State to pay 1.370.000.000 Chilean pesos - in excess of 150000 pounds - to the relatives of Jara and Quiroga<sup>67</sup>. On 7<sup>th</sup> July 2018, Víctor Jara's family published a statement stating the importance of the sentence in defeating those who neglect history to maintain impunity. However, they also added that this verdict had taken place 45 years after Jara's death, and therefore it was difficult to consider it to be full justice<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/03/victor-jara-ex-military-officers-sentenced-in-chile-for-1973-death>

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/entretencion/musica/victor-jara/nueve-militares-en-retiro-son-condenados-por-el-asesinato-de-victor-jara/2018-07-03/153022.html>

<sup>68</sup> <http://fundacionvictorjara.org/sitio/declaracion-familia-de-victor-jara/>

### 4.3 Víctor Jara's dream in Wales

In this section, I will develop a third idea connected to the social relevance of Víctor Jara. I suggest that Jara is sociologically relevant because he conveys and performs a series of values and ideals that some still follow nowadays in order to conduct themselves accordingly and to project Jara's dreams into the future. Following Turner's (1977, p.vii) theory of cultural performance, Jara is relevant, not only for his fruitful artistic trajectory or the symbolic relevance of his death, but because he enables people to express a subjunctive mood, i.e., to enact potential realities and express a wished and imaged world.

The case of *El Sueño Existe* festival highlights the subjunctive dimension of the legacy of Víctor Jara. In this sense, Jara's dream is not only circumscribe to the situation of Chile before the coup or during the dictatorship, but it can be followed in a variety of scenarios such as the emergence and consolidation of progressive anti-neoliberal governments in Latin America, the struggles of the Welsh to preserve their language, or the contemporary anti-austerity campaign in the UK. In this section I will explain how the hypothetical question, 'what would Víctor Jara be if he were still alive?', became a source of inspiration for a group of British activists who were inspired by Jara's legacy, to create a music and political festival in mid-Wales.

#### *4.3.1 Origins of the festival: revival of Víctor Jara's age*

As Falassi (1987, p.2) notes, the social function of festivals is to celebrate the values of specific communities or groups who share common worldviews and lifestyles; this author suggests that in contemporary English language, festivals can be defined as 'the annual celebration of a notable person or event' (Ibid.,p2). As I explained briefly in the previous chapters, the celebration and festivalisation of Víctor Jara's legacy is not an isolated phenomenon, since it has been commemorated in different cultural performances over the last four decades.

These multiple celebrations of Jara have emerged, in part, as a matter of necessity for specific groups of people who commemorate his artistic and political values.

In Machynlleth, Wales, since 2001 a group of British left-wing Víctor Jara fans have organised events to celebrate the values and dreams of Víctor Jara. The first event was a fund-raiser for the Víctor Jara Foundation, organised in 2001 by Tony Corden and Polly Henderson, two British musicians and activists. This event took place one evening in a Machynlleth theatre, The Tabernacle, and it included music and poetry performances by local artists, and the presence and testimony of Mike Gatehouse about the military coup and the solidarity movement in the 1970s and 1980s. Tony and Polly performed songs by Víctor Jara, and Tony recited the poem 'Chile Stadium'. The *peña* lasted around two to three hours and around six hundred pounds was raised. They called the event '*peña*' in commemoration of Peña de Los Parra. The aim was to exhibit music and art with political content. They organised a second *peña* in 2003, the year of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the military coup, using the same format as the previous one. In 2004, they organised a third *peña* which included the testimony of Pedro Fuentes, a Chilean exile from Sheffield, who spoke about his participation in Popular Unity. Much like the previous two *peñas*, most of the participant artists were Britons. Due to the success and popularity of the event, they decided to organise a three-day festival in 2005. Keith Jackson, a British political activist, took a crucial role alongside Tony Corden, in the organisation of the first festival.

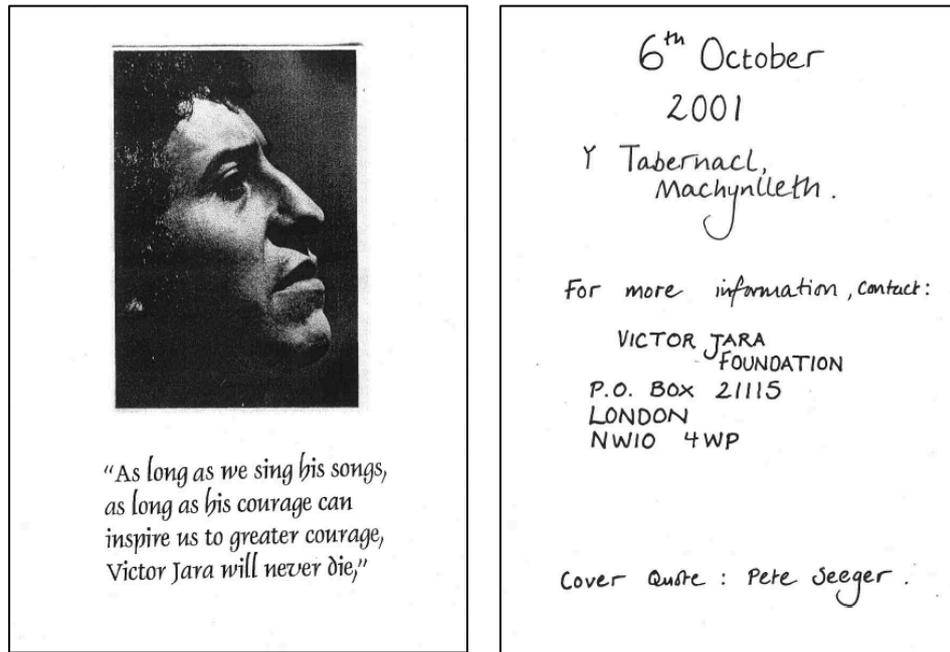


Figure 3. Promotion Victor Jara event Machynlleth, 2001  
 (Image scanned from Tony Corden's personal archive)

As mentioned previously, the name *El Sueño Existe* was inspired by the experience of Tony Corden in the concert of the same name, held in the National Stadium for the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the coup, and the death of Salvador Allende. Corden travelled to Chile in 2003 for the first time. During this five-week trip he met Joan and Víctor Jara's daughters, Amanda and Manuela. In Chile, as a member of the public, Corden attended the concert *El Sueño Existe* in the National Stadium, the sports venue that had previously served as a detention centre during the dictatorship. Tony was amazed by the crowd of thousands of people yelling 'Comrade Víctor Jara! Present! / Now! And always!' Corden's passion for Jara increased during this trip. For him, Jara's music was not a political pamphlet, but a spiritual expression<sup>69</sup>.

Both Tony and Keith moved to Machynlleth at the end of the 1990s, but their connection to the legacy of Víctor Jara had begun in the 1970s and 1980s. Tony Corden knew about Víctor Jara at the end of the 1980s when he travelled to Nicaragua in 1988 as a volunteer for the International Brigades in Solidarity with

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<sup>69</sup> Tony Corden, interview, 24 October 2015.

Sandinism movement<sup>70</sup>. Living in Nicaragua, Corden got to know Víctor Jara's music for the first time. Corden returned to the UK, after which he started to research Víctor Jara's music and political legacy in depth, and he became a fan. Corden started to share Jara's music and message in the UK. During his first years in the UK after Nicaragua, Corden did not know anyone with whom to share his passion for Víctor Jara until he moved to Machynlleth, a place where he met Jackson and other British activists interested in Latin American politics and culture.

Meanwhile, Keith Jackson was very politically active during the 1970s when he was living in Sheffield. Jackson spent many years working with Trade Unions and in Adult Education. Jackson followed the process of Popular Unity in Chile very closely. Throughout the first years of the decade, Jackson was aware of the success of Popular Unity and at that time felt very shocked and disappointed with the military coup in Chile. Jackson participated in the Chilean solidarity movement receiving exiles to his home and forging strong friendships with some. For him, Popular Unity was inspiration for the democratic socialism that he wanted to implement in Sheffield during the 1970s and 1980s. Keith supported the Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire who encouraged social policies such as cheap transport fares, community care, and an end to the manufacturing of components for nuclear missiles (Blunkett and Jackson 1987, pp.79, 87,98). The Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire was opposed by the Conservatives and Thatcher's government, and South Yorkshire County Council was abolished in 1986 (Blunkett and Jackson 1987, p.80). Jackson was influenced by Víctor Jara and Popular Unity culture through the diaspora and cultural events carried out by music groups from New Chilean Song in the UK. Therefore, at the time he met Corden, Jackson wanted to create an event for the commemoration of the legacy of Popular Unity and the Chilean solidarity movement in the 1970s, using as a reference, the figure of Víctor Jara. Jackson maintains that this encounter with Víctor Jara's music performed by Tony Corden and Polly Henderson at

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<sup>70</sup> Tony Corden, interviews, 24 October 2015 and 28 May 2016.

Machynlleth, triggered memories from his own past as a member of Chilean Solidarity:

It has been quite amazing to hear somebody, a couple of people, a couple singing the songs of Víctor Jara. This totally amazed me [...] because, for me this was a very important part of my past. These were the songs that I heard back in the 1970s, when Inti Illimani and Quilapayún came to give concerts in Sheffield where I lived at that time. And we were active members of the Chilean Solidarity Committee, which received refugees from Pinochet's dictatorship.

Keith Jackson, Interview, 9 Sept 2016

Jackson was involved in the organisation of the first festival in 2005. Unlike the previous *peñas*, a Chilean community in the UK was involved in the organisation of the event because of Jackson's contacts. SCDA, a Chilean community organisation from Sheffield, contributed practical elements for the festival, such as providing food. The festival sought to be an educational art activity in a similar way to the New Chilean Song movement. The initial idea was to perform a unique festival in 2005, however, due to the event's success, they decided to continue with it.

#### *4.3.2 Development of the festival: contemporary politics and culture*

In addition to the commemoration of Víctor Jara and Popular Unity, the aim of the festival was to reflect the connection between progressive left and green movements at that time. In this sense *El Sueño Existe* festival has attempted to connect Víctor Jara's dreams to current political struggles in Latin America and in the UK. So, the festival did not only focus on cultural activities, but it also included political workshops. The 2005 festival was the first of six that have taken place over a weekend in the summers of 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2017. The number of speakers, artists, and festival-goers increased year upon year. None of those involved in the organisation were experts at organising festivals, therefore they learned how to organise through experience.

Each festival has focused on a theme related to Latin American culture and politics and Víctor Jara's dreams. Víctor Jara's legacy has been connected with contemporary Latin American political processes, based upon the question: 'What would Víctor Jara be singing today if he were alive?' The main topic of the first festival in 2005, was Chile and the commemoration of the military coup. Chileans who were political refugees during the 1970s played a significant role in this first festival. Latin American and Welsh music groups participated, and there was a political talk lead by Francisco Domínguez, a Chilean academic at Middlesex University who has been engaged in many solidarity groups with Latin American countries<sup>71</sup>. The festival featured a recorded message from Joan Jara to the festival-goers. Joan Jara's message can be found on the *El Sueño Existe* festival's webpage:

To Tony Corden and all the friends who are part of the family of El Sueño Existe. For almost forty years, since the military coup in Chile and the brutal murder of OUR dream of building a society based on social justice, I have had the opportunity to travel all over the world and to find Víctor's songs being sung and, above all, the values inherent in them being shared and celebrated by so many and such diverse groups of people that I could, in spite of everything, in the darkest days of the dictatorship, hold on to hope for the future. Many years later, at a time when the people of Chile no longer needed international solidarity, I heard of your new cultural festival in a beautiful place in far off Wales which maintained the memory of Víctor and all he stood for at the heart of it.

Joan Jara, message to El Sueño Existe<sup>72</sup>

Despite the relevance of Popular Unity and Chile, the festival was not only focused on the past, but also on the political scenario of Latin America in the mid-2000s. During this decade, new progressive, anti-neoliberal governments were elected in Latin America, a fact that has provided new inspiration for the organisers. During the 1990s, neoliberalism started to be implemented in

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<sup>71</sup> Francisco Domínguez (2007; 2012) has written on contemporary Latin American politics, especially the Socialist Venezuelan Government.

<sup>72</sup> <https://elsuenoexiste.wordpress.com/victor-jara-2/message-from-joan-jara/>

different Latin American countries as a hegemonic economic force in the region. In 1989, the Washington Consensus, a list of ten economic policy measures, established the macroeconomic principles of many Latin American countries by emphasising financial liberalisation, the reduction of barriers to foreign investment, privatisation of state enterprises and the elimination of the regulations for the entry of new firms in the market. These measures were oriented to favour market openness and the reduction of the regulatory role of the State (Williamson 2005). The first strong response to neoliberalism from a Latin American government came in 1998 when Hugo Chávez was elected president of Venezuela and his government took control of the oil industry, the revenue from which was used to increase investment in social policies (Dominguez 2012, pp.105–106). During the second half of the 2000s, progressive governments were elected in Bolivia, Ecuador and Nicaragua, ending the neoliberal hegemony in the region. As Muhr (2011; 2013) points out, the new Latin American left has constituted a new critique towards colonialism and imperialism on three levels: social movements against neoliberalism; progressive governments; and 'third generation regionalism'<sup>73</sup> by means of the creation of regional cooperation institutions such as ALBA (constituted in 2004 as a response to ALCA treatment)<sup>74</sup>, Union of South American Nations (2008) and The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (2011).

According to the organisers of the festival, if Víctor Jara were alive today, he would be singing songs to support the progressive, anti-neoliberal governments in Latin America, like Venezuela and Bolivia. In consonance with the political situation of Latin American in that period, the theme of the 2007 festival was Venezuela. The main purpose of this festival was to exhibit an alternative

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<sup>73</sup> According to Muhr (2011, p. 99), the first form of regionalism was the import substitution industrialisation model; and, the second is neoliberal open regionalism.

<sup>74</sup> ALBA is a milestone of LA integration, and is an anti-hegemonic that challenges neoliberal policies such as the ALCA treatment lead by the US who promote "free trade" between the Americas. ALBA includes left-wing oriented governments in the region (Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua, among others); and it reincorporates the notions of New International Economic Order and South-South cooperation developed in the 1970s (Muhr 2013, p.2).

perspective from official Western media that portrayed Chávez as a dictator (Domínguez 2007, p.92). In 2002 there was a failed military coup against the Venezuelan government, an event that increased the international solidarity with this government. The 2007 festival included a contribution from César Aponte, the Venezuelan Ministry of Environment at that time, who delivered a workshop on Environmentalism and Venezuela, and a workshop on the music of Venezuelan protest singer, Alí Primera. The theme of the 2009 festival was Bolivia, chosen due to Evo Morales winning the presidential elections in 2006 and becoming the first indigenous president of Bolivia. The organisers of *El Sueño Existe* Festival wanted to celebrate Morales' victory as a triumph for socialism, and to exhibit the commonalities between Jara's legacy and Evo Morales' government, arguing that both projects recognised the value of indigenous and traditional culture hidden by elite classes and Western powers. The 2009 festival included a Welsh-Bolivian panel discussion on the commonalities between Welsh and Latin American traditional culture. The panel was comprised of Luzmila Carpio, Bolivian Ambassador to France at that time, an Aymara singer, and folk singer, Dafydd Iwan, president of the Party of Wales at that time<sup>75</sup>. The purpose of the panel was to explain the relevance of maintaining indigenous language and culture under threat from imperialism and neo-liberalism. The panel included a discussion about the links between Salvador Allende and Evo Morales, led by Luzmila Carpio and Beatriz Souvion, Bolivian ambassador to the UK at that time. The music group Tradición Andina played an important role through their participation in the festival. Luzmila Carpio sang some songs in Aymara language.

The theme of the 2011 festival was 'Welsh culture and their commonalities with Latin America', and it included a debate on the re-foundation of Wales through the recognition of its language and culture. The organisers of the festival wanted to connect Víctor Jara anti-imperialist values with the cultural and political struggles of Wales. Dafydd Iwan participated in the festival, singing and talking about the relevance of preserving Welsh culture in the face of invasion from the

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<sup>75</sup> The Welsh nationalist party was founded in 1925 with the aim of preserving Welsh language and culture (James 2005).

UK. Dafydd Iwan (1943-present) was president of the *Plaid Cymru* (Party of Wales), from 2003-2010. This party was founded in 1925 and was focused on preserving Welsh language, culture and identity, and on defending Welsh natural resources, from English exploitation. The idea that protest music and cultural resistance is a common element of the struggles of Latin American countries - such as Nicaragua - and Wales, facing the economic and cultural invasion of US and UK powers, was circulated in the festival. In this festival, Dafydd performed the song 'Can Victor Jara' in commemoration of the Chilean artist. The lyrics of the song include the verse: 'His hands were broken to stop the song but he continued to sing with his soul ablaze'<sup>76</sup>. Dafydd translated the lyrics to Welsh and performed Víctor Jara's song 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz' (The Right to Live in Peace) to Welsh: *Y Hawl I Fyw Mewn Rhydd*. Another relevant activity at the 2011 festival was carried out by the Eco-Memory project who led a ceremony where two trees were planted in commemoration of the lives of two disappeared people during the Chilean dictatorship (Ramírez and Serpente 2012, pp.191–192).

The theme of the 2013 festival was 'Chile' again, due to the commemoration of the 40-year anniversary of the Chilean military coup. This festival was part of a series of commemorative events that took place in the UK and Chile. There was a panel discussion on Chile in 1973 which included talks by three experts, on the history of Popular Unity and the military coup. That festival included a panel on the celebration of the solidarity movement with Chile in the 1970s. The festival included the re-launch of the cartoon *Introduction to Chile* (Welch 2013) about the history of Popular Unity and the coup. Jeremy Corbyn, labour MP at that time, gave a speech about his participation in Chilean Solidarity in the 1970s, highlighting the relevance of the figures of Salvador Allende and Víctor Jara to the UK and to Latin American politics.

The theme of the 2015 festival was 'Colombia and Eco-Socialism'. In relation to Colombia, the festival included performances by folkloric Colombian group

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<sup>76</sup> <https://www.shazam.com/track/5738081/can-victor-jara>

CATUFA. Also included was the promotion of political workshops on Colombia relating to human rights and Trade Unions, communities in resistance and the war on drugs. Also discussed was the Colombian peace process which had been a topical political theme since 2012. In terms of Eco-socialism, the festival sought to exhibit the Ecuadorian experience of including environmental elements in its political constitution through the organisation of a workshop on Eco-socialism. The theme of the last festival was 'Ecuador' and it included reflections on the government of Rafael Correa, extractive policies in the Amazons and shamanism.

#### *4.3.3 Anti-commercial organisation in a liminal space*

In terms of organisation, *El Sueño Existe* is focused on following the values of Jara in terms of anti-commercialism, pro-trade unionism and voluntary work. *El Sueño Existe* is a non-profit institution based in Machynlleth, legally constituted under the name of 'Mind Out Music'. The aim of the organisation is to promote opportunities for social justice, cultural expression and human rights. The first three festivals were funded by the Arts Council in Wales, and by trusts companies. Since 2011, the festival has been sponsored by the union, Unite, who have provided grants from the Welsh section of the organisation, and recruited young people to work as volunteers. There is an entrance fee to the public which has varied over the years<sup>77</sup>. The festival started with a small network of organisations participating in the event, however, over time this network has increased in terms of the number of institutions, campaigns and solidarity groups who are now involved. Although Tony Corden is the artistic director and many people associate the festival with him, there is an organisation committee comprised of a mix of Latin and British people. *El Sueño Existe* festival committee holds regular meetings in Corden's house, and organises a variety of events throughout the year in order to raise funds for the festival or to promote arts, music and politics. *El Sueño Existe* festival organised a one-day festival in Nicaragua in 2008, an Eco-socialism festival in 2014 and the Spanish Civil and Refugee Crisis festival in 2016.

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<sup>77</sup> For instance, at the 2017 festival the cheapest entrance was five pounds to attend on Friday afternoon, and the most expensive was 55 pounds for the whole weekend.

They also brought Cuncumén to Machynlleth in 2014 for a concert. The local residents of Machynlleth are largely engaged with the festival providing free accommodation to some artists and speakers who attend the event. *El Sueño Existe* festival has been promoted by local newspapers in Wales, such as Cambrian News, and also by Marxist newspapers in the UK such as the Morning Star.

As a performative event, the festival is organised according to a formulaic programmatic structure (Taylor 2003, p.31). Every festival starts on Friday afternoon and finishes on Sunday at around 4 pm. On Friday, the festival starts with a plenary of political talks and music/dance performances. Then there is music and a dance party in evening which continues into the night. Multiple events take place during Saturday and Sunday daytime. These events are political and cultural workshops, music and dance performances, and family events, among others. At certain times, four different activities take place simultaneously in different locations. The programme on Saturday finishes with music until midnight and includes a variety of music groups. The festivals end on Sunday with a circle dance ritual. This is an event in which all are invited to join hands and dance in a circle. This is repeated each year with some variations.

In terms of the construction of place, the festival can be conceived as a liminal space because it transforms the quotidian use of the space through the setting up of atmosphere that commemorates Víctor Jara, Popular Unity and other Latin American movements. In this sense, the festival generates a symbolic imitation of the culture of the New Chilean Song and Popular Unity (Cadaval 1998). The festivals take place in Y Plas, a cultural centre located at Machynlleth. Y Plas means 'The Mansion'. It was created in 1673 and belonged to British nobility until 1948 when it was then given to the town<sup>78</sup>. The festival uses various rooms inside the Y Plas. The first one is the Y Plas Hall. There is the main stage in front of Y Plas and the organisers usually set up 60 to 80 chairs, stands and decoration displaying images of Víctor Jara, New Chilean Song musicians, Salvador Allende, and icons

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<sup>78</sup> See <http://www.visitmidwales.co.uk/Machynlleth-Y-Plas/details/?dms=3&venue=1120120> [Accessed: 05 Jan 2017].

of Latin American and Welsh culture. The other two rooms are smaller. During the festival period, the organisers rename the rooms 'V́ctor Jara Room' and 'Violeta Parra Room'. Outside the main building, there is a big green area with a marquee. Inside this marquee is a stage and chairs, and behind the marquee's main stage, there are four paintings affixed to the wall – portraits, painted by Polly Henderson and Keith Jackson, of V́ctor Jara, Violeta Parra, Ali Primera and Salvador Allende. Near to the marquee, there is also a woodland or outdoor green area with stalls which is used as social space for festival-goers, and for *ad hoc* performances.



Figure 4. The main places of the festival: Y Plas and The Marquee  
(Photos: by the author)

This spatial liminality is facilitated by the features of the area as a place in a remote rural area that has attracted people with alternative political ideas. Machynlleth is a small city with around 2000 inhabitants, located in Dovey Valley,

mid-Wales, eighteen miles from Aberystwyth<sup>79</sup>. According to Allan Wynne Jones, festival participant and an expert in Welsh geography, it is possible to identify two kinds of inhabitants in Machynlleth: the 'native', and the 'incomers'<sup>80</sup>. The 'native' residents are those who have lived in the town their whole lives, meanwhile the 'incomers' are people who move into Machynlleth for political or ecological reasons. According to Wynne Jones, around 60% of inhabitants are bilingual, speaking Welsh and English. The Centre for Alternative Technology (CAT) is located at Machynlleth<sup>81</sup>. CAT is an ecological centre dedicated to teaching and sharing sustainable forms of living. The culture of this centre has influenced the way of life for those located in the Dovey Valley, creating employment and attracting students and experts in alternative energies and technologies to the town. CAT has promoted consciousness about environmental problems such as climate change and global pollution. Therefore, Machynlleth is an ideal environment for the proliferation of green movements and for those with alternative values in relation to mainstream capitalist ways of living. For this reason, the values and ideals of Víctor Jara have been well received among some Machynlleth residents. The organisers of the festival have encouraged the engagement of the festival with the place and its local residents, promoting workshops on Welsh culture and politics, and proposing commonalities between Welsh and Latin American culture in their fight against capitalism and the preservation of native languages. Apart from Dafydd Iwan, a variety of other Welsh artists and musicians such as the Aberystwyth Community Choir, *Côr Gobaith*, the socialist Welsh choir, *Cor Cochion*, and Welsh musicians Sian James, Bob Delyn and Gwilym Morus, have participated in the festival.

Finally, a further feature of the festival is its small scale which contributes to generating a sense of proximity and intimacy amongst the festival-goers.

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<sup>79</sup> See 2011 Census Key Statistics, Machynlleth Community Council. Available at: [http://pstatic.powys.gov.uk/fileadmin/Docs/Powys-i/Census\\_2011/PDFs/Community%20Council/C2011KSCCW04000326\\_Machynlleth\\_en.pdf](http://pstatic.powys.gov.uk/fileadmin/Docs/Powys-i/Census_2011/PDFs/Community%20Council/C2011KSCCW04000326_Machynlleth_en.pdf) [Accessed: 06 Jan 2017]

<sup>80</sup> Allan Wynne Jones, interview, 19 August 2016.

<sup>81</sup> See CAT webpage. Available at <http://www.cat.org.uk/index.html> [Accessed: 05 Jan 2017].

According to the organisers, around 400 - 500 people attend the festival every year. There is no official information on the demographic of those who attend since they have not been surveyed or been subject to the collection of data. However, according to the organisers, many people who attend are British activists in their 50s or 60s who were very engaged in Latin American politics in solidarity campaigns (for instance, within Chile in the 1970s), or were doing volunteer work in a Latin American country (for instance, Nicaragua in the 1980s). Apart from these British activists, those who usually attend the festival include Latin Americans living in the UK and local people from Machynlleth who are not particularly engaged in Latin America politics and culture but are interested in the festival as a local recreational event. Chilean exiles, of all Latin American groups, are the group with the greatest influence on the organisational committee of the festival.

#### 4.4 Conclusions

Throughout this chapter I have explained the sociological relevance of Víctor Jara, focusing on his life, death and dream. This analysis sought to expand the biographical and musical attention paid to the legacy of Jara, highlighting how he emerged as a consequence of a series of political and cultural processes, how his death is representative of a broader politics of repression in Chile, and how his vision and values became a source of inspiration and celebration for people, not only in Chile, but in places such as Mid Wales. In relation to his life, from a sociological point of view, it is possible to argue that his artistic oeuvre and trajectory was an effect of specific structures of power and institutional arrangements. This idea is related to the notions of performance theory that suggest the subject is not to be understood as the 'author' of his or her practice, nor is there a transcendental consciousness that explains agency (Bell 2007a). This idea is useful in analysing the life of Jara since his artistic and political trajectory did not emerge as a consequence of individual features such as creativity, originality or effort, but rather as part of a broader political and cultural institutional arrangement that he was part of or against.

Jara was part of a new song movement in Latin America that used music as a tool for liberation, and it commonly refers to criticism of specific structures of power that constrain individuals and groups. In this sense, the music repertoire of Jara includes critique of the intervention of the US in Vietnam, oligarchic exploitation of peasants and police repression of student movements and inhabitants of shanty towns. Víctor Jara's life illustrates how a variety of institutions such as the church, military service, the Theatre School of Universidad de Chile, the Communist Party, University Reform, and Popular Unity, shaped his artistic and political trajectory. In this sense, Jara was able to understand the political and cultural codes and values that were influential in the institutions that he was part of, including the ideology of folk music (Frith 1981) and the values of the New Song (Fairley 1984).

Using concepts related to performance theory, Jara's death can be interpreted as a social drama (Turner 2006) that has been performed repeatedly by musicians, Chilean exiles and left-wing activists, on different occasions and in different formats since the 1970s until now. In this sense, the commemoration of Jara's death not only refers to the death of an individual, but to the banishment of a broader political and cultural project neglected by the atrocities of the Pinochet dictatorship including the killings, disappearances and persecution, and also the prohibition and punishment of specific music and cultural expressions. In addition, since the Chilean legal system has been negligent in punishing the perpetrators of Jara's death, symbolic and ritual events such as music concerts in solidarity with Chile or the purification of the Chile Stadium in 1991, have played an important role in expressing the frustrations and the desire for justice among people who have felt able to identify with Víctor Jara.

Finally, I discussed how Víctor Jara was a sociologically relevant figure because his legacy has allowed people to express their wishes and desires of an alternative world. Thus, Jara became a relevant figure through the desire of his followers to celebrate his legacy and values. Focusing on the *El Sueño Existe* festival, I

explained how the organisers of the festival reactivated and celebrated the dream of Jara in Mid Wales through small events which then became an established bi-annual festival. Following Turner's (1987) theory of cultural performance, I suggest that Víctor Jara represents the subjunctive mood of the festival, in terms of his figure enabling participants to perform their desire and hypothetical world within the liminal period of the event. In this sense, the festival can be analysed as a time out of time, since it transports the festival-goers to the 'Golden Age' (Falassi 1987, p.5) of New Chilean Song and Popular Unity. This liminality is not only restricted to time, but also to space, since the place where the festival has been held is temporarily transformed to recreate the environment and atmosphere of that period. This subjunctive mood of the festival of keeping the dream of Víctor Jara alive, has taken place in a period in which there have been increased anti neo-liberal governments in Latin America, therefore, the political position of the festival is to support progressive governments and movements that are carrying out anti-neoliberal and anti-imperial agendas and to criticise those regimes, programmes and organisation that adopt pro neo-liberal policies and pro-US-intervention in the region.

The next challenge is to understand how Víctor Jara's legacy, music and political commitment is performed and how it influenced lifestyles, artistic creativity and political activities in the communities who participated in the festival. The following three chapters are focused on the experience of three specific groups who participated in the festivals: Chilean exiles, international musicians and political activists.

## Chapter 5. Chilean Exiles and the Liminal Experience of the Festival

The argument I will develop in this chapter is based on the discussion raised in the literature review regarding Victor Turner's notion of festivals as cultural performances and liminal spaces that suspend the quotidian norms of everyday life, promoting extraordinary modes of social relationship, critical reflexivity and healing effects in the participants. In accordance with Turner's (1987, p.22) liminal theory, I argue that the festival is a space for critical reflexivity that operates as a 'magic mirror' in which participants can see and experience a series of social, material and symbolic dynamics that are not present in everyday life. I suggest that the festival implies three forms of liminality: temporal, social and political.

First, temporal liminality is based on the material and symbolic effects of the festival in recreating and reviving the experience of Popular Unity and New Chilean Song during the 1960s, up until the coup. This revival produced healing effects for Chilean exiles, through the continuity and reconnection with performative styles they had learned during that period. Second, I will use Turner's (1977, p.96; 1982b, p.47) notion of *communitas* to analyse the social liminality produced within the festival. The festival encourages an extraordinary relationship of equals between local British and Chilean exiles based on shared political and aesthetic values and worldviews. Alongside the concept of *communitas*, I will use the concept of *ideological communitas* as a type of relationship based on the common artistic and political values and ideology that allow people to create immediacy and intimacy. Third, I will analyse the notion of political liminality in terms of the process of re-normalisation of political subjectivities and the inversion of the notion of political defeat and victory. The festival reinforces the idea that although the Chilean exiles, as supporters of the

Popular Unity, were historically defeated by the Pinochet dictatorship, they have never been 'morally' defeated by it.

I argue that the festival enables Chilean exiles to build a symbolic bridge between the past and the present and the 'they' and 'us', and it inverts and challenges political hierarchies. These liminal processes have healing effects for Chilean exiles. The seven Chilean exiles I interviewed experienced repression, either directly or indirectly, during the Pinochet dictatorship, due to their political beliefs. Roberto was shot<sup>82</sup>; Alejandro and Jorge both escaped from Chile and went to Argentina, after which they went into exile from Argentina, to the UK; Pedro and Apolo were remanded for a long time in concentration camps during the first years of the dictatorship; Consuelo was taken prisoner and tortured in the 1980s; Patricia was taking care of her boyfriend when he was taken prisoner. They experienced the politics of the 'social cleansing' perpetrated by the Chilean State in order to preserve the 'political order of society'<sup>83</sup>.

Therefore, I want to take into consideration the psychosocial effects of the torture and repression suffered by these exiles, and the role of ritual and liminal events in proposing solutions to deal with the trauma and wounds of the past. In this context, I consider the festival as a ritual that uses arts and festive sociability to heal. The legal name of the organisation that runs *El Sueño Existe*, is 'Mind out of music', and its purpose is to promote good mental health through music and arts. In particular, this chapter will focus on the following question: How does the festival contribute to creating a sense of belonging, continuity and healing of

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<sup>82</sup> Roberto Navarrete, interview, 29 May 2016. During the interview, I did not ask him for the details of his experience of being shot, in order to respect its intimacy in this theme – so it is for this reason that more details on this topic are not provided.

<sup>83</sup> Bell (2014 p.22) used Foucault's concept of bio-politics to analyse the politics of "social cleansing" perpetrated by the State during the dictatorship regime in Argentina (1976-1983). As Bell notes, the lecture on 'Society Must be Defended' by Foucault was given a few months after the start of the Videla dictatorship. In this lecture, Foucault defines bio-politics as a strategy of the State based on governing the life and care of the population through a series of knowledge-power operations. In this context, Bell argues that the justification given by the military dictatorship to kidnap, disappear, torture and kill people, was based on a bio-political logic, of caring for the population through the elimination of "infectious people" who were otherwise able to destabilise the health of society as a whole.

trauma among Chilean exiles? In general terms, I argue that the festival, as a liminal event, has the capacity to break the norms of time, quotidian sociability and political structures, producing elements of nostalgia, communal relationship and counterhegemonic politics needed by the Chilean exiles for the restoration and reaffirmation of their political and aesthetic values and ideals.

The seven Chilean exiles I interviewed have actively participated in the festival either as organisers, musicians, workshop facilitators or by giving testimonies. All lived in Chile during Popular Unity and they arrived in the UK in the 1970s - except Consuelo, who arrived in the 1990s but still considers herself an exile due to the wounds inflicted on her when she was tortured. The chapter is divided into three subsections. The first is focused on temporal liminality in discussion with the concepts of nostalgia and revival. In the second chapter I will discuss the concept of *communitas* as an extraordinary form of sociability. Finally, the third subsection will focus on political liminality, particularly the ways in which the festival reinforces a political *ethos* that challenges contemporary political structures and behaviour.

### 5.1 Temporal liminality: revival and nostalgia

As explained in previous chapters, Falassi (1987) defines festivals as 'time out of time'. This notion asserts that festivals provide a temporality different to that experienced in everyday life, thus, festivals change the daily meaning of time and space. Bennet and Woodward (2014, p.14) use the notion of nostalgia festival to define those festivals that include repertoire and icons from a specific generation, such as the Wintersun festival in Australia which celebrates the rock'n'roll culture of the 1950s and 1960s. The *El Sueño Existe* festival, as an event inspired by Víctor Jara, New Chilean Song and Popular Unity, refers to a specific period of time that is significant for many of the participants. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the festival started as a form of replication of the aesthetic of *La Peña de los Parra* (1965-1973). Most of those who attend the festival are in their 50s and 60s; so, they were children or young adults during the 1960s and 1970s. In the case of the

Chilean exiles, they were all young people during the Popular Unity era, and they experienced this political process with the vibration of their age. During that period, many of the Chilean exiles were members of Latin American or Chilean folklore music bands. During the 1960s and 1970s, the hippie movement was also at its peak - at Woodstock, for instance - influencing the ethos of the festival, mainly due to the influence of Tony Corden who considered himself a leftist hippie. Throughout the 1970s, socialism was still a viable project in Western Europe, as the example of 'The Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire' explained by Keith Jackson in the previous chapter, shows. Additionally, the 1960s and 1970s was the pre-stage of the consolidation of neoliberal policy through the Thatcher and Reagan alliance, and the fall of real socialism; additionally, the welfare state in the UK was much stronger then than today. Therefore, the need to celebrate and commemorate the 1960s and 1970s has political and ethical implications, since it implies criticism of current times. There is a judgment of the way that history has developed, and the need for change. For this reason, the festival as a liminal space, can provide the symbolic, material and emotional elements required to challenge the 'rules of time'.

The first Chilean exile I would like to introduce is Alejandro Reyes, the oldest among the Chilean exile interviewees. Alejandro arrived in the UK in 1974 as a political refugee after been persecuted in Chile and Argentina. Alejandro has historical significance for some who have participated in the festival, since he was co-founder of Cuncumén, the first of Víctor Jara's bands. Indeed, Alejandro was part of the jury who accepted Jara as a member of the band. The first time I saw him was at the 2015 festival, after a mini-concert he provided in the *Y Plas* room during the acoustic evening event. I spoke briefly with him and we arranged a meeting at his house in order to play music together. Months later I went to his house and we talked about his life. We became friends and artistic partners, and we played some songs together at the 2016 *El Sueño Existe* festival. Alejandro was a member of the youth section of the Chilean Communist Party during the 1950s and he played an active role in Chilean cultural life during this decade due to his participation in Cuncumén. Cuncumén is an important folkloric band since it

proposed a model of Chileanness based on the representation of music, dance and costumes inspired by the traditions of Chilean peasants. This band served as a 'role model' for folkloric representation (Torres et al. 1996, p.32). Although some scholars haven't recognised Cuncumén as part of New Chilean Song (Vilches 2014, p.184; McSherry 2015a, p.6), the group was key in the development of Víctor Jara's musical career, and therefore it had a direct impact on the development of New Chilean Song (Ruiz 2006). Alejandro left Cuncumén in 1960 to continue with his studies and his career as a paediatrician. Despite this separation from the band, Alejandro participated occasionally in the New Chilean Song movement. For instance, he played in the second version of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* festival in 1970, and he created the song entitled 'El Gallo de Amanecida' (The cock of dawn) that was played by Angel Parra.



Figure 5. Alejandro Reyes in cover album Cuncumén  
(Alejandro is the first from left to right. Photo: EMI Odeon)

During the interview with Alejandro, he mentioned the concept of nostalgia a few times. The first time was in relation to the beginnings of Chilean Song: 'The Chilean Song begins with the compilation, it starts with the nostalgia of the land, let's say, it starts with the land that was lost in front of us because of the huge

urbanisation caused by the movement from rural areas to urban cities<sup>84</sup>. In this quotation, Alejandro linked the concept of nostalgia with criticism of the accelerated process of migration from rural areas, to cities in Chile from the 1920s onwards. As disciples of Margot Loyola, a renowned Chilean folklorist (Zamora 1995), Cuncumén was a pioneering band in its use of ethnographic methods of collection of music mainly from rural areas from the central zone of Chile. Cuncumén was not only about music, but they were a folkloric ensemble specialising in music, poetry, dance and dress. The aim of the band was to represent a lifestyle connected to original Chilean values: playing *tonadas* and *cuecas*, wearing outfits, such as *ponchos*, typical of rural areas, and using metric forms of Spanish poetic stanzas such as quatrains. These aesthetic values challenged the values of commercial world music and typical folkloric music from other Latin American countries.

During Popular Unity, Alejandro worked in the National Health Administration, and as a teaching assistant in a university. After the coup, an order of detention was made against him. Alejandro went into exile to Argentina in 1974 where he spent six months until he faced political persecution again and was forced to leave the country. Alejandro and his family arrived in the UK, settling in a town near Birmingham. Alejandro suffered from depression, in part as a consequence of the lack of contact with other Chileans. The coup and the exile were shocking and painful experiences for him. During the interview, we were talking about the relevance of the festival, and in this context, he mentioned the word 'nostalgia' again in relation to the music of exiles. According to Alejandro 'Nostalgic music helps you to survive, it helps you with the time [...] Nostalgic music, it helps you like to survive, to unfreeze what is frozen'<sup>85</sup>. In the first phrase, the link between the words 'survival' and 'time' illustrates the relevance of the festival as a ritual of temporal liminality that has enabled Alejandro to survive. It is a form of resilience. In 2014 the band Cuncumén played in the Centre for Alternative Technology (CAT) at Machynlleth in an event organised by Tony Corden. Alejandro

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<sup>84</sup> Alejandro Reyes, interview, 7 June 2016. My translation.

<sup>85</sup> Alejandro Reyes, interview, 7 June 2016. My translation.

appreciated the gesture of the *El Sueño Existe* festival inviting Cuncumén to Wales, seeing it as a form of recognition of the relevance of this music; it was an activity that helped Alejandro to unfreeze memories and gestures that were in a 'cold mode' in everyday life.

The 'unfreezing function' of the festival described by Alejandro, is reminiscent of the concept of psychosocial liquefaction of mundane experience (Stenner 2017, p.24) which refers to the capacity for liminal events to contribute to the flux of rules, sociability, affectivity and creativity that are in a solid state in everyday life. As Turner (1977, p.vii) points out, during the liminal period, social events are induced by particular sets of norms and rules that are not present in everyday life. Therefore, I argue that the festival invokes a series of aesthetic norms and rules that provide the guidelines for Alejandro's political and aesthetic conduct in the past. After the coup and the experience of exile, these aesthetic and political values were less common in everyday life, staying in a cold or 'frozen' mode. Through the invocation of the normativity of the past, the festival generates in Alejandro, a process of re-activation of aesthetic practices and behaviour that he had sometimes thought were lost. For this reason, during the interview Alejandro told me that Tony Corden and the festival had 'dug him up', suggesting that he was artistically 'buried' prior to this encounter. Therefore, I suggest that the invocation and revival of the past, instead of solidifying and essentialising specific forms of identities, has the effect of liquefaction that promotes vital subjectivity (Stenner 2017). In other words, the festival has contributed to the unfreezing of lifestyle preferences that were central to the configuration of subjectivities in the past, that were frozen and kept in a subliminal state before they were activated (Bennett and Woodward 2014, p.14). For Alejandro, the festival plays a role in reviving meaningful past events which generate hope to face the future:

The word festival is connected to feast... actually, it is a revival, a re-awakening. Indeed, it helps a lot. I believe for this reason it provides meaning; in a temporal dimension, festivals mean that you have something for the future, let's say. Festival is supposedly like the seasons, there is life beyond. Machynlleth has helped, let's say, the Chilean community and many others.

The festival not only reactivates the aesthetic and political norms and values Alejandro experienced intensely during his youth, but it also reactivates his position as an authoritative figure, and reactivates the process of being engaged with public life. The festival, as a ritual of repetition, is interpreted by Alejandro as a cyclical event, a repetition that means there is future.

Returning to the argument from the previous chapter, I suggest that the subjunctive mood of the festival is rooted in the experience of Victor Jara, New Chilean Song and Popular Unity; therefore, they are the hub in which the desire to revive this period is given legitimacy, it is a form of criticism of the contemporary world. The filmmaker Patricio Guzman, a Chilean exile, produced the documentary *Nostalgia of the Light* that describes Chile pre-1973 as an idyllic and Edenic place, contrary to contemporary neoliberal Chile. At the beginning of the documentary, Guzman states 'the coup d'état swept away democracy, dreams' (Martin-Jones 2013, p.709). I propose to link this quotation to the testimony of Apolo Santana, a Chilean exile who has been participating in the festival since 2005. As a member of the public, I attended the launch of 'We Touched the Sky', an educational online course about Popular Unity and the military coup from the perspective of four Chilean exiles living in the UK: Apolo Santana, Idulia Diaz-Tello, Pedro Fuentes and Sergio Requena-Rueda<sup>86</sup>. This launch took place at the 2016 festival organised by *El Sueño Existe* which was themed on the contemporary refugee crisis and the commemoration of the Spanish Civil War. This educational course was created by Tim and Maureen, two political activists and members of the *El Sueño Existe* festival organisation committee. They created this course as a consequence of the solidarity campaign 'Chile 40 years on' in 2013 in commemoration of the 40-year anniversary of the Chilean coup. The course is available online and via open access, and includes videos of Chileans talking about their lives. During the launch, Tim and Maureen

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<sup>86</sup> <http://wea-yh.org.uk/chile2/section2.html>.

stated that the title of the course, 'We Touched the Sky', was proposed by Apolo Santana to illustrate the sense of victory and joy experienced from participating in Popular Unity. This idea resonates again with the notion of the festival as 'time out of time', since the analogy between the sky and Popular Unity shows how this period was experienced as a golden age (Falassi 1987, p.5) that should be commemorated. In the words of Apolo:

This is satisfaction, this is what I felt as a young man. A concept I use in Spanish is "Tocar el Cielo", to touch the sky [during Popular Unity]. We were able to feel elated in a way, where the reward that you are getting is because you are getting something from it yourself and giving it out, and there is no price to it, and I always feel I can look back and I feel, yes, these were the most positive years of my life

Apolo Santana, testimony, 'We Touched the Sky'<sup>87</sup>

For Apolo, living through Popular Unity was a moment of complete satisfaction in which it was possible to achieve the impossible, to 'touch the sky'. The Popular Unity movement took place in a brief temporal space (over a period of only three years) within the lives of the four Chilean participants on the course, however, this period had been a significant era in their lives, offering them a source of identity and sense of belonging. Metaphorically, the sky is the space of heaven, a state of extreme happiness. Meanwhile, a dream is a hope or aspiration. The name of the festival 'the dream lives on' means that the aspiration of another world is possible; a world that was historically reached or 'touched' during Popular Unity, as a unique experience that merged socialism with democracy. In this context, the reference to the glorious past of Popular Unity is connected to a broader aspiration, it is the source of the subjunctive mood of the festival. In a later conversation I had with Apolo, I asked him about the relevance of Víctor Jara and Popular Unity in his life, and he began to recall Chile before the coup:

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<sup>87</sup> <http://wea-yh.org.uk/chile2/section3.html>.

Our generation has always been exposed to foreign commercial music, as it is the common experience for most people. The arrival of the New Song, Víctor, Violeta Parra, and Quilapayún became very symbolic. I remember we were in the university and everybody wanted to form Latin American music bands, playing native instruments from our regions; it was magic. For me, it was a new awakening, a new... how to say? Cultural renaissance. And it was one among many other things that positively contributed to ourselves

Apolo Santana, interview, 25 January 2017. My translation

In this quotation, Apolo refers to the influence of the musicians of New Chilean Song in guiding the aesthetic preferences of young people. According to Apolo, his generation started to become involved in music based on the anti-commercial and pro-Latin American aesthetic approach of New Chilean Song. In other words, New Chilean Song had performative effects, young people imitated and replicated the aesthetic principles and styles, and it was a source for the stylisation of everyday practices. Apolo's recollection of his experience of the pre-coup period illustrates the role of New Chilean Song as a source of 'performative style' (Yúdice 2003, p.73) that constituted its aesthetic and political subjectivity. Therefore, the festival is a space in which this performative style is re-activated, revitalising a key historical experience for Apolo.

The Chilean exiles I interviewed put forward a critical reflection of present times. An example of an aspect of this critique, was the contrast between the politics of refugees that they experienced during the 1970s, and the contemporary politics governing refugees which is carried out by the UK Government. Most of the refugees highlighted the vital support they received when they arrived in the UK from a variety of institutions such as the Chile Solidarity Committee, churches, unions and human rights organisations. This reflection resonates with the experience I had in Machynlleth when I was invited to sing at the screening of the movie, *The Pearl Button*, directed by Patricio Guzmán, in the Magic Lantern cinema located in Tywyn, a small town near Machynlleth. This event took place in May 2016 and it was organised by Tony Corden on behalf of the *El Sueño Existe* organisation. Similar to *Nostalgia of the Light*, *The Pearl Button* is a documentary

that reflects on human rights and memory. *The Pearl Button* focuses on the case of the genocide of Selk'nam people – an ethnic group in the extreme south of Chile – and the experiences of victims of the Pinochet dictatorship. Roberto Navarrete was invited by Tony Corden to talk at the Q&A. Roberto is a Chilean exile who has participated in the production and distribution of documentaries on Latin American politics. There was a stage in front of the cinema screen. Around fifty people attended the event, most of whom were locals. Before the start of the film I played 'La Jardinera' by Violeta Parra, and 'Te Recuerdo Amanda' by Víctor Jara, on the main stage. In relation to the notion of the festival as 'time out of time', I suggest both songs re-enact some themes that were very common in the *zeitgeist* of Chile pre-coup. The song 'Te Recuerdo Amanda' refers to the love between the workers, Amanda and Manuel. The song concluded with a tragic end in which Amanda is looking for Manuel in the factory, but Manuel never came back. This song refers to the repression of workers in their factories and can be interpreted as a premonitory song of Víctor Jara, anticipating the situation of repression in Chile during the dictatorship. So, the song is connected with the trope of worker experience that was common in the New Chilean Song movement. Meanwhile, the song 'La Jardinera' refers to healing from a romantic breakup, through gardening. Tony Corden presented 'La Jardinera' as an ecological song since it encourages the use of plants and gardening as therapy. This song resonates with the exaltation of folklore in Chile during the 1950s and 1960s. After my performance, I sat down and watched the movie.



Figure 6. Promotion 'A Chilean Night' by The Magic Lantern. 28 May 2016

(Photo by the author)

Once the film had finished, Roberto entered the stage. Tony introduced him to the audience as a Chilean political refugee who was imprisoned and tortured during the Pinochet dictatorship. Roberto highlighted the role of *The Pearl Button* in creating consciousness with regard to the brutality of the Pinochet dictatorship and the colonisation of native cultures. A member of the public asked Roberto what he did to warrant persecution by the dictatorship. Roberto answered he did nothing but support the Popular Unity government that had been democratically elected. The film was screened in the month before the UK Brexit referendum, a time where discussion on migration and refugees was central in public debate. A member of the public asked Roberto about his experience as a refugee. Roberto answered the question emphasising the concept of solidarity as a central element for his adaptation to his new life in the UK. Roberto did not like to be considered a victim or a helpless refugee. Instead, Roberto believes that refugees can also help other oppressed groups and can be an active agent of the solidarity movement. According to Roberto, the concept of refugee status encouraged by the Labour Party and solidarity movements in the 1970s, was very different to the concept promoted by the Conservative Party nowadays, since refugees were not considered people in need, but proactive subjects with the potential to become contributors to society. Roberto said that during this period, the solidarity movement operated on the principle of reciprocity and equality, instead of establishing a hierarchal form of help. When Roberto arrived in the UK as a refugee, he received a scholarship from the UK to continue his studies. At that time, UK Universities were free, so the scholarship funded his living expenses. Roberto completed his studies and became a recognised neuroscientist and academic researcher. Most of the Q&A time was focused on Roberto's experience as a refugee and exile, rather than the analysis of the film.

In my view, Roberto was proposing a critical argument against the current politics of refugees in the UK. He narrated his own case as an example of adaption and integration into UK society because of the solidarity and support he received and provided. In the Q&A Roberto also highlighted the relevance of the system of free education at that time, implying criticism of the contemporary neoliberal

university system. Therefore, the celebration of the politics of solidarity and refugees was part of the subjunctive mood of the festival, based on preserving and enacting certain political values which were important, not only during the pre-coup Chile period, but also important to the experience of Chileans during their first years in the UK. Thus, the desire to revive this period is not a passive reflection of the past, but a strategy to call public attention to specific political problems. In a similar way, I suggest that the movie *The Pearl Button* is not lamenting the present, but it is a medium through which to critique the present. Therefore, this documentary is consistent with the liminal temporal function of the festival.

### 5.2 Social liminality: *Communitas* and *festive catharsis*<sup>88</sup>

In this section, I will discuss the concept of *communitas* developed by Turner, taking into consideration the way the festival is experienced by Chilean exiles as a period in which the distance of 'we' and 'they' is blurred, promoting an equal and symmetrical relationship between exiles and locals. I suggest this equal relationship is connected to the notion of symmetrical solidarity explained by Robert in the previous section. As I mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Turner (1977, p.96) coined the concept *communitas* to describe a form of human interrelation that emerges in the liminal period, based on the communion among equals. As I explained previously, Turner uses, as an example, the liminal period in Ndembu people where neophytes are treated as equals and the food is shared equally, independently of the status of their families; or they sleep around fires in specific groups, generating special ties. This type of relationship is contrary to structured and hierarchical political, legal and economic systems. Turner uses the concept *communitas* instead of community because the latter concept refers to an area of common living, meanwhile, the former emerges during the liminal period. St John (2010) provides a contemporary application of the concept of *communitas* to analyse the type of relationship produced during dance rituals.

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<sup>88</sup> I am using the concept of catharsis since it was raised by Roberto to explain the emotions that he felt in the festival because of the manifestation of solidarity and commemoration of Víctor Jara.

According to him, 'these dance "rituals" may be more efficacious in transporting participants into a liminal community than effecting transit to a well-defined externally recognised social condition' (St John 2010, p.226).

Similarly, I argue that the festival promotes a type of relationship through which it is possible to establish modes of relationship that are not present in everyday life. I suggest this mode of relationship produces healing effects for Chilean exiles. At this point, I will continue recounting my experience with Roberto. The day after the Q&A, I interviewed Roberto in Machynlleth and we discussed the relevance of *El Sueño Existe* festival, for him. According to Roberto, *El Sueño Existe* festival is a very special event because it is not a space of mere cultural consumption. The experience of attending *El Sueño Existe* festival is very different to the experience of attending a music concert of Latin American music in London:

We live in London, there are cultural events there, like festivals [...] But the festival has a dimension that is very different in relation to the way of living in London where you have access to everything. We have seen Mercedes Sosa and Inti Illimani many times, but this is an experience as a consumer. You see the band Inti Illimani that represents something, you see Mercedes Sosa because you like her music. You can do it because you are living in London, but you go and then come back to your house. The festival allows you a period of unhurried reflection, it is a period of intimacy maybe. The musicians who participated in the festival are not technically as good as those artists that you can see in London. But, for me, this is not important. The community is relevant. For instance, today we walked to a space that Tony showed us. Or many who attended the festival came to parties in Tony's house.

Roberto Navarrete, interview, 29 May 2016. My translation

On the previous day, Roberto, Tony and I walked around for an hour on the green hills that surround Machynlleth. In this quotation, Roberto used this walk as an example to highlight that the potentialities of the festival are not circumscribed to the artistic and political performances that are part of the program, but it is possible to share informal spaces such as walking in the hills, or attending parties

at Tony's house. Thus, the festival facilitates a mode of relationship based on intimacy and closeness. This quotation suggests that the festival, although it includes a series of artistic modern expressions such as music and art, is not necessarily conceived as a *liminoid* space of leisure. The fact that the festival takes place in a small city in the middle of Wales that is relatively remote from big urban centres in the UK, facilitates the feeling that the Chilean exiles are participating in an extraordinary, liminal experience that is not comparable to the consumption of two- or three-hour artistic events that are part of everyday life in big cities such as London. For this reason, Roberto used the word 'community' to highlight this extraordinary form of sociability that occurs during the festival, based on the celebration of common aesthetic and political values.

Patricia Pons, another Chilean exile, is also conscious of the extraordinary mode of sociability that is constructed during the festival. Patricia is a Chilean exile who arrived in the UK in 1978 as a political refugee – the wife of a Chilean member of the military forces who was imprisoned during the Pinochet Dictatorship. When she was living in Chile, her favourite music band was Cuncumén. Patricia is an amateur musician and she has taken part in the festival, performing with a variety of music bands such as Amigo Artista, Rompiendo Fronteras and Los Copihues Rojos. I met her in my capacity as a musician in Los Copihues Rojos from 2016 onwards. I interviewed Patricia and asked her how she felt the first time she performed at the festival? She replied: 'it was a different experience, due to the fact of being in the midst of people from different cultures [...] it seems lie that they were singing Chilean songs, and above all, in Wales, it was a new experience'<sup>89</sup>. The word 'lie' (*mentira*, in Patricia's words), denotes the idea of it being incredible, or beyond expectations. I suggest that Patricia's experience of the festival as an unbelievable experience is based on the extraordinary openness of non-Chilean people sharing an intimate space with her.

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<sup>89</sup> Patricia Pons, interview, 8 February 2017. My translation.

In the 1980s, Patricia performed in a music band called Mallapi. Víctor Jara's daughters were members of this band when they were living in exile in the UK. I asked Patricia about the difference between playing music with Mallapi in the 1980s, and her experience of the festival over the last decade. She replied:

It was different, but we went to different parts anyway. But Mallapi was like a family, it was a group of relatives playing folklore [...] we always felt that we were in our social environment [...] But there [*El Sueño Existe* festival] it is different because you have to leave your environment and you have to talk with different people, to learn from a different culture to see how they are living. Because, for instance, when you arrived at their homes at night and they are with you, they offer you a cup of tea, and you start to talk. And there were people telling me of their experiences, their lives as hippies when they were young [...] I never imagined I would have the opportunity to talk with these kinds of people who belong to a completely different world than ours.

Patricia Pons, interview, 8 February 2017. My translation

Much like Roberto, Patricia suggests that the festival is special because of the mode of relationship that she established with others. As mentioned in chapter four, local people from Machynlleth offered their houses to accommodate the speakers and artists. Patricia suggests that the local people who hosted her belong to a different world, but during the festival they shared a common space that contributes a special type of communication. In Patricia's experience, the accommodation not only provided material support in terms of having a roof over your head and a bed to sleep in, but it was also a space of sociability and intimacy between the host and the guest. It offers an openness, each to the other. Thus, it is possible to argue that the generosity and openness is a form of breaking the quotidian distinction between the 'we' and 'they' that contributes to the sense of belonging of the Chilean exiles. The anti-structural function of the *communitas* experienced by Patricia is based on the suspension of the rigid structures of sociability that she has experienced in the UK in relation to the 'other'. According to Turner, '*communitas* tends to be inclusive - some might call it "generous" -

social structures tend to be exclusive, even snobbish, relishing the distinction between we/they and in-group/out-group'. (Turner 1982b, p.51).

I argue that the *communitas* experienced during the festival is not to be interpreted as cosmopolitan openness (Urry 1994, p.145; Delanty 2006), but rather as a specific dynamic that is based on the performance of specific aesthetics and political norms. I suggest the concept 'ideological *communitas*' proposed by Turner is useful in understanding the specific mode of relationship that occurs during the festival. As I explained in the theoretical chapter, Turner identifies three types of *communitas* that represent different levels of tension between structure and anti-structure: spontaneous, normative and ideological. The ideological *communitas*, refers to the attributes of a *communitas* that are based on a utopian or ideal plan to reform society (Starkloff 1997, p.650). In this context, ideological *communitas* is 'performing a distinct and conscious ideology [...] the event provides a quasi utopian-social model' (Gilmore 2008, p.219). I suggest that the *El Sueño Existe* festival generates a form of ideological *communitas* based on the citation of the political and artistic values of Victor Jara and New Chilean Song. This music is lived both as a reality and as an aspiration.

Returning to Roberto's quotation, in particular the notion of community and the notion of amateurism, he noted that although the musicians who participated in the festival are not as technically skilled as the icons of New Chilean Song, this is irrelevant because they are part of the community. A masterful music performance is not as valuable as the citation of the aesthetic norms and values of the *communitas*. This idea resonates with the 'manifesto' verses by Víctor Jara 'I don't sing for love of singing / or to show off my voice / but for statements / made by my honest guitar' (Espada 2012, p.71). For festival-goers, the ideal of beauty is not as relevant as the value of playing songs with political and cultural meaning.

I experienced this enthusiasm and positive attitude from the Welsh at the time I played with Jorge Morales in a pub near Machynlleth. Jorge Morales is a Chilean exile and amateur musician who was a member of the directive of *El Sueño Existe*,

until his return to Chile in November 2017. Jorge is a member of the music band Los Copihues Rojos, and he invited me to perform with him and Gonzalo Bustos – a Chilean from my generation - in a gig in Wales in February 2017. The gig was in Tafarn Dwynant, a small cosy pub located ten minutes by car from Machynlleth. There were around thirty people in the pub facing the stage. We played ten Latin American songs, some were written by New Chilean Song musicians, and others were folkloric and cumbia songs. The audience danced to most of the songs we performed. We made some mistakes in the performance, such as failing the melody of the guitar introduction on some songs, however the audience did not lose their enthusiasm. For me, it was impressive to see the audience dancing *cueca*, the Chilean folkloric dance. *Cueca* is taught in Chilean schools and the dance is based on a choreography that includes turns, moving a handkerchief with the hand, stomping and a series of coordinated movements between the dancers. No one in the audience performed the *cueca* according to the rules, but they imitated some of the gestures such as the stomping and the movement of the handkerchief. In spite of this inaccuracy, I appreciated the enthusiasm and energy displayed by the audience dancing *cueca*, because I never imagined that Welsh residents could enjoy this music genre. Based on the notions of performativity and belonging, I experienced the imperfect and amateur citation of the aesthetic norms of Chilean dance as a form of constitution of belonging. At the same time, our amateur rendition of the music was not a barrier to their recognition of the artistic value.

I had first seen Jorge at the 2015 festival when he was playing the maracas alongside Cloud Cuckoo, and he was wearing a red tee shirt emblazoned with Jeremy Corbyn's name. Months later I conducted an interview with him. Jorge told me he was a member of the Socialist Youth during Popular Unity and he left the country in 1973 and went into exile in Argentina. Jorge lived there until a few months after the Argentinean *coup d'état* in March 1976. Jorge requested political asylum from the United Nations and he arrived in the UK in 1977. I asked him about his participation in the *El Sueño Existe* festival and he told me that he took part in the festival as a member of the Latin American music group 'Amigo Artista'

(Artist Friend). Jorge has participated in every festival since then, either as a member of the public, a musician or as an organiser. As I had with Patricia, I asked Jorge about his feelings playing music at the festival. He replied:

You start the presentation with the public in favour of us. You know that they are going to applaud, you know that people are going to recognise your work, and then I sing with a lot of enthusiasm, with a lot of pleasure, I made an extra effort in order to have a good performance. However, when you are going to other events you don't know the public, you don't know what their reaction will be [...] In the end, I become an artist without intending to, without pretention.

Jorge Morales, interview, 21 June 2016, my translation

Jorge appreciates the recognition and positive attitude of the Welsh people each time he plays music in Machynlleth and its surroundings. Jorge is an amateur musician, but in Machynlleth he feels like a renowned, famous artist. From a liminal interpretation of rituals, the experience of performing in mid-Wales has a transformative temporal effect on the hierarchical artistic position of Jorge, an effect that resonates with the rituals of status elevation proposed by Turner (1977, pp.167–168).

Another line of thought to consider alongside the notion of social liminality, is based on the intersection between sociability and emotions. Consuelo Rivera-Fuentes has participated in many versions of the festival, first as an audience member, and later as a performer of poetry and as an organiser. I met Consuelo in the organisational meeting for the *El Sueño Existe* festival in November 2016. Months later we talked about her experience as a migrant. Consuelo was a university student during Popular Unity, and then she was part of the resistance movement in Chile, participating actively in the protests of the 1980s. Consuelo was imprisoned and tortured because she was distributing left-wing propaganda during a student demonstration. Consuelo moved to the UK at the beginning of the 1990s for personal and academic reasons. In the interview I conducted with Consuelo, she told me that she has maintained her roots through poetry, music and literature. She founded the Spanish-American 'Workshop of Memory

Women Writers' to create and perform literature in public. This group performed at the 2015, 2016 and 2017 festivals. According to Consuelo, the group seeks to create a performative literature, i.e., a public literature that can be performed on stage using music and theatrical resources. Consuelo told me that the New Chilean Song movement has been an inspiration for the group since they are following the principles of creating an accessible, non-elite art form. They seek to create literature that reflects, not only the interiority of the writers, but also their environment. They write for the common people. Consuelo admires the capacity of Víctor Jara to portray poverty and to claim social justice. However, it is Violeta Parra who is a major inspiration for the Spanish-American Workshop, since Parra was not only a great folklorist and musician, but also a great female poet and complex artist who created performative art.

Although we did not talk directly on this topic during the interview, Consuelo proposed a relevant approach to the notion of pain and reparation of trauma that she explained in a paper she co-wrote with Lynda Birke, on the 'performance of pain' in tortured bodies (Rivera-Fuentes and Birke 2001). They define 'performance of pain' as a public expression of pain in contrast to the notion of pain as private feeling (2001, p.65). In this paper, Consuelo and Birke debate whether or not pain can have a voice or can be expressed through words. They particularly debate Scarry's (1985, p.60) notion of pain that 'either it remains inarticulate or else the moment it first becomes articulate it silences all else: the moment language bodies forth the reality of pain, it makes all further statements and interpretations seem ludicrous and inappropriate'. Consuelo disagrees partially with Scarry's assertion that pain has no voice since she believes that pain can have a voice and expression through yelling and screaming in public, or using artistic expressions such as singing, dancing, writing or painting (Rivera-Fuentes and Birke 2001, p.661). For Consuelo, the language of poetry and arts has helped her to express her pain. In contrast, Consuelo proposes a criticism of the language used by biomedicine to deal with bodies in pain. She criticises the authoritative role of the medical doctor in the treatment of patients, in which the less the patient talks about their pain, the better. According to Consuelo, doctors act like

gods. Consuelo then quotes her experience with a doctor after she was released from prison (2001, p.658). The doctor did not allow her to see the x-rays of her own skeleton, causing her some frustration because she could not see her own body and her wounds. I suggest that Consuelo's notion of 'performance of pain' is useful in understanding the role of the festival as a non-biomedical space for healing.

The notion of performance of pain challenges the notions of interiority and privacy that are basic functions of biomedical treatments. Therefore, I suggest that ritual social events such as the *El Sueño Existe* festival, have the capacity to express pain through creative and social means. The intimate atmosphere produced within the festival allows Chilean exiles to express, in a safe environment, their own pain and trauma. In my interview with Roberto Navarrete, he explained to me that the festival has a cathartic element. The Greek notion of catharsis refers to a process of cleaning or purification (Orgel 1995, p.138). In the context of the interview with Roberto, he related the notion of catharsis to the emotive aspect of the festival, as a form of emotional purification.

I suggest that this purifying effect is based on the capacity of the festival to revitalise the political and aesthetic subjectivity that was punished during the Pinochet dictatorship. In the online resource 'We Touched the Sky', launched at the 2016 festival, Apolo Santana describes his painful experience of being in a detention centre:

I was arrested a couple of days after the coup. [...] They didn't have anything against me except that I had worked for the government, and I ended up arrested. I spent time in the barracks and that was quite a frightening thing. [...] I remember losing all sense of time because of the pain and the pressure. [...] And then you got through this eventual situation you start living something that you never, ever imagined in your worst nightmare. You are in the hands of the military, you are not an ordinary criminal because otherwise you would have more rights. [...] We were the enemy within. [...] They justify themselves,

regarding you as somebody expendable - you, Apolo, you are a potential monster, you are nobody really

Apolo Santana, testimony, 'We Touched The Sky'

In this narration, Apolo refers to key themes in relation to the political repression that took place during the dictatorship: the reasons he was taken prisoner; the pain and sense of losing time; the experience of living an unimaginable nightmare; the violation of prisoner rights; the denunciation of the doctrine of the enemy within; and the treatment of him as an expendable person. Apolo's quotation reminds me of the link between torture centres and concentration camps as an exercise of political discipline, of 'correctness' of the individuals (Foucault 1995). Foucault (1995, p.169) uses the image of a twisted tree tied to a straight stick as an analogy of orthopaedics as an art of correcting deformities, and the role of punitive systems like prisons in correcting individuals who exhibit abnormal behaviour. I suggest this image proposed by Foucault is a metaphor to illustrate the politics of political correctness carried out by the Chilean state, where the tie and the stick are the series of mechanisms of repression and ideological correctness. Meanwhile, the 'twisted tree' was the political situation of the country. Popular Unity followers were the 'abnormal' that needed correction or death in order to re-establish the social order; and the physical and psychological pain that they were subjected to was a trauma and fracture that is still present. So, as a ritual of symbolic inversion, the festival rewarded and applauded the political values that were brutally punished during the Pinochet dictatorship.

Apolo's participation in *El Sueño Existe* began one year before the first festival, when he attended one of the events organised by Tony and Keith in commemoration of Víctor Jara. Apolo was involved in the organisation of the 2005 festival, promoting the event, selling tickets, contacting artists and working as a translator. Since then, Apolo has participated in the festival as a speaker - speaking on his experience of Popular Unity and solidarity movements in the UK;

as organiser of an exhibition on Chilean *arpilleras* (sackcloth art)<sup>90</sup>, an artistic expression of resistance during Pinochet's dictatorship; and as an organiser of a workshop on solidarity with the case of 'the 5 Cubans' taken prisoner in Miami accused of espionage. When I asked Apolo what impressed him about the festival, he told me: 'I think it is unique because it is familiar, you can see all of the people relaxed, enjoying themselves. I don't like rock festivals, no. For me, this festival is more inspiring because it is modest, it has a maximum of five hundred people I guess'<sup>91</sup>. In an informal conversation, Apolo told me that during the 2013 festival, in commemoration of the 40 years anniversary of the Chilean coup, he met for the first time since the event, a Chilean who was imprisoned with him during the first years of the Pinochet dictatorship. In the interview, I asked Apolo about this encounter:

It is strange. You know the people are scattered all over the world. You can meet these people [...] these people are in some way special to you because they connect you with a moment of your life in which the situation was very anxious and intense. [...]it [the encounter] was very emotional. We lived in a period when we didn't know if we would be alive the following day, and now we have the descendant. The dream lives on.

Apolo Santana, interview, 25 January 2017. My translation

For Apolo, this encounter was an example that life continues; it is possible to still believe in the dreams that were systematically repressed during the dictatorship. This example illustrates that the sociability of the festival provides these special moments, based on encounters with others who share similar traumatic experiences.

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<sup>90</sup> As the webpage 'Conflict Textils' explains, 'arpilleras (pronounced 'ar-pee-air-ahs') [...], can simply be described as three-dimensional appliquéd tapestries of Latin America that originated in Chile. These became the medium for women, generally working collectively, to denounce the human rights abuses and repression of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, 1973-1990'. <http://cain.ulster.ac.uk/conflicttextiles/textiles/>

<sup>91</sup> Apolo Santana, interview, 25 January 2017. My translation.

### 5.3 Political liminality: reinforcing ethos and ways of living

Thomassen (2014, p.191) coined the concept of liminal politics to analyse the anthropology of political revolutions. Political revolutions are liminal periods since the previously existing structures collapse and the hierarchies and norms are inverted. According to Thomassen (2014, p.196), during revolutionary periods the mobilisations against or in favour of institutional order are experienced by those involved, as liminal and extraordinary moments; and the mass mobilisation is experienced as collective effervesce that generates a *communitas*. As explained in the previous chapter, Popular Unity had the revolutionary purpose of changing the economic structure of production, in particular, the nationalisation of copper and agrarian reform, in order to increase the role of the state in social policies. (Garretton 1977, p.1296; Allende 1978, p.137). The particularity of this revolutionary process was the use of democratic means to achieve socialism. Following the initial notion of liminality as the transition from one stage to another (Gennep 1960), Popular Unity can be interpreted as a period of political transition from democratic capitalism, towards democratic socialism, that was never completed. However, I argue that for the Chilean exiles I interviewed, the desire to complete the transition was never interrupted. This idea is also implicit in the title of the book *Victor Jara: an unfinished song* by Joan Jara (1998), in the sense that the songs of Víctor Jara continued to resonate after his death. I argue that some Chilean exiles believe they have an ethical and moral responsibility to preserve and share the legacy of Víctor Jara and its emancipatory message. The festival provided a space to perform this duty, and to transmit the values and ideals that had been learned during Popular Unity. In the words of Apolo:

I participated in Popular Unity in a very active way for three years. It wasn't just a dream, but a reality that regrettably was truncated. And obviously the dream has not ended, but it continues [...] if you would have lived those years with the people of that generation, the mentality, how values have changed, with seriousness, how your morality is intensified. These were real things. Every time I come back to Chile, I am negatively impressed by how the situation didn't

prosper, things stayed fixed. The dream has to be seen in a way that is something that is possible to achieve

Apolo Santana, interview, 25 January 2017. My translation

This quotation from Apolo refers to Popular Unity as a period in which morality and mentality were intensified. He also criticises the way Chile is nowadays since the country is stuck and has not progressed according to his political judgment. A similar idea was raised by Roberto who told me 'in terms of the social and political objectives that we raised, the Chilean transition was contrary to my wishes'<sup>92</sup>. I argue then, that the festival is a space in which it is possible to satisfy, at least momentarily, the desire for continuity of the unfinished political project of Popular Unity. I argue that this satisfaction of the political desire is part of the healing process the festival affords. As I mentioned in section 5.1, the subjunctive mood of the festival means that this event has the capacity to express a wish, thereby to keep the dream alive. This idea resonates with Diana Taylor's (2004) argument that performance-based events are spaces that challenge official and hegemonic history; rituals then have the capability to invert the notions of victory and defeat. In the words of Roberto: 'we have to sing our victories, not only to lick our wounds and cry our deaths, but we have to demonstrate that there is an attitude of resistance'<sup>93</sup>. Despite the historical accounts that suggest Popular Unity was a defeated political process (Vallejos 2005, p.5), Roberto's quotation suggests that there is a victorious element to this process that has to be celebrated. Instead of feeling regretful of the defeat and repression, Roberto's desire is to celebrate Popular Unity as an act of resistance.

I suggest that the desire for political continuity and resistance is satisfied through the commemoration and immortalisation of Víctor Jara. In the interview, Apolo told me that the figure of Víctor Jara is particularly relevant for him because Jara's death is a demonstration of the cruelty and inhumanity of the perpetrators of the crimes. Jara's death represents the injustice and tyranny of the regime. He is a

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<sup>92</sup> Roberto Navarrete, interview, 29 May 2016. My translation.

<sup>93</sup> Roberto Navarrete, interview, 29 May 2016. My translation.

symbol of those who suffered oppression during the dictatorship, and it is the symbol of the paradox of having a life full of creativity and beauty, yet suffering a brutal and horrendous assassination. According to Apolo, the *El Sueño Existe* festival should have specific features in order to continue the legacy of Jara. The festival cannot betray his values. In this context, I suggest that Apolo has played an implicit role as 'supervisor' of the *El Sueño Existe* festival. The festival has to properly commemorate the values of Jara. For him, the *El Sueño Existe* festival is not exclusively a space for enjoyment and celebration, but rather it is a commemorative event that promotes the correct values and ideals according to Víctor Jara's ethos.

Apolo told me that anti-commercialisation is one of these values. He disagrees with the idea of promoting the commercialisation of a figure who fought against the popular culture industry. Apolo told me: 'I remember that six or seven years ago there was a consultation of sorts to analyse the future of the festival [...] they suggested that the festival should be more professional and include more marketing. And I told them, "If you incorporate this advice, this festival is going to be similar to others"'<sup>94</sup>. For Apolo, the voluntary organisation is another value that the festival has to uphold. Víctor Jara wrote the song 'Que lindo es ser voluntario' (It is beautiful to be a volunteer). The lyrics of this song are an exaltation of volunteer work and the gratification of building parks, bridges, houses and roads for neighbours. Apolo has been positively impressed by the voluntary engagement at the festival that generates a sense of community. For Apolo, the voluntary work of the organisers and Unite, the union, is an organisational feature that is consistent with the values of Víctor Jara. Apolo's testimony suggests Jara is a normative figure who proposed guidelines to judge what is correct and incorrect. Apolo Santana, as witness and participant of the extraordinary political period that Víctor Jara was part of, has the moral obligation to continue and transmit his message, and to correct those practices that are not part of ethical guidelines.

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<sup>94</sup> Apolo Santana, interview, 25 January 2017. My translation.

Pedro is another Chilean exile who believes that Víctor Jara is alive in contemporary struggles. Pedro arrived in the UK in 1975 after being imprisoned for two years due to his political participation in Popular Unity, and particularly for his work in the Technical Education. He has been living in Sheffield since he arrived. Pedro met Keith Jackson in the 1970s and they became friends. Pedro participated in the 2004 *peña* organised by *El Sueño Existe*, as a consequence of his close relationship with Keith Jackson. In this *peña*, Pedro gave a speech about what happened in Chile during Popular Unity and the military coup, stressing the relevance of Víctor Jara in this period. In my interview with Pedro, he explained the relevance of the Chilean artist: 'Víctor Jara was more than his individuality and his name; he was the expression of a process that was experienced, not only in Chile, but also in Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia. Víctor Jara doesn't belong exclusively to Chile, but he belongs to the collective'<sup>95</sup>. Pedro argues the assassination of Víctor Jara was part of a wider process of repression against Marxist supporters in Latin America. The condor operation, and the *coup d'état* in several countries in Latin America illustrates the interconnection of the repression.

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<sup>95</sup> Pedro Fuentes, interview, 7 February 2017. My translation.



Figure 7. Pedro Fuentes. Launch 'We Touched the Sky'. *El Sueño Existe* festival 2016  
(Image from video recorded by the author)

For Pedro, Víctor Jara's legacy is based on the value of claiming social justice and equality. As his values are alive, Jara provides not only a nostalgic and emotional bridge with the past, but a connection with contemporary social and political struggles. Pedro told me that he considers the festival to be a political discourse in the sense that it is an event that has effects in politics, in a similar way that New Chilean Song did during Popular Unity. For this reason, Pedro suggests that a key element of the identity of the festival was to promote and highlight the figure of Víctor Jara in terms of values and ideals, and Jara's political contribution. Pedro highlighted the relevance of the arts and culture in the election of the president, Salvador Allende, in 1970 at a time when artists were deeply committed to the political cause and people of Popular Unity. According to Pedro, this cultural movement was not progressed by idols or stars, but it was encouraged by common people with the capacity to share and teach others. Víctor Jara was not a 'superstar', but an art worker who sang about the lifestyles of common people in Chile.

In accordance with Turner notions of cultural performance, Thomassen (2014, p.203) suggests that 'revolutions, in their different phases, involve ritualised types of behaviour'. As explained in the previous chapter, the festival is a cyclical event that started with a group of Machynlleth residents who wanted to recreate and revive the *Peña de los Parra* as a form of commemoration and celebration of the legacy of Víctor Jara. This group of Britons created these *peñas* as a contemporary replica of the performative style encouraged by the *Peña de los Parra*. I watched the videos of these *peñas* and I witnessed the interest in wearing clothes, singing songs, playing instruments and giving political speeches evoking the political and artistic behaviour experienced in that period. Actually, the imitation was not exact, but it was adapted to the availability of resources they had to utilise. Here, I would like to suggest that *La Peña de los Parra* was considered a prototype of the revolutionary behaviour that the festival organisers wanted to follow and imitate. I want to link this experience of the *peña* to the time of the launch of 'We Touched the Sky' in 2016. During this launch, Keith Jackson stated that the testimony and experience of the four Chilean exiles who participated in the project, represent the lifestyle the community who attend the festival want to follow. In an interview with Keith, I asked him if he could explain to me what this lifestyle is about:

Politics should not be seen as a distinct activity, almost as industry, but should be a dimension of one's life, should be a facet of one's life, it should be part of one's cultural life, one's family life, one's social life, in an immanent way, as a part of the whole rather than as separate thing. And what capitalism has done to all aspects of human life, has made separated ways of life that can be commercialised, can be commodified, [and] that can happen to politics.

Keith Jackson, interview, 30 January, 2017

Keith argues that politics should be a quotidian practice; meanwhile capitalist societies attempt to separate it into specific domains and eras (for instance, at the time of voting for a candidate) using marketable strategies. The experience of Chilean exiles such as Apolo or Pedro, is exemplary because for them politics is an everyday practice. For this reason, the political ethos learned by Chilean exiles during the Popular Unity period is a source of inspiration for Keith. Additionally,

Keith Jackson told me that the Chilean coup was a key turning point in contemporary global history since it represents the starting point of the wave of neoliberalism that was consolidated during the 1980s and 1990s in the Western world. The distress suffered by Chileans was part of a wider process of the violent implementation of capitalism<sup>96</sup>. Therefore, the fight against imperialism and capitalism led by Popular Unity supporters is interpreted as a historic battle that has, not only a national or continental repercussion, but a global one.

The political liminality of the festival is based on the notion that Víctor Jara was physically killed but he has 'defeated' death through his artistic and political legacy, and through the people who commemorate his life at festivals, demonstrations or concerts. Therefore, celebrating the culture of Popular Unity and the legacy of its iconic figures, is a form of challenge to the political defeat. I suggest that the aesthetic and political values promoted in the festival, are contestations of the political correctness carried out by the Chilean state; and the fact that Chilean exiles are still carrying out their values and political ideals, is an act of rebellion and survival. They did not learn the lesson of 'correctness', and their political subjectivities are still based on the political values they had before the coup and the repression.

#### 5.4 Conclusions

The festival as a liminal ritual, generates the effect, amongst festival-goers, of reviving practices of the past. It is an event that contributes to the Chilean exiles' sense of belonging through the citation of conventional practices learned in the past. I argue that instead of interpreting this nostalgia of the past as a mechanism of reification of identities, it is experienced as a survival and continuity that contributes to the process of healing the Chilean exiles needed in relation to their traumatic experience of repression and forced migration. The concept of liquefaction of mundane experience (Stenner 2017, p.24) is related to the capacity

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<sup>96</sup> As Keith Jackson and Tony Corden told me in informal conversation, the "Shock doctrine" argument (Klein 2008) is central to their understanding of the contemporary politics.

of the festival to 'unfreeze' practices and behaviours that were conserved in a 'cold' state in everyday life. This liquefaction generates movement and continuity of practices that were considered, for some of the Chilean exiles, to be lost. As Bennet and Woodward (2014) suggest, festivals produce a display of shared lifestyle preferences that are generally articulated on a subliminal level. Therefore, the liquefaction effect of the festival reinforces a revitalisation of mundane practices that were located at a subliminal, unconscious level. Another element of the temporal liminality of the festival is to propose a critical reflection and judgement on the course of history. Moreover, invocation of the past is a form of critical reflexivity of current social, economic and political structures such as the restrictive and hierarchical policy of migration, the neoliberalisation of public services or the de-politisation of social life. In this sense, the festival is reflexive and reciprocal because it proposes a critique of social life. In other words, I argue that the festival, instead of producing a passive representation of the past, is an active device for change (Turner 1987).

The festival promotes a sense of equality based on the fact that both Chilean exiles and other participants have some common values reflected in their love for Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song. The concept of ideological *communitas* is useful in explaining the mode of the relationship established among the participants in the liminal period, that is produced on the basis of shared music values and norms. I suggest that this openness is neither universal nor cosmopolitan (Urry 1994; Delanty 2006), but instead, is based on the repetition of aesthetic norms that constitute a sense of belonging among the participants of the festival. The experience of some Chilean exiles illustrates that the distinction between 'we' and 'us' can be broken down during the festival, producing an extraordinary type of relationship that is not present in everyday life. The ideological *communitas* generates a predisposition of recognition, approval and welcome that is difficult to find in other kinds of artistic events. I argue that this *communitas* is facilitated through the fact that the festival takes place over three days and it is located in a semi-rural area, enabling Chilean exiles to connect with other people in an intimate and relaxed environment, and through social events

that are not programmed. Therefore, the festival integrates liminal and liminoid (Turner 1974) aspects of the rituals, since it is using modern forms of artwork such as music, dance and poetry, but in a specific spatiality and temporality that is different to the urban forms of spectacle. Finally, the sociability and encounter among people who experienced similar traumatic experiences such as prison or torture, produce the cathartic effects of healing and purification.

Finally, I suggest that the festival produces the effect of re-normalising political behaviour. In this sense, the festival has the effect of reaffirming their political ethos. I argue that Chilean exiles experienced Víctor Jara as a symbolic figure who facilitated their understanding of their own political commitment (Popular Unity, socialism) and their own political sacrifice (political persecution, detention, torture) as normal. The commemoration of Víctor Jara implies a process of healing and reaffirmation of their own political and cultural identities and values. Therefore, the celebration of the legacy of Jara is a way to preserve the values and morality Chilean exiles experienced before the coup. Thus, the festival contributes to counteracting the effects of the repression during the Pinochet dictatorship - when they were treated as objectified bodies - providing a space within which their political identities are normal, relevant and valid for the *communitas* of the festival. The fact that Chilean exiles lived in the liminal and exceptional period during Víctor Jara's lifetime gave them a validity and appreciation since, within them the values of the group are embodied. In terms of regulation, some Chilean exiles feel they have a duty to provide clear guidelines to the festival organisers, that resonate with the values of Víctor Jara – values such as anti-commercialisation, international solidarity, and political commitment.

## Chapter 6. The music of Jara in everyday life

In this chapter, I will use DeNora's (2000) concept, 'technology of the self', to analyse the uses and discourse of the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, by a group of musicians who participated in the *El Sueño Existe* festival. I argue that the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song operates as a technology of the self for some musicians, providing affective, memorable, political resources for the constitution of music and political subjectivities. I suggest that the effects of this music are not only circumscribed to musical practices, but are connected with specific ways of being. The questions I will develop in this chapter are: (a) how does Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song's music contribute to generating a sense of belonging among musicians who have participated in the festival? And (b), what is the relevance of this music in the everyday practices of these musicians? I will develop three arguments: first, that the music generates a sense of belonging through the re-enactment of memories, allowing musicians to revive hopeful and tragic scenarios from the past. Second, this music generates a sense of belonging, establishing counterculture discourse and practices that allow musicians to challenge practices associated with mainstream commercial music and capitalist ways of living. Third, I suggest this music reinforces an ethos, or way of living, rendering Jara and New Chilean Song musicians ethical figures who teach specific practices that the musicians I interviewed have incorporated into everyday life settings. In order to develop these arguments, I will use and discuss the concepts of technologies of the self and music in everyday life as identified by DeNora (2000), in dialogue with the concept of aesthetic judgement and performance of popular music (Frith 1996b), and the notion of scenes (Bennett 1999; Bennett and Peterson 2004). The final section of this chapter will put forward a Foucauldian analysis of music as technology of the self, taking into consideration his concept of ethics (Foucault 1997b).

At a methodological level, this chapter focuses on the interviews relating to the use of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song music in everyday life, rather than focusing directly on how this music is performed in the festival. As explained in the literature review, festivals bring into existence a collection of elements such as texts, images and sounds in order to exhibit and create a sense of collective identity (Bennett and Woodward 2014). Festivals are liminal events where a group of individuals share lifestyle culture that is generally articulated at a subliminal, subconscious level. Therefore, this chapter will analyse the influence of Jara and New Chilean Song music in the life of amateur and professional musicians who have participated in the festival. In particular, I will focus on the experiences and narratives of nine musicians from six different nations: Chile, Bolivia, Spain, Italy, New Zealand and the UK (x4)<sup>97</sup>. The interviews were conducted in order to describe and analyse the influence of this music in the everyday practices and life histories of these musicians. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first will analyse the concept of music connections; the second will focus on the concept of music and time; in the third I will discuss the concept of Víctor Jara's music as an ethical reference. Finally, the conclusion will recap on the main findings of the chapter.

### 6.1 Temporalities

As explained in the previous chapter, the festival has the liminal capacity to transport people to different temporalities through the enactment and quotation of distinctive symbolic and material acts. In this section, I will discuss how music can transport people to different temporalities and social scenarios. I will take into consideration the narratives of musicians who have participated in the festival and who have been influenced by the repertoire of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song. As discussed in the literature review, DeNora (2000, p.7) argues that music is an aesthetic technology since it is a device that allows individuals and collectives to transport themselves to different emotions and social situations. In

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<sup>97</sup> They are John Cuevas, Silvia Balducci, Cristina Solana, Flakito, Martin López, Peter Godfrey, Rachel Pantin, Paul Baker-Hernández and Tony Corden.

this sense, DeNora (2000, pp.56–57, 66) argues that music is a device that can offer specific outcomes such as shifting mood or energy level, invoking past feelings or providing virtual realities. According to DeNora (2000, p.13), music exists in three realms. First, in connection with 'compositional conventions' (rhythm, melody, harmony, gestures, etcetera). Second, in connection with natural sounds. And third, in connection to social situations individuals have experienced in the past. The social content of music can be perceived in any of these three realms. In this section I will focus on the third realm described by DeNora, and the music connected to social situations and past events, in order to show how the music of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara transports people to scenarios of tragedy and scenarios of hope.

According to DeNora (2000, pp.12–13), music is a force that defines 'situations' because it connects people to 'social scenarios'. This connection is produced by conventions often produced by the original social uses of specific music forms. Music is a resource for creating feelings in specific situations. I want to begin with the concept of 'scenarios of tragedy' through the testimony of Silvia Balducci. Silvia is an Italian musician who has been living in London for more than 20 years. Silvia has an emotional and special connection with the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, mainly because of the influence of Inti Illimani. At the time of the Chilean military coup, Inti Illimani were on tour in Europe as a cultural ambassador for Popular Unity. They were in Rome at the time of the coup, and they were prohibited from returning to Chile until 1988 - a few weeks before the referendum that ended the Pinochet dictatorship. Inti Illimani lived their exile in Rome where they developed their career as musicians (Rodriguez 2014, p.225). Silvia was a child at the time of the Chilean military coup. She came from a communist family who was committed to the cause of Popular Unity in Chile because this movement achieved socialism through democratic means - a model that some left groups attempted to achieve in Italy during that period<sup>98</sup>. Silvia has clear, emotional memories from her experience on 11 Sept 1973:

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<sup>98</sup> For Silvia, this dream was consistent with the inspiration taken by the Italian left political conglomerate *Compromesso Storico*. This conglomerate was led by Aldo Moro and Enrico

On 11 Sept 1973, I was a child living in Rome and [...] my father was a member of the Communist Party, he came home and he was completely devastated. He said 'they killed *compañero* Allende, we have to go to the demonstration tonight' [...] For Italy it was a huge shock, the fact that Allende was killed because we wanted to do the same thing in Italy with *Compromesso Storico* [...] we wanted to have the same coalition like *Unidad Popular*, Popular Unity. So, the dream of Chile was our dream [...] That day we all ran into the square *Piazza Santissima Apostoli* in Rome, and everybody talked... and all I can recall from my childhood memory is that I saw these six guys with red ponchos walking on the stage, and they started singing 'El Pueblo Unido Jamas Sera Vencido' ['The People United, will never be defeated']

Silvia Balducci, interview, 27 March 2017

Silvia associated the appearance of Inti Illimani with a scenario of hope. As Silvia told me during the interview, the Chilean military coup was a key experience in her life. It was a combination of the feeling of defeat – the moment she heard that Salvador Allende was killed - and a feeling of hope – to see Inti Illimani playing in the square. Moreover, Silvia and her family saw the experience of Popular Unity as a dream, i.e., an aspiration for a new political and social order. The music and presence of Inti Illimani in Rome made them feel that, although something terrible had happened in Chile, their dream was not defeated. Silvia remembered that time as being very emotional since she felt very upset by the Chilean coup. In her words: 'it was a really emotional time, you know, we used to cry you know, I remember I spent days crying for Chile, for... we all fall in love with these people, it was very emotional'<sup>99</sup>. In the years after the military coup, Inti Illimani gave large-scale concerts in Italy that were very important to her, mainly because, in Silvia's words, 'there was the herald of hope'<sup>100</sup>. I suggested that Silvia's description of the appearance of Inti Illimani as a scenario of hope is connected to the power of music to enact and maintain the desire of socialist democratic

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Berlinguer and took inspiration from Popular Unity as an example of reaching socialism through democratic means (Santoni 2010).

<sup>99</sup> Silvia Balducci, interview, 27 March 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Silvia Balducci, interview, 27 March 2017.

revolution at that specific moment, and a place in which Eurocommunism was a viable political project in Italy (Stjernø 2005, p.272).

DeNora (2000, p.7) uses the analogy of music and a bicycle to illustrate the capacity of music to transport people from one emotional state to another. In this sense, music is a cultural vehicle. In the case of Silvia, the music of Inti Illimani is connected with key experiences in her life as a child. The pain of the military coup was calmed by the unexpected exile of Inti Illimani in Italy. Indeed, Silvia spent a long time feeling miserable because of Chile, but her direct connection with Inti Illimani in Italy helped her to overcome this misery. Silvia considered herself part of the generation of 'Inti Illimani's children', who grew up learning about Latin American music and politics because of their interaction with members of this group. Inti Illimani was famous in Italy, appearing on television and at different concerts in Italy. She interacted directly with Inti Illimani members as they were living in Rome. Silvia knew about Víctor Jara mainly through the testimony and music of Inti Illimani, because they recorded a variety of Jara's songs on some of their albums published after 1973, such as 'Hacia la Libertad'. In many concerts, Inti Illimani talked about Jara's assassination to denounce the brutality of the crime and Pinochet's dictatorship. Silvia began to learn about Chilean and Latin American culture due to the influence of Inti Illimani and other musicians from New Chilean Song. She learned Spanish and how to play Latin American instruments such as *charango*, *cuatro* and *zampoñas* because of this influence, incorporating this music into her lifestyle during her youth (Bennett 2005, p.122).

The notion of New Chilean Song as a 'scenario of hope' can also be illustrated in the experience of Peter Godfrey, a British journalist and amateur musician with affinities to communist and socialist ideas. He knew about Víctor Jara because of his participation in a Chilean solidarity campaign during the 1970s and 1980s. He studied Russian and Spanish language at Cambridge University, and he was looking enthusiastically at the political experiment of Popular Unity as an ideal combination of democracy and socialism. During that time, Peter was following cultural movements such as the folklore revival in the Anglo world (with figures

like Paul Simon and Bob Dylan), and May 1968 in France. The first time Peter listened to Víctor Jara's music at a live event was during a concert given by Chilean exiles at the Edinburgh Fringe festival in the 1970s. He also attended concerts by Quilapayún in the UK. Peter learned to play guitar and sing, using Víctor Jara as his main inspiration. In his words:

I was student at Cambridge from 1969 to 72 until I graduated, so of course that overlapped... there was quite a lot of militancy among British and European students at that time. It was soon after May 1968 in Paris, France. And there was a lot of political consciousness among students. So, when the Popular Unity government was elected in 1970 in Chile, this was a wonderful example for us, it was like *guía y faro* [guiding light]. It was a shining example for us, you know, an elected Marxist government. So, Allende immediately became a kind of hero to us, you know, around the early 1970s. And we followed with great interest the progress... And maybe then, I heard some of Víctor's songs. I think it was possibly a little bit later after the military coup, but still it was in England that I really came to know them. Because of course, they were after the coup, well Joan Jara was exiled here, and there were concerts organised where she often spoke, and there were Chilean exiles, brilliant musicians, Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, Patricio Manns, Isabel y Angel Parra.

Peter Godfrey, interview, 26 April 2017

Like Silvia, Peter noted the relevance of Popular Unity as an inspiration for some sections of British Marxism during the 1970s. As explained in Chapter 4, Joan Jara played an important role in the UK as organiser and promoter of the International Solidarity Movement with Chile. As Peter mentioned, the main representatives of New Chilean Song gave concerts in the UK that influenced his life. Peter told me that he was particularly impressed by the song 'El Aparecido' by Víctor Jara. This song is about the adventure and epic battle of Ernesto Che Guevara escaping from 'vultures with golden claws' (Espada 2012). In Peter's words: "El Aparecido", I think, is such a beautiful song, and when I was a student we all had pictures of Che Guevara on the walls in our rooms [...] Víctor is kind of mythologizing Che

Guevara, but it is a beautiful tribute to a revolutionary<sup>101</sup>. Peter told me that Víctor Jara is one of the main influences in his life and that he was part of the local and amateur music scene (Bennett and Peterson 2004) influenced by New Chilean Song and solidarity movements in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1990s, this scene got weaker, producing a vacuum. For Peter, the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, is a great initiative because it became a focal point for people connected to the Chilean solidarity movement, including refugees and British activists.

For Cristina, a Spanish amateur musician, the music of New Chilean Song is also connected to the scenario of the political transition of Spain from the end of the Franco dictatorship and the beginning of democracy. Cristina told me she has a special connection to Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song because her brothers listened to this music when she was a child at very sensitive political times in Spain, during the first years after Franco's regime. Cristina sees a parallel between the Chilean and Spanish political experiences during that period: the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile started two years before Spain ended Franco's dictatorship. Cristina's family was engaged in the politics of the left in this transitional period. In this sense, the democratic and popular message behind the New Chilean Song movement was beneficial to the 'spirit of the period' of the first three years following Franco's death. In Cristina's words:

During this period [after the death of Franco in 1975], there was a major political transition after 40 years of dictatorship; so, there was a transition from dictatorship to democracy until the constitution of 1978. In 75, 78, 80, in all these years, all my siblings were in their twenties and I was less than ten years old. And certainly, I had a passive attitude in relation to my older siblings who were engaged in politics, participating in the process of leaving the dictatorship and creating a democracy. Although they were not part of a political party, they were leftist. [...] I remember this music [Víctor Jara, Violeta Parra, Silvio Rodríguez] was resounding.

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<sup>101</sup> Peter Godfrey, interview, 26 April 2017.

Cristina Solana, interview, 29 March 2017. My translation

When Cristina was young, the music of New Chilean Song was as frequent in her everyday life as the music of other New Latin American Song musicians such as Silvio Rodríguez. Because of the *El Sueño Existe* festival Cristina started to revive the music she had listened to when she was a child, producing the effect discussed in the previous chapter, of liquefaction of mundane experience (Stenner 2017). The music was situated at a subliminal, unconscious level. The *El Sueño Existe* festival has helped her to revive music, feelings, and repertoire that she learned when she was a child, and that she maintained in a 'solid state' until she came to know about the festival.

For Martin López, a Bolivian conservatory-trained musician living in London for more than 40 years, Víctor Jara's music reminded him of the process of liberation experienced in Bolivia during the 1960s and 1970s. Martin became aware of Jara towards the end of the 1960s, when he was living in La Paz, Bolivia. Martin explained to me that Jara's music was well received in left-wing circles at that time, because of his consonance with the process of liberation of Latin America, inspired by the Cuban Revolution.

Víctor Jara's music reached my ears when I was a boy, listening to music at that time. South Americans were living through an intense period in relation to the liberation of oppressed people. There was a strong movement in Venezuela and after the Cuban Revolution. All of these [Jara's music and liberation movements] were banned, it was underground.

Martin López, interview, 10 April 2017. My translation

According to Martin, the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song was well received in some left-wing circles within his country because this music was influenced by Bolivian traditions. However, his music was not well known by most people living in Bolivia since it was not played in the mainstream media. Martin explained to me that during the second half of the 1960s, Bolivia was governed by René Barrientos Ortuño, who repressed left-wing groups, and was the

president of Bolivia at the time Che Guevara was killed in Las Higueras, Bolivia. Therefore, the victory of Salvador Allende and the cultural movement that was behind it, gave a new airing to the struggles of left groups in Bolivia. Alongside Víctor Jara, Martín listened to the music of other protest singers in Latin America such as Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay), Mercedes Sosa (Argentina) and Benjo Cruz (Bolivia).

Víctor Jara's music also connects Chilean musician, John Cuevas, with a scenario of tragedy in reference to the military coup and the dictatorship. John, who has been living in London since the end of the 1990s, remembers the first time he listened to Víctor Jara when he was 12 years old, a few months after the military coup. He got a clandestine copy of a cassette recording of Víctor Jara's songs. Years later, when John was young living in Chile, he started playing the guitar and singing the songs of musicians from the New Song movement. The Chilean military coup was a traumatic event for him since his family was dispersed because of it. He has beautiful memories of his united family before 11 Sept 1973. John associated the tragedy of the death of Víctor Jara with the traumatic experience of the Chilean coup that had negative consequences for his family. For John, Víctor Jara's music has testimonial value. John considers the music of Jara and New Chilean Song to be a vehicle of the expression of a reality hidden by the mainstream mass media; it is a medium through which to transmit knowledge to people who do not have enough information about what happened during Popular Unity and the dictatorship. Using Jara's songs and narrating the history of his tragic death, John can articulate discourse on the history of Chile. Jara's music invokes the critical times of the dictatorship and his experience of performing and listening to this music at an underground level.

The connection between music and temporalities is also linked to the notion of nostalgia debated in the previous chapter. Here I want to introduce the testimony of Flakito<sup>102</sup>, a musician who was born in New Zealand and lived in Mexico and

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<sup>102</sup> Flakito uses this pseudonym in homage to Flaco Jimenez, a Mexican accordionist who played country and Mexican music. 'Flaco' means 'thin' in Spanish, and the suffix, 'ito', is a diminutive.

Colombia. Flakito learned to play the accordion and started to play a variety of music genres and styles including Latin American music, blues, rock'n'roll and ska. Flakito knew about Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song because of his interactions with Chilean exiles in New Zealand and Mexico. According to Flakito, the music of New Chilean Song has moral content based on the atmosphere and shared feelings produced by the music. Towards the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, Víctor Jara's music was sung in political events and demonstrations that were part of a relevant movement in Latin America. Therefore, this music brings into existence the atmosphere and emotions experienced in that period. For Flakito, this music connects people with a wide range of ideas. For this reason, the context is central, because it is hard to understand the meaning of the lyrics and the music without knowing what happens in that period. Flakito also highlights the role of music as a political vehicle connected with social movements. For Flakito, the *El Sueño Existe* festival is not about nostalgia, but it is the continuity of a tradition of solidarity being mobilised for a political cause. According to Flakito, *El Sueño Existe* is not about the revival of the victories of the past, but it is an expression of contemporary international solidarity. In his words:

Well, I think it is great the festival is there to continue the movement, and in some way, what was happening in Chile from the 1960s until 1973. And the title *El Sueño Existe* kind of means the dream continues, the dreams goes on, you know, in the present tense. It is an important aspect. It is not just nostalgia, a nostalgic thing saluting some golden age like you know, you could have, I suppose, you have a festival that remembers some, you know, kind of music like big band music or the Beatles, or something. But *El Sueño Existe* kind of carries on with the thing of music in that it has some awareness and it is part of a social movement, and it is also there as an educational and participatory element where, you know, you have stalls where you can pick up cultural artefacts or books, and you have workshops and talks where you can learn what is happening in different movements both here and in Latin America. And so it's a fantastic integration of culture and grassroots political and social movements.

Flakito, interview, 10 April 2017

To conclude this section, I will summarise the main ideas in relation to New Chilean Song and temporalities, based on the narratives of the musicians I interviewed. First, music connects musicians with key experiences of the past, either familiar or political. For some, this music is connected to scenarios of hope associated with the promise of replicating or taking inspiration, whether from Popular Unity or otherwise, to specific struggles they experienced during the 1970s. For Silvia, Inti Illimani's music was meaningful in Italy during the 1970s in the context of *Compromesso Storico*. Meanwhile, for Cristina, this music was relevant in her family in the context of the transition from Franco's dictatorship, to democracy in Spain. Peter also connects New Chilean Song with the political Marxist militancy in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s. Martin associated this music with the advent of a Pan-American leftist movement in Bolivia during the 1960s and 1970s, inspired by the Cuban revolution. In all of these cases, the music of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara are associated with political movements and periods of time associated with left-wing ideas and practices. In this sense, the music of New Chilean Song evokes a *zeitgeist* that gives the music a sense of validity and authenticity (Frith 1987, p.136).

Secondly, this music is associated with emotional, domestic and familiar experiences. For Silvia, for example, it was a channel to re-address the pain she suffered as a child because of the military coup. Meanwhile, for John Cuevas, this music reminds him of the negative impact of the Chilean military coup on his family, so he uses it to express the feeling of tragedy he experienced during the Pinochet dictatorship. For Peter this music was a mark of identity in his youth when his passion for Marxist politics was expressed through having the poster of Che Guevara in his room, or reading Mao's Red Book. In the case of Silvia Balducci, this music was an influential mark of identity, that led to her making very important decisions in her life such as learning a new language. Finally, it is important to understand the *El Sueño Existe* festival as a continuity of the dreams and aspirations of the 1960s and 1970s. The commemoration of the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s are not seen as a passive desire to go back,

but as a source of inspiration to face the present and the future. So, the musicians see the festival as a space for sharing common interests and lifestyles.

## 6.2 Counterculture

According to Bennet (2005, p.117), music is not only an ephemeral and momentary activity, but it is implicated in stylistic responses. Since the 1950s, popular music has produced distinctive styles in young fans as a mark of differentiation from wider society<sup>103</sup>. Although the sociology of music in everyday life has been studied mainly in the areas of youth and popular music, it is used by different audiences and music genres. In this section, I will discuss the notion of New Chilean Song music as a mark of differentiation used by the musicians I interviewed. I suggest that the musicians used this music as a device to differentiate themselves from 'capitalist' values and music, therefore, this music facilitates the production of countercultures. I identify at least three pieces of discourse on counterculture music associated with the *El Sueño Existe* festival. The first, explained in Chapter 4, is the music of New Chilean Song as a counterculture of right-wing politics that took place in Chile and Latin America during the dictatorship periods in the 1970s and 1980s. The fact that this music was banned and the musicians were in hiding, killed, or exiled in Chile and other Latin American countries, was an illustration of the countercultural aspect of this music. Secondly, this music is considered a counterculture in relation to mainstream commercial music and also as a source of inspiration for those looking for certain lifestyles that reject a capitalist way of life. Thirdly, this music is used as a form of negotiation of different views of Latin American identity in contesting the hegemony of the Western cultural industries in the production of music.

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<sup>103</sup> As explained in the literature review, the idea of using music as a mark of differentiation is influenced by Hebdige's (1991) concept of subcultures, which has been influenced by the concept of hegemony and ideology (Marx 1964) .

Considering that the topic of New Chilean Song as counterculture during dictatorship was discussed in Chapter 4, I will analyse New Chilean Song as a contemporary device used by those looking for alternative lifestyles in relation to mainstream capitalism. Tony Corden, the artistic director of the festival, defined himself as a hippie. As Bennet (2005, p.123) notes, '[t]he hippie movement of the late 1960s attempted to harness the cultural power of music as a means of changing the world order, rejecting the technocratic tendencies [...] of capitalist society and opting instead for an alternative lifestyle based around rural communal living'. The recurrent use of music and rural communal living are two features of Tony Corden's lifestyle. As previously mentioned, Machynlleth is a rural town located in the Dyfi Valley, mid-Wales, and it is a space that has attracted people with counterculture ideas due to the location of the Centre for Alternative Technology<sup>104</sup>. The relevance of music in Corden's life is illustrated, not only in his interest in the festival, but also through his collection of musical instruments and his participation in different music projects. For instance, Tony is the leader of Cloud Cuckoo, a Machynlleth based band inspired by the music of New Chilean Song. This band usually plays at the *El Sueño Existe* festival. The name of the band is taken from the Aristophanes comedy 'The Birds' who are living in-between the land and heaven<sup>105</sup>. For the band, this state of living in-between heaven and earth is not a naïve attitude, but it is a form of maintaining a state of innocence in terms of a natural or simple life. I suggest that this desire to be in an 'in-between' state is consistent with the liminal subjunctive mood of the festival, of creating alternative worlds in relation to mainstream lifestyles. The idealisation of nature is connected to a recurrent topical 'back-to-the-land' movement carried out by hippies in the US in the 1960s (Webster 2003, p.127).

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<sup>104</sup> An example of this communal way of living can be found in October 2017 when I went to Machynlleth for an organisational meeting. During this visit, Tony showed me a collective garden in front of the Y Plas, the cultural space in which the festival takes place. This collective garden had a variety of vegetables accessible for free for any person who needed them. Tony explained to me that this garden was a socialist project.

<sup>105</sup> <http://www.cloudcuckoo.org.uk/>

The repertoire of Cloud Cuckoo is mainly inspired by New Chilean Song. The back cover of their album, 'Chile con Cymru' (Chile with Wales) included the following Víctor Jara quotation: 'Song is like the water that washes the stones, the wind that cleans us, the fire that joins us together and it lives inside us to make us better people'. This quotation creates an analogy to natural elements such as water, wind and fire which have purification properties. In relation to this connection between New Chilean Song and returning to the earth, the music of New Chilean Song offers elements of exaltation to nature that are consistent with the lifestyle of some of the organisers, like Tony.

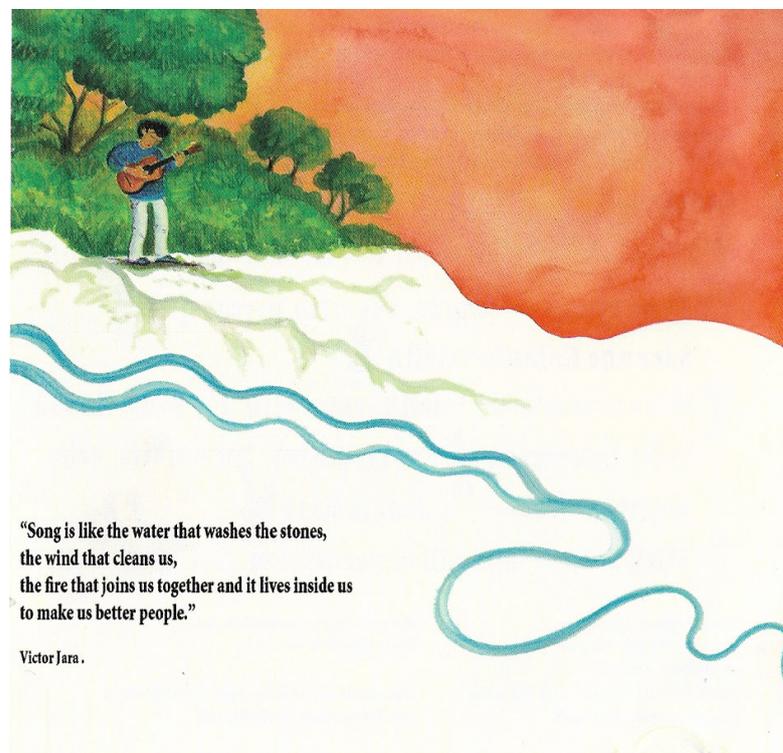


Figure 8. Back cover of Cloud Cuckoo album, *Chile con Cymru*.

In a conversation I had with Tony Corden two days after this event at the Centre for Alternative Technology, he explained his general view in relation to nature and capitalism:

We still believe that another world is possible. But the reactionary forces [in Latin America] are so strong. It is a deception, no doubt. But we will go ahead and learn. There is nothing else we can do. We will continue promoting these ideas

that have more importance in relation to the situation of the earth. And the nature, that we are part of the nature, that we need to leave the exploitation and capitalism. Because capitalist society works if there is a separation between the person and environment.

Tony Corden, interview, 30 May 2016. My translation

For Tony, the music of New Chilean Song is a device that can address the desire to be connected with the land, and it also proposes an alternative world. Some members of Cloud are members of another band called Dawns Tierra who play music for the ritual of the circle dance. Circle dance is an event that takes place once a month in Dyfi Valley and consists of people dancing collectively as a form of therapy and to connect with the earth. Cristina (presented in the last section) has participated in the circle dance. Cristina explained to me that the circle dance is a form of collective meditation in movement. The aim of this activity is to generate a sense of unity and community. During the regular meetings, the circle dance takes place with world music, mainly inspired by Celtic, Latin American and Eastern European traditions. Everyone is welcome to take part in the circle dance, and it does not matter if people do not know how to dance. The group, Circle Dance, in Machynlleth wrote a music album called *The River is Flowing*, which included songs by Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara and Inti Illimani.

Another form of living counterculture is based upon scepticism of commercial music. This scepticism is expressed as a criticism of the values of the mainstream music industry, including their entertainment function. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, Víctor Jara put forward a critique of commercial music in general, and in particular, the label 'protest music' (Jara 1998, p.117). In a similar way, Silvia argues that the music of New Chilean Song was even more revolutionary than any music promoted by protest song musicians from the Anglo world: 'In this country [the UK] [...] music is a such a commercial thing, [...] there are a few of songwriters you know, politically committed, you know, Bob Dylan, Woody Guthrie or Pete Seeger, but they are still part of the big companies. Yes, they were political songwriters because of their consciousness, but you can't compare it to the New

Chilean Song movement<sup>106</sup>. Silvia's argument is that the music of New Chilean Song was a real challenge to the mainstream music industry, not just because of the political consciousness amongst the musicians. This idea suggests that the conditions for production of New Chilean Song music were also important. For instance, the music of New Chilean Song was developed with the support of the phonographic company, DICAP (2014)<sup>107</sup>, created by the Chilean Communist Party, and they were explicitly critical of the commercial music promoted by the mainstream media (Schmiedecke 2014).

Much like Silvia, Scottish musician and activist, Paul Baker Hernández, commented that Víctor Jara had a consequent lifestyle and music discourse:

One of the most endearing things was that he refused to be taken in by the infantile 'superstar' bandwagon: he had no fancy car, he didn't sing: "imagine no possessions" from the comfort of his private mansion, sitting at his grand piano, kept from his people by high walls and gangs of guards. He had no need to imagine: his stomach remembered the gnawing hunger, his ears ticked with his mother's exhausted footfall dragging into the dawn. He could see the children scabbling for food, picking over the garbage (Baker 1989, p.54).

Through this quotation, Paul is providing a comparison between the well-known song and video clip from 'Imagine' by John Lennon, and Víctor Jara's life. This analogy suggests that Western music superstars such as John Lennon are inconsistent because they are singing for fair causes like human brotherhood and lack of possessions, but they themselves have the benefits of wealth and fame. Meanwhile, in Víctor Jara's case, he sang about poverty and exploitation, and his

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<sup>106</sup> Silvia Balducci, interview, 27 March 2017.

<sup>107</sup> DICAP is the acronym for Discoteca del Cantar Popular, created in 1969, and previously called Jota. The name Jota refers to the Communist Youth (Juventudes Comunistas or J.J.C.C.). After the Chilean military coup, DICAP was banned and its physical space was destroyed by the regime (Schmiedecke 2014, pp.202, 216). DICAP continued outside Chile until 1982. See: <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-348772.html>

lifestyle was consistent with this message since he never became a commercial, wealthy superstar.

New Chilean Song is also an example of criticism of the entertainment function of music. For Flakito, a key virtue of the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is the capacity to propose a form of connection with music beyond its entertainment purpose. For Flakito, the music of New Chilean Song has the capacity to tell a political message:

I think it is a very exciting time because I think in normal times people don't want to hear too much in the way of didactic songs, they don't want a political message to be rammed down their throat, they wanted to be entertained, they want to feel good [...] Víctor Jara became a leading figure in that... everybody was sharing such an important experience of constructing a social movement and improving life. With a lot of idealism and a lot of hard work, a lot of solidarity, a lot of organising the music that became more integral to everybody's lives, and people could relate more to 'message songs' because I think, maybe you know, the right-wing agenda and corporate capitalism and all those kinds of things, which obviously have a big influence on popular music, [...] music becomes a kind of trivial entertainment

Flakito, interview, 10 April 2017

Flakito's comment alludes to the notion of 'normal times' where music is providing mainly an entertainment function. Returning to the discussion in the previous chapter, Flakito is acknowledging that Popular Unity was a special period in which it was possible to experience music in a different way than 'normal times'. For Flakito, a key virtue of the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is its capacity to propose a connection with music beyond its entertainment function. Unlike mainstream music entertainment, New Chilean Song music entails an 'active' attitude towards the process of listening and the production of music since its music is connected to a framework of knowledge based on notions of people, social justice, and revolution. Flakito's criticism of the entertainment function of music resonates with Adorno's criticism of the entertainment function

of pop music. Adorno (1976, pp.14–16) argued that in capitalist societies the entertainment listener considers the music a source of stimulus rather than a framework of meaning; it is based on dispersion and lack of concentration; it is an attitude that maintains the condition of passive consumer of goods. This type of music listener is consistent with Flakito's criticism of the passive attitude to music and its connection with the corporate interest of the US in the region. Flakito uses the expression 'message music' to describe the kind of music that produces critical thinking in relation to power structures. For Adorno, a way of escaping the oppression of the music promoted by the cultural industry, is to listen to music forms such as Schoenberg's atonality which does not produce the effects of immediate pleasure and happiness encouraged by mainstream popular music. Meanwhile, for Flakito, the challenge is based on the use of 'message music' that reminds the listener there are critical social problems in the region that need to be heard and paid attention to.

A third topic I wish to discuss on the notion of counterculture, is in relation to ideas about Latin America that are part of the music industry. The first is New Chilean Song as a response to stereotypes of Latin American music promoted by the cultural industry. According to John Cuevas, Latin American people in London are mistakenly associated with salsa music. John considers this music to be commercial, and his view is that the *El Sueño Existe* festival proposes an alternative to this stereotype:

So long as salsa music does not take control of the festival, I think everything is going to be OK. Because we have to defend the cultural, the folkloric part, you know, the folkloric dimension of our music, because we are not salsa. We [Latin Americans] are represented as "salseros", but we are not "salseros"

John Cuevas, interview, 21 March 2017. My translation

The stereotype of the Latin community in London as *salseros* is analysed by Román-Velázquez (1999a; 1999b), who argues that Latin American salsa musicians in London have fought against prejudice and assumptions about their

music performance as a result of their ethnicity. These assumptions are that Latin American people have a natural affinity for salsa, dance and rhythm. John Cuevas's comment addresses a similar topic based on the equalisation of Latin American identity with salsa. He claims that his identity is not salsa, but folklore. So, according to John, the *El Sueño Existe* festival has to maintain the tradition of having folklore music as the main music style of the event. In this comment, John Cuevas illustrates the differences and tensions between different music styles, in the performance of Latin American identities. For John, the performance of folklore music such as that produced by Victor Jara and Violeta Parra in the festival, is a form of resistance against the commercial values represented in salsa music. Another of John's ideas in relation to the music of New Chilean Song as counterculture, is its broadcasting in the media. John states that an extraordinary feature of the *El Sueño Existe* festival is that it takes place in a country in which the radio stations hardly ever play songs in Spanish, except on anti-capitalist and anti-racist radio station, Resonance<sup>108</sup>.

John bemoans the fact that in Chile – and this can be extended to other Latin American countries - the radio stations excessively broadcast music in English, meanwhile, in the UK, there is practically no music broadcast in Spanish language: 'there are things that should change [...] the music in general should be more integrated'<sup>109</sup>. From John's point of view, music broadcasting is not comparable in Anglo and Spanish worlds. The festival, therefore, provides a countercultural space in which folklore and music in Spanish language take control of sonic space. In a similar way, Rachel Pantin, British musician from the band Quimantú, argues that the *El Sueño Existe* festival is different from other Latin American festivals in the UK such as *La Linea* produced by Como No, because they invite artists from outside the UK instead of musicians who are living here and are part of the community<sup>110</sup>. For Rachel, the *El Sueño Existe* festival is

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<sup>108</sup> <https://www.mixcloud.com/Resonance/>

<sup>109</sup> John Cuevas, interview, 21 March 2017. My translation.

<sup>110</sup> Rachel Pantin, interview, 31 March 2017.

important since it provides an alternative to the identification of Latin American music with salsa, tango or samba.

Martin offers similar criticism of the inequality of cultural industries in Bolivia and Latin America in general. Martin states that when he was living in Bolivia, most of the music came from the US. He takes inspiration from Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song for at least two reasons. First, Jara challenges the British and US music hegemony, incorporating music features from diverse parts of Latin America such as Andean, Mapuche and Cuban rhythms and melodies. Martin also appreciated the fact that, for instance, Jara incorporated elements of rock music in the song 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz'. This last comment implies that Martin is not advocating for the removal of Anglo elements from Latin music, but he is advocating for their incorporation as a non- hegemonic influence. Secondly, and in relation to the first point, Martin argues that New Chilean Song broke the cultural barriers between Latin American countries, proposing the unity of Latin America. In his words:

From my point of view, I would say that the song produced by Víctor Jara is not Chilean, you know? Neither is the music made by Quilapayún and Inti Illimani, because the Chilean music is other. [...] he [Víctor Jara] is creating a movement through his oeuvre. A movement of Latin American unity, and for this reason he is taking the rhythms of quotidian people in Chile

Martin López, interview, 10 April 2017. My translation

Martin considers himself *Americanista*, a term that has no literal translation into English since this language has monopolised the meaning of 'American' to reference the US. As discussed in Chapter 4, the *Americanista* vision was part of the Pan-American project that New Chilean Song was part of. For instance, the album *Cantos Folkloricos de America* by Quilapayún and Víctor Jara, incorporated songs from the US, Bolivian, Venezuelan, and Chilean folklore, proposing a Pan-American project for folk music. Martin's self-definition as *Americanista* echoes the discussion of America as an unhappy performative that has succeeded in the north, but failed in the south (Taylor 2007, p.1421). In the liminal period of New

Chilean Song, this performative failing was inverted, and the concept of American was used to refer to the southern part of the region as well. This *Americanista* sense of belonging is expressed in Martin's narrative. He particularly appreciated the way that New Chilean Song broke the cultural boundaries between Chile and Bolivia: 'In that period [the 1960s and 1970s] the oligarchies encouraged the tension between Bolivia and Chile [...] and we didn't have either diplomatic or commercial relations. But it is curious that this music breaks the cultural boundaries'<sup>111</sup>. As I explained in Chapter 4, the chauvinistic cultural policy of the Pinochet dictatorship banned the use of *charangos* and *quenás*.

### 6.3 Ethics

In this section, I will analyse the concept of music 'technology of self' from a lecture on (1997b) Foucault's concept of ethics. I suggest that the concept of technology of the self proposed by Foucault can provide some elements to better understand the role of the care and power relationships in the process of music subjectivation. As I explained in the theoretical chapter, Frith (2002) and Hesmondhalgh (2008) suggest the problem of DeNora's analysis of music as technology of the self, is the lack of consideration of the process of *subjectivation* of which individuals and groups are a part. In particular, Hesmondhalgh (2008, pp.331–332) suggests that DeNora 'recalls Foucault's use of the term "technologies of the self" [...] but in fact, DeNora's approach to subjectivity is very un-Foucauldian and owes more to interactionism, pragmatism and Anthony Giddens's conception of modern self-identity'. This critique of DeNora's concept of self-identity is based on the assumption that her theory fails to consider that individuals are subjected to specific forms of knowledge-power relations that constrain and condition subjectivities.

I suggest this critique is consistent with the views and experiences of some of the musicians I interviewed, since they suggest that the music of Víctor Jara and New

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<sup>111</sup> Martin López, interview, 10 April 2017. My translation.

Chilean Song is experienced as a form of subversion of the mainstream music proposed by Western cultural industry. In this sense, the power of the music that they are actively part of, their subjectivity, is inserted into what Foucault calls 'relations of power' (Foucault 1997b, p.285). The interviewees suggest that Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song challenge different forms of power such as capitalism, colonialism and the Pinochet dictatorship. In this context, Jara and New Chilean Song are experienced as a subversive music that not only subverts the values of mainstream Western music, but also subverts the values of some Western forms of life in general (profit orientation, fame, wealth).

Following this critique of DeNora's approach to technology of the self, I will propose a Foucauldian approach to analyse the use and relevance of music in everyday life. Foucault uses the concept of technology of the self in order to critically analyse specific bodies of knowledge about humans, such as medicine or economics, arguing that these bodies of knowledge are not natural, but instead implicated in specific 'truth games' (Foucault 1997b, p.224). The notion of the game proposed by Foucault is not synonymous with enjoyment, but refers to 'specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves' (ibid., p.224). Foucault suggests that technology of the self is one among four specific technologies used by humans to understand themselves (the others are technologies of production, of sign system and of power). In particular, technology of the self,

permits individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their bodies and soul, thoughts, conduct, and a way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault 1997a, p.225)

Foucault uses, as an example, different technologies of the self in relation to the Greek-Roman philosophy of the first and second centuries A.D, and the Christian spirituality of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Roman Empire (ibid., p.226). Foucault argues that during the late antiquity, the subject was a set of practices

rather than a theory. The precept 'to take care of yourself' was a key practical principle. In contrast, in modern Western society, the precept 'know yourself' has obscured the principle of 'take care of yourself' (ibid., p.228). In relation to the Greek-Roman period, Foucault identifies four particular technologies of the self: letters to friends, examination of the self, interpretation of dreams and *askesis*. Meanwhile, in the Christian spirituality, Foucault identifies *exomologesis* – recognition of fact based on penitence - (ibid., p.238) and *exagorensis* - sacrifice of the self based on obedience (ibid., p.245). All of these technologies of the self refer to practical strategies to care for the self.

According to this conceptualisation of technology of the self, it is possible in analysing music as a technology to take care of yourself. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the concept of *askesis* is particularly useful to analyse the use of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song as technology, since the stoic interpretation of the concept refers to the assimilation of truth through the practice of a set of principles taught by the masters. Thus, I suggest that Jara and other New Chilean Song musicians are experienced as masters who provide practical rules for social and personal conduct. I aim to illustrate this argument using four examples. The first is the experience of Silvia Balducci, who explicitly refers to Víctor Jara as a master who taught her the ethics of how to be a musician. Secondly, Cristina Solana explains that the music of New Chilean Song provides an ethics of love that is different from that encouraged in mainstream popular music. Thirdly, Peter Godfrey understands the music of Jara to be a philosophical referent that protects him from the values shared by capitalist society and official religions. Finally, John Cuevas has experienced Jara's music as medium through which to reveal the *truth* of what happened in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship. He also refers to Jara as a spiritual presence that is present in everyday life. In short, I suggest that certain musicians believe that Víctor and New Chilean Song musicians have an extraordinary *ethos*, or way of living, that they try to follow in order to achieve a state of freedom and realisation. In this sense, this music can be analysed as an aesthetic of existence.

I will start with Silvia. For her, Víctor Jara represents an ethos or way of being that is considered noble, splendid and exemplary (1997b, p.286). In this sense, Jara plays the role of master, teaching her how to behave in music and life in general. In Silvia's words:

He [Víctor Jara] showed me a way of being a musician which no other person could show me. It is a sense of ethics, you know, a certain morality, you know the honesty of being a musician and in a way, the mission of being a musician, you know. 'Yo no canto por cantar, ni por tener buena voz, canto porque mi guitarra, tiene sentido y razón'. *Eso te dice todo*. That's tell you everything. In this sentence you can assess how he was as a person

Silvia Balducci, interview, 27 March 2017

In her comment, Silvia quotes the first verse of the song 'Manifiesto' by Víctor Jara. For her, this song provides a clear principle of morality and ethics. Silvia explained that in accordance with the lyrics of Manifiesto, she is not a musician for the purpose of fame or to exhibit beauty, but she considers herself a music worker who tries to exhibit something important about political and social reality, through music. Silvia told me that this ethic is opposed to the superficial messages exhibited by most commercial music. Silvia explained that she learned lessons from the music and life of Víctor Jara. One of these lessons is not to consider herself an illustrious or notable person simply because of her status as a musician. She does not want to establish hierarchies and competition. She also learned from Jara, the value of working hard, as he did during his artistic life. This value is not only useful for artistic work, but also for work in general. Silvia observes the lesson of being humble and playing music to express collective aspirations, rather than for individual fame. Silvia saw Jara as an artist and human being with an exemplary ethos that she wanted to imitate. Jara is a role model based on the values of working hard, possessing humility, and revolutionary commitment. Silvia's judgment of Jara's music is consistent with her aesthetic values based on an opposition to commercial music. In accordance with this ethos, Silvia differentiates herself from commercial music produced by the mainstream music industry. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the

mainstream music industry is a coercive institution which alienates people. Silvia's narrative suggests that there is coherence between her music performance and her everyday life performance. When Silvia is playing music, she is presenting values and ideals that are present in everyday life. Simultaneously, when she conducts herself in everyday life, she follows the ethics of the songs. Therefore, there is a reciprocal relationship between music and everyday life values. In Silvia's words:

I never wanted to make music for commercial pursuit. All of that in this western society 'fucks me up' [...] You have to talk about songs, to talk about values, not just 'I love you', 'forever', you know. There is something about the context of the song, the text, and the music and the performance that you put on as an artist. You know, your stance, the way that you present yourself on stage, and also the way that you present yourself in everyday life. Because you can't separate the two, you have to be coherent.

Silvia Balducci, interview 27 March 2017

Silvia criticises the superficial message of love encouraged by mainstream popular music. Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song proposes an alternative to these messages<sup>112</sup>.

Much like Silvia, Cristina also believes that New Chilean Song proposes an alternative to the banal concept of love promoted by mainstream music. Cristina argues this movement offers a quotidian and real concept of love, in opposition to the 'pink' or 'cloudy' concept of love proposed by many songs. Cristina favours those love songs where the couple support each other in trying to correct social injustice. Cristina also quotes the first line of the song 'Manifiesto' to explain the way she experienced the music:

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<sup>112</sup> Frith (1996b, p.141) argues that one social function of popular music is to give public voice to the realm of the private; to express what is difficult for people to express in everyday life. Therefore, love songs are very common in popular music because they express private feelings that are difficult to express in other ways.

to sing not only because of the pleasure that is produced, “Yo no canto por cantar, ni por tener buena voz”, this phrase is by Víctor. Because for me it is powerful to sing as a tool for political activism. Certainly, to play the guitar in my room has no sense, it is only for self-expression and expresses my own concerns

Cristina Solana, interview, 29 March 2017. My translation

For Cristina, music is not for pleasure or self-expression but it is connected to activism and public life. The narratives of Silvia and Cristina indicate that the music of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara is not only a device for the expression of personal feelings. This music proposes a different conception of public life related to political commitment and social change, rather than an expression of private emotion. Cristina illustrates her interest in how New Chilean Song is connected to political and combative love in the song ‘Vamos Mujer’ from ‘La Cantata Santa María’. This cantata was created by Luis Advis and played for the first time in 1970 by Quilapayún, and the composition narrates the history of the assassination of nitrate workers in 1907 in the Santa Maria school in Iquique, a city located in Northern Chile (Karmy 2014). The lyrics of the first stanza of the song are:

Vamos mujer	Come on, my partner <sup>113</sup>
Vamos mujer	Come on, my partner
Partamos a la ciudad	Let’s go to the city
Todo será distinto	Everything will change
No hay dudar	we should not hesitate
No hay que dudar	There is no doubt about that
Confía ya vas a ver	Trust me, you will see
Porque en Iquique	Because in Iquique
Todos van a entender	Everyone will understand

Chilean musicologist Karmy (2014) argues this song reproduces the stereotype of women taking a passive attitude in relation to men’s decisions, illustrating the reproduction of male hegemony in New Chilean Song and the political project of

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<sup>113</sup> My translation.

*El Hombre Nuevo* (The New Man). However, Cristina offers an alternative interpretation of gender in the song, from that proposed by Karmy. For Cristina, the virtue of 'Vamos Mujer' is based on the mutual support of couples struggling in adverse situations. In the context of the *Cantata*, 'Vamos Mujer' refers to a period when workers located in the nitrate office in San Lorenzo, went to the city of Iquique to demand the nitrate company improve their living conditions. They stayed in the Santa María school where many were killed. Cristina explained to me that 'Vamos Mujer' is a great love song, 'because it is not a pink notion of love, but it is a vision of love based on reality and the everyday life, on moving forward, on support'<sup>114</sup>. This song, unlike common love songs in popular music, is not only making public private emotions (Frith 1987, p.141), but it refers to a history of love that is implicated in critical relationships of power (Foucault 1997b, p.285). This asymmetrical power relationship between nitrate workers facing the company owners, and the Chilean State, gave a special meaning to the concept of love that is evoked by this song.

Peter Godfrey (introduced in section 6.1), provides an interesting approach to the ethics of Víctor Jara as a philosophy, understood both as a principle of conduct, and as a belief. For Peter, the influence of Jara's music in his life is not only based on music, but is also a philosophy of life. I asked Peter about the meaning of the philosophy of Jara. According to Peter, Jara's music enables him to believe in an alternative to the religious and capitalist belief systems. As Peter maintains, capitalism and religion colonised a large number of everyday practices through their propagandistic apparatus. Peter explained to me that Jara's music has helped him to maintain a sense of refuge and an alternative to the capitalist way of living in the UK: 'I know working as a journalist there is propaganda all the time coming at you saying how good the market, the free market and capitalism is. And somebody like Víctor Jara reminds us all the time that no, this is a lie, this is completely false'<sup>115</sup>. Peter's comment implies that Jara's music is used to care and protect him from false values that are prevalent in society.

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<sup>114</sup> Cristina Solana, interview, 29 March 2017. My translation.

<sup>115</sup> Peter Godfrey, interview, 26 April 2017.

In addition, for Peter, Jara's music enacts the possibility of experiencing an alternative world. Jara's music provides him with a set of values and ideals that he wants to follow.

I feel here, as a journalist, we are bombarded with these values of capitalist society. So, you can either accept them and life is much easier, and you can watch television like everyone else, or you reject them. But if you reject them, life here in the capitalist imperialist country can be very uncomfortable, so really you can draw strength from the life and work of someone like Víctor Jara because to me, his life and his perspective are completely coherent, and he produced wonderful songs

Peter Godfrey, interview, 26 April 2017

Much like Silvia, Peter says that humility is a key value he has drawn from Víctor Jara. Peter says, unlike many mainstream artists, Jara always lived a modest life without luxury and he was always committed to the political cause. So, the philosophy of Jara proposed by Peter implies that Víctor Jara is a role model for his own behaviour in everyday life, and it is a way of living. I suggest that the music of Víctor Jara is experienced by Peter as an aesthetic refuge to challenge a 'bombardment' of values from commercialisation and the church. This metaphor suggests that Peter uses Jara's music as a 'shield', but also refers to the function of music as care of the self.

John Cuevas provides another perspective on Víctor Jara's music related to truth and ethics. John told me he considers Jara's music to have a testimonial value, revealing what happened in Chile during the dictatorship. In his words: 'Since I left Chile, I left singing songs with my guitar. Few people knew the Chilean history, and I told some of them about Jara's song and explained what happened to him. I'm proud of myself for performing this task [...] for divulging the *true* [my emphasis] history'<sup>116</sup>. Using the songs of Víctor Jara and narrating the history of

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<sup>116</sup> John Cuevas, interview, 21 March 2017. My translation.

his tragic death, John can articulate a discourse on the history of Chile. He is trying to defeat the *truth* told by the mainstream media. By singing Jara's songs, John was telling an alternative version of the history that chimes with his political ideals and his personal history. The game of truth John is playing is to use music as a resource to make political judgments on history, taking into consideration power relations between the dictatorship and the people who resist it.

In addition, John Cuevas uses the metaphor and contraposition between heaven and hell to explain his view of Pinochet's dictatorship and the main Popular Unity figures such as Víctor Jara and Salvador Allende. John told me that after the exhumation of Víctor Jara's body, the forensic investigation found that he had received more than forty bullets. For John, this demonstrates the cruelty and lack of morality of the perpetrators of the crime, who deserved to be called the 'devil'. For John, Víctor Jara is like a spiritual presence who is part of every moment of his everyday life. John has a photo of Víctor Jara in his home, and he regularly plays Jara's music. Moreover, he has a spiritual connection with Jara. He is part of John's everyday life as an inspiration and motivator to make music. John believes that Jara is in the sky – alongside Salvador Allende - looking over him and supporting him each time he plays music. Víctor Jara is alive through his song. Jara is returned to the earth using John's voice as a tool:

It is like I am Víctor Jara who is still alive [...] he is still alive through my voice when I am singing. I believe Víctor Jara is glad to have me and of all the other people, singing his songs. He is applauding us from heaven where he is alongside Salvador Allende

John Cuevas, interview, 21 March 2017. My translation

John stated that his mission as a musician is to keep Víctor Jara's message alive, a message that represents the experience of people tortured, imprisoned and killed during the dictatorship.

#### 6.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, I argued that the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is used as a technology of the self (Foucault 1997a, p.223; DeNora 2000) for musicians who have participated in the festival. This implies that this music is an active resource for the formation of subjectivities and ethics of these musicians. Thus, this music has the capacity to transport people to specific emotional and family scenarios, to generate a counter discourse in relation to specific hegemonic forces, and to use it as an ethical reference by which to conduct their life. This concept of technology of the self refers to the capacity of music as a material device for the formation of specific aesthetic and ethical values.

In the first section, I used DeNora's (2000, p.46) approach to the concept of technology of the self, which refers to the capacity of music to become a device that provokes change and organises subjective processes such as memories, and transports people to different emotional and social scenarios. Then I illustrated that the music of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara connects musicians with memories and experiences they had mainly during the 1960s and 1970s in different social and historical contexts. Most of the musicians I interviewed expressed that this music connects them to the hope they lived with during their childhood or youth, in relation to different political struggles. Most of them have a positive view of the project of Popular Unity, and the music evokes in them key experiences they had in relation to this period. I suggest that this music also evokes memories of tragedy that connects some of the musicians to traumatic or undesirable experiences, such as the Chilean military coup or the Pinochet dictatorship. Additionally, this music was experienced by some of the interviewees as providing inspiration in everyday life - such as Silvia's interest in learning Spanish due to Inti Illimani's music; or Martin's interest in following the Pan-American music principles of Víctor Jara. Therefore, the participation of the musician in the festival is a process of the re-enactment of a series of memories and practices; and the exhibition and reaffirmation of lifestyles and music preferences that were important to the constitution of their musical subjectivities. According to the concept of music scenes (Bennett and Peterson 2004), the experiences of the musicians indicate that the music of New Chilean

Song was part of a translocal scene of followers that was facilitated by non-mainstream circuits of music, New Chilean Song musicians in exile, and the work carried out by solidarity campaigns in support of Chile.

A second topic related to the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song as a technology, is connected with the use of this music as a device to produce counterculture practices and discourse that encourages alternative ways of making music and living. Following Bennet's notion of music in everyday life (2005, p.117), I suggest that New Chilean Song music is used as a mark of differentiation from wider society, in particular, in relation to commercial music and the capitalist way of living. The music of New Chilean Song has been used as a means of criticism of individualist and urban ways of living. In particular, it has been used in music practices, such as the circle dance or Cloud Cuckoo, in initiatives that are seeking a profound connection between human and nature. Another counterculture discourse is related to the criticism of commercial music. New Chilean Song is used as a narrative against the notions of fame and wealth that are common amongst popular music icons or stars. In addition, this music challenges the entertainment function of popular music since it proposes a political message that is not necessarily connected to immediate pleasure or a sense of happiness, but it calls the listener to reflect on political problems. Some musicians I interviewed highlight the fact that New Chilean Song is an alternative to dominant stereotypes in Latin American music. This music challenges the association of Latin American music with salsa, tango or samba, and the festival also provides an alternative space in relation to other commercial events concerning Latin American music or culture, such as the festival *La Linea* in London. The music of New Chilean Song has provided a device to generate discourse that challenges eurocentrism and US-centrism in relation to the production and circulation of music in Latin America.

Finally, I discussed how the music of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song is experienced as a technology that musicians used to achieve a specific ethos or aesthetic of existence (Foucault 1997b, pp.208–209). Jara epitomises this ethos

because he was an extraordinary person who carried a series of attributes such as humility, political commitment, capacity for improvement and interest in social justice, that other musicians want to follow and imitate. The musicians are trying to follow these values either within their music performance, or as part of everyday life practices. In this sense, Víctor Jara is considered a referent who teaches lessons for life (1997b, p.286). The song 'Manifiesto' synthesises principles and values that some musicians want to abide by. Musicians have experienced Jara's music as a philosophy of life or a spiritual reference. Considering Jara to be a spiritual or philosophical reference implies that the performance of his music has special meaning for certain musicians, since they are performing, not only an assembly of sounds, but as a way of life (Frith 1996b, p.206). In short, using, as an example, the different views on the use and meaning of Jara and New Chilean Song music, I showed that the music of New Chilean Song is a technology - understood in the Foucauldian context as a manoeuvre or procedure - that allows musicians to conduct themselves and understand the world according to the ethics of the main musicians of this movement.

## Chapter 7. The Politics of the Festival

In this chapter, I will focus on the following questions: How are political identities performed in the festival? Which kinds of political discourse are performed? I will analyse these questions taking into consideration three concepts related to performance theory. Firstly, I will use the concept of citational practices, taken from Taylor's theory of performance (2003, pp.32–33), to analyse the ways in which the citation of sentences, gestures, and images emanating from Latin American left politics are used as a mode of constituting political subjectivities during the festival. Secondly, I will analyse how embodied political repertoire (Taylor 2003, p.18) and acts of solidarity acts performed at the festival, are experienced as an alternative form of transmission of knowledge opposed to the mainstream media and neoliberal hegemony in the West. Finally, I will analyse the festival as a liminal political geography (Turner 1987; Waitt 2008, p.526) that has the capacity to be a focal point for political activists inspired by the victories of the Latin American left, to carry out local politics in Britain.

I argue that the festival is a space that simultaneously acts both to suspend and to create political normativity. On the one hand, the politics of the festival proposes a transgression of the political normativity and hegemony of neoliberalism in the UK and the West. On the other hand, the festival reinforces a political identity inspired by progressive, anti-neoliberal movements and governments in Latin America. These processes of subversion and reinforcement are mutually interconnected since the reinforcement of the political normativity of social progressist governments and movements in Latin America is constituted as a form of transgression of the neoliberal, conservative political agenda that is currently hegemonic in contemporary British government and in some Latin American countries. The chapter is divided into five sections. In the first section, I will briefly explain the role of Keith Jackson, co-founder of the *El Sueño Existe*

festival, in including politics as a central element of the festival. In the second section, I will focus on citational practices analysed through one political speech and the performance of a political song. In the third, I will analyse two performances of political solidarity as part of the political repertoire of the festival. The fourth section will focus on the narratives of British political activists who experience Latin America as a geography of political hope. Finally, I will conclude by outlining the main findings of the chapter.

### 7.1 The inclusion of politics in the festival

The prominence of politics in the festival did not emerge naturally at the origins of the event, since the inclusion of politics in the festival was questioned in the organisation of the first event in 2005. According to Keith Jackson, co-founder of the festival, some members of the organisation did not want to include political talks and discussions in the event<sup>117</sup>. However, Jackson argued it was necessary in order to provide the political context for the music of Víctor Jara; otherwise, he believed, Jara's message would not be properly understood. Taking into consideration Jackson's position, the organisers invited Chilean academic, Francisco Domínguez, to give a political talk at the 2005 festival. The room in which the political talk took place was overcrowded and the organisers, realising the festival-goers were indeed interested in political talks, decided to include more of them at the festival. Jackson's idea of including politics as a central element of the festival implies that this event should not be only about enjoyment and pleasure, but needed to include historical and pedagogical elements to inform its participants.

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<sup>117</sup> In Keith Jackson's words: 'I brought the perspective of the politics; my understanding of Víctor Jara as a political person; or almost first, and the singer second; when I think Tony saw him: it's the singer first, and the politician second; I think that it that was the balance was. And there was a time we differed over the amount of politics that should be. I think in the early days I was strongly arguing for the politics to be a very important part of the festival; not mainly a Latin American music festival. Some people, on that early committee, were more committed to Latin American Music, including non-political Latin American music'. Keith Jackson, interview, 10 September 2016.

Jackson's inspiration to include politics was derived from his experience of working in adult education, and involvement in community work from the 1970s onwards. During the 1970s, Jackson was involved with the Workers Educational Association (WEA) and the extra-mural department of the University of Liverpool, providing courses for trade union leaders, regular workers, and the unemployed. During this period, Jackson was inspired by Latin American thinkers and movements to undertake these education and trade union projects. In particular, Jackson was inspired by the methodologies of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal, to develop Community Adult Education. Freire and Boal are Brazilian thinkers who used pedagogy and theatre, respectively, as tools of liberation. Adopting a Marxist approach, both thinkers were looking for the humanisation of subjects living in oppressed situations<sup>118</sup>. Freire (2000) proposes a critical pedagogy based on the consciousness of the oppressed as a form of liberation and humanization. This consciousness is achieved through dialogue and active communication between teachers and students in which communication has to establish spaces for both reflection and praxis<sup>119</sup>. Boal was inspired by Freire to develop his method of the theatre of the oppressed. Boal (2008, pp.134–135) argues that theatre has to be a tool for emancipation since conventional bourgeois theatre assumes that the spectators have to be passive receptors of finished world visions. For this reason, Boal maintains instead that the concept 'spectator' is negative, and he advocates for considering spectators to be actors and subject to change. Since conventional theatre dehumanises 'spectators', the theatre of the oppressed is seeking their humanization and subjectivation. Using this logic, the festival provides space for political discussion in order to educate and create consciousness around social processes and movements that are taking place in Latin America.

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<sup>118</sup> In Keith words: 'I was part of a national network of people, who was looking really defining workers education for urban environments; linking education with community development; and we became very interested in the Latin American concept of Education Popular, Paulo Freire, and also, Boal'. Keith Jackson, interview, 10 September 2016.

<sup>119</sup> Freire in particular, lived as exile in Chile from 1964 to 1969, and he was influenced by Marxist Humanist ideology and the experiences of oppressed groups in Chile such as the peasants (Holst 2006).

Apart from Boal and Freire, Jackson's political inspiration derived from the New Chilean Song in terms of the movement's use of music as a political and educational tool. Jackson took the initiative to incorporate arts and cultural activities into the courses he co-organised with the WEA and Community Adult Education, with the New Chilean Song as inspiration. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Víctor Jara and the New Chilean Song were part of a broader set of political institutional practices that conditioned and contributed to this cultural movement. The arts, and especially music, were used as a tool for political denunciation and as a form of creating consciousness about the political situation in the country. Víctor Jara, alongside many other artists, participated in the electoral campaign of Salvador Allende in 1970. This participation, in particular used popular music and creative expression as a means of transmission of the political message of hope and prosperity reached during the Popular Unity government. The New Chilean Song was also relevant during Salvador Allende's government because the artists acted as cultural ambassadors for the international community (Rodríguez 2017) and they communicated the government's programme to the broader population through songs such as 'Canto al Programa' performed by Inti Illimani. As I have discussed, several of Víctor Jara's songs included explicit political messages. For example, Jara wrote a song in homage to the founder of the Chilean Communist Party: 'A Luis Emilio Recabarren' (To Luis Emilio Recabarren). Another example is Víctor's song 'Ni Chicha Ni Limoná' (neither cider nor lemonade), as a form of satire against those who were neither left, nor right.

## 7.2 Politics as re-citation

'Ni chicha ni limoná' (1971) was written by Víctor Jara during the Popular Unity. Through this song, Víctor Jara seeks to call the listener to adopt a political position: the chorus of the song was based on a Chilean expression *ni chicha ni limoná* which means in this context, that if you are neither left nor right, you are nothing politically. During the time of Popular Unity, the politicisation of civil society was very intensive and the opposition between left and right politics was

accentuated. During the 2015 festival I performed this song with La Veleidosa in the Marquee. This political song resonates with Garcia Canclini's (2005) view on the predominance of binary thinking in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s based on the opposition's left-right, sovereignty-imperialism, socialism-capitalism. Through the analysis of diverse forms of political expression of the festival, it is possible to trace a tradition of how binary oppositions are recited and revived within the space of the festival.

Diana Taylor argues that through the inclusion of social scenarios in performance analysis, 'we expand our ability to rigorously analyse the live and the scripted, the citational practices that characterize both, how traditions get constituted and contested, and the various trajectories and influences that might appear in one but not in the other' (Taylor 2003, pp.32–33)<sup>120</sup>. A scenario is a situation that includes live participants, scenes, a plot, and an intended, but flexible, end. Consequently, a scenario is 'never for the first time', it makes visible something that is already there, like ghosts and stereotypes. The citational practice determines that 'identities', such as gender or ethnicity, are performed by the compulsory citation of regulatory conventions. Taking into consideration the relevance of the citational process on the performance of identities, I will analyse how leftist progressive political identities are performed in the festival, and I will analyse two political scenarios of the festival. The first is a speech-performance by Francisco Domínguez during the political sessions on Friday evening in Y Plas at the beginning of the 2017 festival. The second is the performance of the political song 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido' (The people United will never be defeated) that took place in the Marquee at the end of the same festival.

#### *Francisco Domínguez's speech during the plenary session*

As explained in chapter 4, every festival begins with a political session on the Friday afternoon. Francisco Domínguez is always invited to speak at this

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<sup>120</sup> To elaborate on the concept of citation, Taylor (2003, p.5) is taking into consideration the concept of performativity as citationality by Butler.

inaugural event. He is an exiled Chilean and academic at Middlesex University, London, and a member of a variety of solidarity campaigns with Latin American countries, such as the Venezuela Solidarity Campaign. As an academic, Domínguez has published on the Venezuelan case (2007; 2012); and he co-edited the book *Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America: Reaction and Revolt* (Domínguez et al. 2011). In this later book, the leftist forces in Latin America are defined as a movement that has challenged the neoliberal Washington Consensus; meanwhile the right is defined as a series of institutions such as governments, political parties, corporations, that encourages neoliberal policies (Lievesley and Ludlam 2011, p.1) and thereby, the right promotes inequality and the conservation of the status quo (Burton 2011, p.12). The affinity between Domínguez and the festival is illustrated in the fact that the promotional poster of 2017 included a citation by him saying: 'El Sueño Existe festival is one of the most beautiful gestures of commitment to Latin America's struggles in the depth of marvellous Wales'.

During the 2017 plenary session, Francisco Domínguez was introduced by Allan Wyn Jones, the chair of the session. Jones stated that Domínguez was also a performer because he performed the role of the last speaker of the plenary of the festival. The audience applauded. Domínguez began his speech by stating that every time he came to Machynlleth for *El Sueño Existe* festival he feels some kind of magical realism as if the festival was created by García Márquez, because it is very magical to have a long-lasting and passionate homage to Víctor Jara in the middle of Wales. He congratulated his comrades in the audience. He said 'approve yourselves' to the audience, for the effort of attending to this very special festival. The audience applauded. Domínguez stated that if the rest of the so-called 'advanced world' were like the festival-goers, this world would be different. The introduction of Domínguez was crucial for three reasons: firstly, in spite of him being a political speaker, he was presented as a 'performer' because he is repeatedly invited to talk at the festival as a kind of ritual. Secondly, he used Garcia Marquez's notion of magical realism to describe the festival as a space that challenges the reality of politics, a notion that resonates with the subjunctive

mood of liminal events. Domínguez appealed to the public arguing for us to feel proud of ourselves because, unlike most people in the UK and the 'advanced world', we were participating in an alternative politics. And thirdly, he called us – the public - comrades. Through the citation of the noun 'comrade' to describe us it is possible to trace a tradition of communist and leftist expression.



Figure 9. Francisco Domínguez speaking at *El Sueño Existe* festival 2017  
(Francisco is the second from left to right, photo by the author)

Domínguez's speech was then focused on the terrible consequences of US foreign policy in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s, and the consequent instauration of neoliberalism as a main political economy in the region. For Domínguez, the advent of Chavez in the 1990s was the beginning of a new response to neoliberalism. In particular, Domínguez cited and translated a phrase spoken by Chavez in February 1992:

*Por ahora* [For now], the objectives that we said to ourselves as revolutionary officers of the Venezuelan armed forces to create a government that can serve to the people, cannot be accomplished now, for now.

Francisco Domínguez, speech in 2017 Festival<sup>121</sup>

According to Domínguez, Chavez's sentence 'Por ahora' (for now) was a catalyst for political forces that were incubated for decades in Latin America because of

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<sup>121</sup> Francisco is citing a translated discourse by Hugo Chavez.

the imposition of neoliberalism as the main economic force. Domínguez asserts that Latin American democracies did not combat neoliberal policies because these democracies did not control economic policy, which was instead controlled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Domínguez further stated that LA has been subjected to brutalisation as a consequence of capitalism. In this claim, it is possible to trace at least two Marxist traditions of thinking: firstly, the Marxist notion of economic determinism, since politics and democracies are not independent structures, but they are conditioned by the development of the productive forces (Marx 1964). Secondly, Latin America's discourse on development that was developed during the 1970s and 1980s, was based on the ideas of thinkers such as Galeano (1997) and Gunder Frank (1980). Coming back to Taylor's concept of the scenario, Domínguez is not saying anything new, but he is citing and reciting ideas which already exist.

Domínguez's speech also highlighted the achievements of progressive governments in Latin America from the 2000s onwards, a political process that some theorists have termed the 'pink tide' (Moraña 2008; Chodor 2015)<sup>122</sup>. Domínguez said that in the 1990s – the decade that neoliberalism was consolidated as a hegemonic force - the poverty percentage in LA was 48% of the population, around 250,000,000 people. In 2014-15 poverty levels declined to 26%, i.e., approximately 100,000,000 people. A feature of the leftist progressive governments is the relevance of a political economy based on social justice, instead of growth and increase in Gross Domestic Product. Debate within economic sociology has developed the concept of economic performativity to refer to the fact that economy brings into existence what is enunciated as a supposedly external reality (Cochoy et al. 2010). Therefore, Domínguez's exhibition of empirical data on the reduction of poverty is not only describing an objective reality, but it is performing an economic discourse that is consistent

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<sup>122</sup> The concept of "pink tide" is connected with the advent of leftist government in the regions that were less radical than the "red" Marxist wave that took place in the region during the 1960s and 1970s. This movement has used institutional electoral means instead of armed struggles to reach power and it has used the rhetoric of social justice instead of class struggle (Moraña 2008, pp.33-34).

with the political ideal of social justice promoted by progressive governments in Latin America.

Apart from the revitalisation of Marxist economic determinist analysis, Domínguez's speech highlights the relevance of State sovereignty for resistance and opposition to US military influence in the region, and the role of Western media in twisting the achievements of the progressive left in Latin America. Domínguez celebrated the fact that the government of Evo Morales in Bolivia recovered military facilities that were placed by the US government to combat coca cultivation, and they expelled the CIA and US ambassador from its territory as a demonstration of respect. In addition, Domínguez argues that the economic weakness experienced by some of the progressive left governments during recent years in Latin America is a consequence of the international economic crisis, but the mainstream media attribute it to bad government. The world economic crisis was created by international capitalism, so there are problems, not because the progressive left failed, but because part of the economic crisis since Latin America is dependent on raw materials. According to Domínguez, the US took advantage of the economic crisis and take a contra-offensive<sup>123</sup>. He said that the US has a lot of resources around the world, including armies, NGOs, political parties, TV Channels, and the media in general. Domínguez stated his intention to make a statement that could be considered subversive: 'the position and views on Latin America of the British mainstream media such as the BBC and the Guardian, are the same as the US State Department'. Domínguez argues that the agency, Reuters, is key to understanding US influence around the world and he stated: 'The US seems to disseminate this line on the media through Reuters. If you want to know what the US is going to do tomorrow, read Reuters, you will see how Reuters is repeated literally, endlessly, everywhere'<sup>124</sup>. Domínguez is arguing that

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<sup>123</sup> Francisco argues that this counteroffensive took place for instance, in the efforts of US government in destabilising the Venezuelan PetroCaribe program and the reaction against leftist governments like Zelaya in Honduras, or Lugo in Paraguay.

See <https://latinamericaconference.wordpress.com/2016/11/04/francisco-dominguez-explains-why-this-years-latin-america-conference-is-more-important-than-ever/>

<sup>124</sup> Francisco Domínguez, speech during plenary session, 2017, El Sueño Existe Festival.

the British mainstream media is reciting the political position of the US State Department on Latin American politics. Consequently, it is possible to talk about the US political approach as a regulatory framework that constrained, and is compulsory for, mainstream media. For this reason, Domínguez considered his speech to be subversive -he used this adjective in the speech- since it is challenging the political discourse that is repeatedly disseminated by the US political regulatory framework.

*El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido – The People United Will Never Be Defeated*

The second scenario is the performance of the song 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido' (The People United will never be defeated) at the end of the 2017 festival. This song was written by Sergio Ortega and performed by Quilapayún during the Popular Unity. The lyrics refer to the unity of the people facing oppression from the oligarchic classes. This final song of the concert was performed in the festival Marquee by the Chilean band, Los Hermanos Millar, who had travelled especially from Chile to perform at the festival. They played Latin American folk music, inspired by the New Chilean Song, Argentinean folk, and classical music. They were the last band to perform at the 2017 festival.

Once Los Hermanos Millar finished their penultimate song, Tony Corden went onto the main stage and announced to the audience that they would end the concert by playing 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido'. Tony invited musicians from the audience to go up onto the stage and sing the song in a chorus. Around five additional people went onto the stage. The five members of Los Hermanos Millar remained there with their instruments. Toward the right of the stage, the painted faces of Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Salvador Allende, and Alí Primera were affixed to the plastic wall of the tent. At the front of the stage, there was a white canvas with the message: 'Refugees welcome'. Some of the public were standing in front of the stage, whilst others were sitting at the back of the Marquee. The musicians spent around two minutes listening in order to recognise the key of the

song and then they started to sing. After singing two stanzas, they realised that they were singing in the wrong key. Tony Corden, who was in the middle of stage, said 'Let's start again', and the public laughed. The band and the singers spent around one minute finding the correct key, and they started to sing again:

El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido	[Translation] <sup>125</sup>
De pie, cantar Que vamos a triunfar Avanzan ya Banderas e unidad	Arise, sing <sup>126</sup> We are going to win. Flags of unity are now advancing.
Y tú vendrás Marchando junto a mi Y así verás Tu canto y tu bandera	And you will come marching together with me, and so you'll see your song and your flag blossom.
Florecer, la luz De un nuevo amanecer Anuncia ya la vida que vendrá	The light of a red dawn already announces the life to come.
De pie, cantar, Que el pueblo va a triunfar Será mejor la vida que vendrá A conquistar Nuestra felicidad	Arise, fight the people are going to win. The life to come will be better. To conquer our happiness.
Y en un clamor Mil voces de combates Se alzarán, dirán Canción de libertad Con decision La patria vencerá	And a clamor of a thousand fighting voices will rise, speaking a song of freedom. With determination the fatherland will win.
[Bridge] Yahora el pueblo que se alza en la lucha, con voz de gigante gritando: ¡Adelante!	And now the people, who are rising in struggle with a giant voice crying out: Forward!
[Chorus] ¡El pueblo unido Jamás será vencido!	The People United Will never be defeated!
[Etc...]	[Etc...]

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<sup>125</sup> Translation: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/art/music/lyrics/es/el-pueblo.htm>

According to Mularski (2014), the song 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido' was part of the intense emotional and political separation between the left and the right during Popular Unity, promoting a revolutionary destiny and evoking strong political images through its lyrics. This song symbolises the 'spirit of militant optimism' lived in this period (Morris 1986, p.122). The first lines of the lyrics say 'Arise, sing. We are going to win'. The song calls for the listener to stand up and struggle. The lyrics refer to a 'new awakening', 'a better life' enacting the fantasy of another and better world. The lyrics of the song propose a metaphoric empowerment of people who rise up and shout like a giant, a symbolic inversion of roles between the people and the powerful ruling class. 'El Pueblo Unido' was also relevant after the coup, sung by Inti Illimani and Quilapayún in their concerts, and translated into different languages; this song was performed with masses of people, demonstrating an ability to convene higher numbers of people than the politicians could muster (McSherry 2016, p.3).



Figure 10. Performance 'El Pueblo Unido'. *El Sueño Existe* festival 2017

(Image from video recorded by the author)

I suggest that the performance of 'El Pueblo Unido' at *El Sueño Existe* festival 2017 revived the spirit of militant optimism that the song encourages, citing specific gestures that are connected to the spirit of struggle, such as the raised fists,

listening to the song standing, and singing the chorus altogether with a firm and loud voice. Thereby, the festival was transmitting political memory through an embodied, musical act. The intensity of the gestures increased in the bridge of the song 'Y ahora...', since most musicians started to raise their fists according to the rhythm. In addition to standing up, the other gesture is the movement of the clenched fist as a symbol of international communism<sup>127</sup>. The clenched fist is a citation not only of the typical gestures of the song 'El Pueblo Unido', but it is a citation of a broader discourse that refers to political struggle and the need to fight in order to change society. This symbol has been used by leftist political movements such as communists, workers, and black liberation movements (Weitz 1997, p.50; Denney 2017).

Another element that is important to analyse in the process of citation of gestures and activities, is 'reactivation' (Taylor 2003, p.32). Taylor suggests that in spite of the fact that scenarios evoke the past, they are not necessarily mimetic events, they operate through reactivation instead of duplication; '[r]ather than a copy, the scenario constitutes a once-againness' (Taylor 2003, p.32). In a sense, the performance of 'El Pueblo Unido' should not be interpreted as copy or mimesis of the original performance of this song by *Quilapayún*. In his analysis of the performative elements of the New Chilean Song, González (1996) argues that the on-stage elements of Quilapayún and Inti Illimani were based on seriousness, equality and male-dominance. For example, in a video on the performance of 'El Pueblo Unido' by Quilapayún<sup>128</sup>, the six male-members were wearing sober black ponchos on the stage, playing only one guitar and bombo, and making a vocal arrangement. In contrast, at the performance of El Pueblo in *El Sueño Existe* festival, the stage was gender-mixed, and there were various instruments (violin, guitar, bass, charango). Tony Cordon's colourful hippie style t-shirt, and the casual clothing - jeans, t-shirts - worn by most of the musicians on the stage,

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<sup>127</sup> For instance, Víctor Jara's song "Plegaria a un labrador" cited the idea of the first saying at the end "I have my hopeful fist because everything will change".

<sup>128</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OxnARSurEiA>

contrasted with the sober, serious, and masculine performance of the original version played by Quilapayún.

### 7.3 Political repertoires and denunciation

As explained in the methodology chapter, in *Archive and the Repertoire, Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, Diana Taylor (2003) argues that performances are vital acts of transmission of knowledge and memory through the reiteration of behaviour<sup>129</sup>. Taylor identifies two types of memory and forms of transmission of knowledge that are each mutually influenced by the other. On the one hand, archival memory, recorded on permanent materials such as maps, literary texts, bones, CDs. Archival knowledge is studied from a spatial and temporal distance since the researcher can re-examine it. For instance, bones, or an ancient manuscript. The interpretation, value, or meaning of the archival object, can change but the object remains stable. On the other hand, repertoire is a form of embodied knowledge that is transmitted by ephemeral events such as dances, music, rituals, and festivals. This form of knowledge depends upon the presence of people. Unlike the archive, repertoire memory has both changeable, and stable, meanings. A key feature of the repertoires is that they propose alternative views of historical events from archival material and therefore, they are capable of remapping geographies by tracing specific traditions and influences<sup>130</sup>.

In consonance with Taylor's conceptualisation, I argue that *El Sueño Existe* festival is a performance-based event that transmits specific political repertoire through a multifaceted system of transmission of knowledge, including speeches, songs, dances, theatrical plays, spontaneous conversations, and demonstrations of

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<sup>129</sup> Diana Taylor (2003, p.3) uses Schechner's concept of restored behaviour to argue that the act of performance is never an original event, but is based on the repetition of something which has been performed before. This implies a consideration of behaviours on stage or in everyday life, as combination of previous habits and rituals that already exist before the act of bringing them into existence.

<sup>130</sup> In relation to the distinction between the archival and the repertoire, it is important to highlight the fact that the record of a performance - for instance, a music concert, is not the performance.

solidarity. It provides an embodied and living space for the transmission of political knowledge and memory. I am interested in the political repertoires since the political dimension of the festival has been a distinctive mark of the event in relation to other Latin American festivals and cultural events in which the political discussions are non-existent or marginal. Following the concept of repertoire, I will analyse how political knowledge is transmitted in the festival, providing an analysis of two activities during the 2015 and 2017 festivals: demonstrations of international solidarity for Union Leaders in Colombia during the 2015 and 2017 festivals, and the performance of Welsh Folk by Dafydd Iwan at the Friday evening concert of the 2017 festival. I will explain how *El Sueño Existe* festival uses multifaceted systems of transmission of political knowledge, and performs international solidarity.

#### *Solidarity with Huber Ballesteros, Union Leader in Colombia*

The theme of the 2015 festival was Colombia and Eco-socialism. During the plenary on the Friday of the festival entitled 'Our Future, Our Planet Our, Dream', there was solidarity with Huber Ballesteros, Colombian Union Leader, who was arrested in 2013 because he was leading the national agrarian strike in his country. Ivan Monckton from the Unite Union, explained the unfair circumstances of Ballesteros's arrest. Then the organisers transmitted a video of Ballesteros from La Picota prison in Bogota, talking about the biased reasoning which led to his arrest, and thanking the festival-goers for giving him space to talk about his situation, and for the solidarity. Towards the end of the plenary session, we - the public - were invited to participate in a show of solidarity with the process of peace negotiations in Colombia, and also of solidarity with the work of trade union leaders in that country who were in prison as a result of their political activities. In particular, Carlos Cruz from the Unite Union, asked us to take a photograph with a banner saying:

CESE BILATERAL AL FUEGO YA!

'BILATERAL END TO FIRE NOW!'

This slogan refers to the peace negotiation between FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) and the Colombian government. Most of the public agreed to participate in the photograph. There were around seventy people in the audience. We moved the seats to back of the room and we remained standing in the centre looking towards the main stage where there were a couple of photographers taking pictures. The people at the front of the group were holding banners with individual letters displaying the message. Carlos Cruz invited us to raise our fists as a symbol of the fight, and to shout out:

	<i>Translation:</i>
Venceremos! <sup>131</sup>	(We shall triumph!)
Venceremos!	(We shall triumph!)

Most of us, including myself, raised our arms with closed fists. Because the theme of the 2015 festival was Colombia, there were acts and information related to the current politics there, with a special focus on the process of negotiation of peace among the FARC and the Colombian government. I saw a continuity of this act of solidarity two years later during the plenary session of the 2017 festival. Cherilyn Elston, from Justice for Colombia, explained the current situation with Ballesteros who was released after 40 months' imprisonment<sup>132</sup>. Elston shared a two-and-a-half-minute video with us with a message from Huber Ballesteros thanking us, the festival audience, for our solidarity:

Brothers and sisters attending this important festival 'El Sueño Existe'. I wish to thank you for all your work and the solidarity you bring for the three and a half years I was imprisoned. A few months ago, my dream of freedom finally came true

Huber Ballesteros, film screened in 2017 festival

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<sup>131</sup> The song 'Venceremos' was written during the campaign of Salvador Allende in 1970 and became a hymn of the Popular Unity Coalition (San Román 2014, p.12).

<sup>132</sup> <https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/8607/Trade-union-leader-Huber-Ballesteros-freed>

In the film, Ballesteros explained that Colombia has a lot of political prisoners such as students, peasants, and union leaders. Finally, Ballesteros thanked the international community for helping in the defence of human rights in Colombia and the world. In 2017 I interviewed Carlos Cruz and we talked about the picture and the solidarity with Huber Ballesteros in 2015<sup>133</sup>. Cruz explained that the 2015 photograph, 'CESE BILATERAL AL FUEGO', was taken when the process of peace negotiation was taking place. The aim of the photograph was to claim the freedom he finally obtained in January 2017. Carlos Cruz explained to me that this activity was connected to a broader vision of politics in Latin America, and the relevance of the festival for international solidarity.

Carlos Cruz told me that the main political objective of spaces such as *El Sueño Existe*, is denunciation. In his words, 'the main political objective is denunciation; this [*El Sueño Existe* festival] is a space for international denunciation; to show the world what is happening there; it is international solidarity with political prisoners, with the abnormal situation of what is happening here'<sup>134</sup>. Denunciation means to call and generate consciousness across the international community, about the unjust situations occurring in Colombia in relation to the Union Movement and political demonstrations. Cruz told me that he is especially concerned about the critical situation in Colombia that has been portrayed by hegemonic Western media, as a country with a healthy democracy and regular elections. In spite of this the country is facing a repressive state that has been more violent than other Latin American countries previously lead by military dictators. Cruz's political diagnosis of Colombia is that there is a systematic repression and criminalisation of left-wing groups in the country, such as students or union leaders. Carlos sustains that peaceful forms of left struggles are criminalised as violent acts; it is very easy for the government to accuse union leaders of being allied to the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia).

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<sup>133</sup> Carlos Cruz, Interview, 28 June 2017. My translation.

<sup>134</sup> Carlos Cruz, Interview, 28 June 2017. My translation.

Consequently, the imprisonment of Huber Ballesteros is part of a broader context of criminalisation of trade union activities in that country.

Additionally, Cruz refers to the relevance of political denunciation for political exiles in the UK. As research on migration indicates (McIlwaine et al. 2011, p.12), Colombian migration to the UK in the last four decades has been one of the most important among the Latin American population in this country. However, as Cruz argues, many of the Colombians who have arrived have not received political asylum because the political situation in Colombia is portrayed as stable and democratic. Therefore, Carlos Cruz is sceptical about the use of the term 'democracy' because he argues that this is a concept instrumentalised by the interests of dominant powers in the West, mainly the US. The Colombian government have maintained political and military agreements with the US, promoting neoliberal economic policy and accepting a large number of US Military bases in the country.

In light of the solidarity acts with Huber Ballesteros and the testimony by Carlos Cruz, I have two threads of discussion. Firstly, the literature on festivals has raised the function of festivals as politicised practices that defy hegemonic culture. For instance, Jodie Taylor (2014, p.27) argues that

festivals can function as politicized cultural practices and sanctioned forms of collective dissent, offering a limited means of defying hegemonic culture and social norms of the time. Through temporary public gatherings of ideologically aligned communities and/ or minoritarian people, festivals can at the very least expose cultural boundaries and afford some communities greater visibility.

In consonance with Jodie Taylor's argument, Pedro Fuentes (Chilean exile, Chapter 5) argues that the festival is a political discourse because it seeks to transmit certain political ideas using creative forms in a similar way the New Chilean Song did before the Chilean Coup. Fuentes' idea resonates with the testimony of other festival-goers who sustain that this event is considered to be a counter-hegemonic event, within which it is possible to debate and exhibit what

is happening in Latin America in an alternative way to the predominant vision promoted by the mainstream media. In this case, the hegemony is based upon the strong influence of right-wing politicians and the presence of US military bases in Colombia. Both the right-wing and the US government criminalised leftist groups in Colombia following a tradition of repression that resonates with the anti-Marxist repression in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s<sup>135</sup>.

Returning to Foucault's (1995, p.169) analogy of the orthopaedics described in chapter five, the 'political correction' of the Colombian State is performing as an anti-unionist performativity that is subverting through peaceful political means such as an act of international solidarity. The festival, then, is a tool of peaceful denunciation and subversion of the anti-union movement in Colombia. The denunciation and consciousness of Colombian politics mentioned by Cruz proposes to create an international awareness of the critical political position of Colombia, and to change the migratory laws in the UK. The festival is experienced by Cruz as a tool of change to contribute towards making peaceful political changes such as the release of Ballesteros. Another observation relates to the strategy of performing international solidarity and denunciation, in particular, in relation to the picture on the peace negotiations in Colombia. I participated in the picture, and unlike the other activities and talks that took place during this afternoon, it was the only activity involving an embodied movement and public participation, blurring the dichotomy between spectator and actor (Boal 2008). We also changed the physical set-up of the scene, since the seats were moved to the back of the space. The repetition of the gesture of the closed fist and the chant 'Venceremos' contributed to my sense of belonging to the festival. In addition to

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<sup>135</sup> This view in relation to the critical position of Colombia, is shared by other festival goers such as Roberto Navarrete (Chilean exile, Chapter 5). According to Roberto, the US propaganda machine creates the sense that Colombia is a successful democracy, meanwhile Venezuela is under the control of an authoritarian regime. However, Roberto argues the situation is the opposite, since the Colombian Government is strongly influenced by US military forces, the major support for the Venezuelan Government came from popular classes. Roberto uses the concept of 'Manufacturing consent' (Herman and Chomsky 1988) to support his ideas of the role of Western Media in reinforcing specific editorial criteria such as anti-communism.

chanting, I was moving my fist, enacting and materializing my own desires and fantasies of political struggle.

### *Dafydd Iwan and Welsh Folk Nationalism*

Another example of the performance of international political solidarity can be found in the music of Dafydd Iwan. As I explained in chapter 4, Dafydd Iwan (1943-) is a Welsh folk singer and politician. He was president of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalist party, from 2003-2010<sup>136</sup>. Iwan has participated in different editions of the festival, singing and talking about the relevance of preserving Welsh language and culture. I saw Dafydd Iwan performing in the concert at the 2017 festival. I arrived at Y Plas on Friday night and Dafydd Iwan was singing on the main stage. He was playing alone with an electroacoustic guitar and a voice microphone. To the left of the stage, there was a 3 x 3 meter flag with a red dragon throwing fire over the planet earth. The flag contained the following messages written in English and Welsh:

Cymru - Wales  
Unite The Union – Uno'r Undeb  
Gweithwr Pob Gwlad Unwch - Workers Of The World United

When I arrived, Iwan was speaking, first in Welsh, and then in English. He stated that the next song he would perform was written after reading Joan Jara's book, *Victor: An Unfinished Song*. Iwan paid attention to the last days of Víctor Jara in the National Stadium, especially at the moment his hands were broken and he was killed under Pinochet's regime. He played the song 'Cân Victor Jara' (Víctor Jara's song), inspired by Jara's tragic death:

'Cân Victor Jara'  
Verses 1, 2 and 5 from original song<sup>137</sup>                      Translation into English<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> The Welsh nationalist party, founded in 1925, focuses on preserving Welsh language, culture, and identity.

<sup>137</sup> Lyrics in Welsh from <https://www.antiwarsongs.org/canzone.php?id=2254&lang=en>

<sup>138</sup> Translation by Tony Corden.

(verse 1)

Yn Santiago yn saith- deg- tri  
Canodd ei gân drwy'r oriau du,  
Canodd ei gân yn stadiwm y trais,

Heriodd y gynnuau â'i gitâr a'i lais,

Yn Santiago yn saith- deg- tri.

In Santiago in seventy-three  
He sang his song in the dark hours  
He sang his song in the stadium of  
violence,  
He challenged the guns with his guitar  
and his voice  
In Santiago in seventy-three.

(verse 2)

Yn Santiago yn saith- deg- tri  
Canodd ei gân yn yr oriau du,  
Canodd am ormes ar weithwyr tlawd  
A'r llofrudd Ffasgaidd a laddodd ei frawd

Yn Santiago yn saith- deg- tri.

In Santiago in seventy-three  
He sang his song in the dark hours  
He sang of the oppression and poverty  
He sang the fascist that murder their  
brothers  
In Santiago in seventy-three.

(verse 5)

Mae cân Victor Jara i'w chlywed o hyd  
Yn atsain yn uchel drwy wledydd y byd.

Fe erys y Ffasgwyr, erys y trais

Ond gwranddo mae'r bobl am alwad ei lais,

Yn Santiago ein dyddiau ni.

The song of Victor you can still hear  
Echoing through the countries of the  
world.  
But there is still fascism, there is still  
violence  
And the people listen for the sound of his  
voice  
In Santiago, in our days.

The next song Iwan performed that evening was a Welsh version of 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz' by Víctor Jara ('Yr Hawl I Fyw Mewn Hedd' / 'The Right To Live in Peace'). Iwan invited Corden and seven children from the Latin American folk assembly, *Expresion Inka*, onto the stage to sing the chorus of the song. Corden repeated the Welsh pronunciation of the song title: 'Yr Hawl I Fyw Mewn Hedd'. Before starting the song, Iwan said: 'As you're living in this world, it is more important to build bridges and not walls'. The audience applauded and the song started. The members of the Andean folkloric assembly, *Expresion Inka*, sang the last part of the song - a chorus with an easy melody. They finished and Corden and *Expresion Inka* then left the stage.

Both songs, 'Cân Victor Jara' and 'The Right to Live in Peace', are related to international solidarity. 'Can Victor Jara' is a demonstration of solidarity with the terrible circumstances of Víctor Jara's death at the hands of fascism in Chile. The

verses of the first four of the five stanzas of the song start with 'In Santiago in Seventy-Three'. The song travels around time and space to draw attention to the specific tragic, 'dark' year of 1973, due to the Chilean military coup. The last stanza is focused on the present, in terms of fascism still taking place nowadays, but we still have the legacy and the voice of Víctor Jara echoing all over the world. Meanwhile the song 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz' was released on the homonymous album by Víctor Jara in 1971 as an act of international solidarity with the Vietnamese population who were suffering with the invasion of US military forces during the Vietnam War. Iwan translated the song into Welsh and adapted the melody and instrumentation. The lyrics of this song include reference to the claim that the right to live in Vietnam is not respected by the US, and then, that the US violated universal human rights. It also refers to the power of song as an act of love and a universal force that will triumph in the ideal of living in a peaceful world.

International leftist solidarity is another way of analysing the festival as a counter-discourse. There are two main discourses that are challenged in these two songs. Firstly, the right-wing discourse that justified the killing of thousands during the Pinochet dictatorship following an ideal of biopolitical 'cleansing' (Bell 2014, p.22). Secondly, the discourse of the foreign policy of the US that waged a terrible war against the Vietnamese population during the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, the solidarity sung by Iwan is based on the notions of fraternity and brotherhood (Stjernø 2005) among subaltern groups, and countries who suffered invasion or oppression from US power. The flag that was on the left side with the message 'Gweithwr Pob Gwlad Unwch - Workers Of The World United' alludes to this internationalist position. Through these songs, Iwan is claiming commonality between Chile, Vietnam, and Wales in terms of the oppression these countries faced from powerful empires such as the US and UK<sup>139</sup>.

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<sup>139</sup> In an interview with Ben Gregory, a Welsh-language activist and member of the Welsh Nicaragua solidarity campaign, he explains to me that: 'the domination of Anglo-America culture in Wales is the same as some of the influences that some Latin American countries have. And, you know, that was part of what Víctor Jara was trying to do, I think, to challenge that' Ben Gregory, Interview, 19 June 2017.

The counter-discursive narrative of international solidarity was related to the last song performed, in Welsh, by Iwan during the evening, entitled 'Yma o Hyd', i.e, 'Still Here'. This is a patriotic song written by Iwan which refers to the origins and preservation of Welsh culture. Iwan stated onstage that Wales is a small country, he is very proud of it, and they would not let Wales disappear. He explained onstage that the song was about the survival of cultures over the world.

[First verse]<sup>140</sup>

Dwyt ti'm yn cofio Macsen  
Does neb yn ei nabod o;  
Mae mil a chwe chant o flynyddoedd  
Yn amser rhy hir i'r cof;  
Pan aeth Magnus Maximus o Gymru  
Yn y flwyddyn tri-chant-wyth-tri,  
A'n gadael yn genedl gyfan  
A heddiw: wele ni!

[English Translation]<sup>141</sup>

You don't remember Macsen  
nobody knows him.  
One thousand and six hundred years,  
a time too long to remember.  
When Magnus Maximus left Wales,  
in the year 383,  
leaving us a whole nation,  
and today - look at us!

[Chorus:]

Ry'n ni yma o hyd,  
Ry'n ni yma o hyd,  
Er gwaetha pawb a phopeth,

We are still here,  
We are still here,  
in spite of everyone and everything

Dafydd Iwan finished the song. The audience applauded. The song 'Yma o Hyd' is based on the transmission of knowledge about the origins of Welsh culture, including references to Macsen, the father of the Welsh Nation, and the year 383 which was the moment of creation of the country (Davies 2007). The phrase 'we are still here in spite of everyone and everything' refers to the resistance of Welsh culture over the years. The movement of Welsh resistance was accentuated as a consequence of the drowning of Capel Celyn, a village located in the Tryweryn valley, north Wales. This drowning was produced by the Liverpool Corporation in order to supply water to the industrial city of Liverpool (James 2005). Apart from the English exploitation of Welsh nature, Welsh nationalists have rejected the English imperial attitude of imposing its language on Wales (Aitchison and Carter 2003, pp.10–11). Iwan participated in a series of protests that took place during

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<sup>140</sup> [http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/d/dafydd\\_iwan/yma\\_o\\_hyd.html](http://www.lyricsmode.com/lyrics/d/dafydd_iwan/yma_o_hyd.html)

<sup>141</sup> <https://lyricstranslate.com/en/yma-o-hyd-still-here.html>

the 1960s when he was a member of the youth section of Plaid Cymru, and he has been part of the Welsh Language Society, created in 1962 to preserve the use of Welsh language which decreased after the Second World War.

The second element of analysis of Iwan's performance is related to the form of transmission of knowledge. Consistent with the Welsh nationalistic approach, the lyrics of Iwan's songs are in Welsh. At the time Tony Corden was repeating the Welsh version of the title of the song 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz', he was also encouraging the children from Expresion Inka to repeat the title of the song in the Welsh language. The resurgence of Welsh nationalism in the 1960s occurred at the same time as the rise of the Welsh pop song movement that also influenced Iwan's music (James 2005, p.600). Therefore, Iwan is using the folk style of narrating stories, but taking influences from pop music to reach a broader public, such as those who attend the festival.

#### 7.4 Latin America as Geography of Political Hope

In this section, I will use the concept of 'Latin America as a geography of political hope' in light of the narratives and practices of British political activists who participated in the festival<sup>142</sup>. I will analyse how leftist activists in Britain hold admiration for the leftist political movements and government in Latin America they have used to keep their dreams and hopes of democratic socialism alive. I suggest that this hope is consequent to frustrations held in relation to the direction of both left-wing and right-wing politics in Britain. This frustration with British politics is consistent with a critical view of the British democratic system, the alienating role of the mainstream media, and the excess of influence and power of the ruling class. Therefore, spaces like El Sueño Existe are focal points for people who share similar hopes and frustrations in relation to Latin American

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<sup>142</sup> The Latino discussion in the US is not particularly relevant here because it considers mainly the perspective of the marginal position of Latin Americans in relation to hegemonic whiteness. I am taking into consideration the perspective of white British people who have a critical position in relation to imperialism, colonialism, neoliberalism, and racism in the UK and Western World.

and British politics. I argue that the combination of political frustration in Britain and political hope in Latin America, is experienced within the liminal space of the festival. Accordingly, I conceptualise this event as an in-between space that permits some festival-goers to re-enact and perform the political hopes of Latin America, in Britain.

I am using the concept of 'festivals as geography of hope', coined by geographer Waitt (2008). Waitt argues that festivals can be analysed as sites of contestation of established geographies. Waitt, inspired by Turner's notion of liminality, maintains that festivals are spaces that temporarily suspend routines and norms and consequently, are sites of contestation and hope. Following this line of thought, I argue that *El Sueño Existe* festival re-enacts the achievements of the progressive left in Latin America, to the reaffirmation of political identities and hopes. For instance, Keith Jackson considers the assassination of Víctor Jara to be a consequence of the contemporary crisis in politics; a symbol of the beginning of neoliberalism as a hegemonic force in the Western world, because Chile was a laboratory for this political economy. Therefore, the assassination of Víctor Jara represents the beginning of the critical consolidation of neoliberalism as the main political economy over the world. The anti-neoliberal agenda of progressive governments in Latin America, mainly ALBA countries, is an example and inspiration that British left political activists are trying to achieve in the UK. The decay of communist, socialist, and social democratic ideologies in the UK from the 1990s onwards, contrasts with the consolidation of the new Latin American left movement, or Pink Tide, that was consolidated from the 2000s onwards. The solidarity then, operates in two directions: British activism co-operates in specific political campaigns in order to help left-wing movements in Latin America, such as in the case of the campaign of liberation of political prisoners in Colombia; meanwhile Latin American politics contributed to British local politics as a source of inspiration or legitimation.

The first example of this use of Latin America as a geography of political hope can be found in the politics of Jeremy Corbyn, current leader of the Labour Party, who

participated in the 2013 festival. Jeremy Corbyn consolidated his leadership of the Labour Party after the 6th June 2017 general elections. Corbyn has a familiar relationship with Latin America<sup>143</sup> and he participated in the solidarity campaigns with Chile in the 1970s and 1980s. He also supported the 'Piquete' demonstration that took place between 1998 and 2000 as a consequence of the judicial case against Pinochet in London (Ramírez 2012; 2014b, p.171). Jeremy Corbyn attended the 2013 *El Sueño Existe* festival in commemoration of 40 years of the Chilean military coup where he gave a speech in the Y Plas about the relevance of the legacy of Salvador Allende and Víctor Jara. In his words:

it is up to us to bring these lessons [from Salvador Allende] together in our own struggles. We've been told now we cannot afford the health service, we cannot afford the welfare system, we can't afford housing. Of course we can!

Jeremy Corbyn, speech in 2013 festival<sup>144</sup>

Salvador Allende's political legacy is used by Jeremy Corbyn as inspiration for contemporary struggles in British politics<sup>145</sup>. As can be inferred from this quotation, it is the increase of the role of the State in welfare, and secondly, it is the feeling of power that these changes are possible<sup>146</sup>. I suggest that Corbyn's inspiration from Salvador Allende is connected to the revitalisation of the values

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<sup>143</sup> Jeremy Corbyn's second wife is Claudia Bracchitta, a Chilean who arrived in the UK as a part of a family of exiles. Meanwhile Corbyn's third wife is Laura Alvarez, from Mexico.

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[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6gh8Eo\\_JRo&list=PL44B296E7202DD06B&index=5&t=0s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6gh8Eo_JRo&list=PL44B296E7202DD06B&index=5&t=0s)

<sup>145</sup> There are some interviews and discourse by Jeremy Corbyn in which he explicitly states that Salvador Allende is a key political reference for him. See:

[https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=jeremy+corbyn+salvador+allende&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b&gfe\\_rd=cr&dcr=o&ei=RgfWWqKkCufv8AevopSoAQ](https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=jeremy+corbyn+salvador+allende&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b&gfe_rd=cr&dcr=o&ei=RgfWWqKkCufv8AevopSoAQ)

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6gh8Eo\\_JRo&list=PL44B296E7202DD06B&index=5&t=0s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6gh8Eo_JRo&list=PL44B296E7202DD06B&index=5&t=0s)

<sup>146</sup> In the next edition of *El Sueño Existe* festival, festival organisers gave explicit support to Corbyn in the internal elections for the leader of the Labour Party. This support was expressed through different means such as Jorge Morales (introduced in Chapter 5) wearing a red shirt saying #JeremyforLeader; or by a speech delivered by Tony Corden, inviting people to register with the Labour Party for the purpose of voting for Corbyn. During the 2016 general elections, members of the organisation of the *El Sueño Existe* festival participated in campaigning for Corbyn and, after the election results, Jorge Morales sent an internet message inviting people to attend the festival as a celebration of Corbyn's victory. Although, the results of Jeremy Corbyn were not technically a victory -since the Labour Party did not reach the majority to govern; it was experienced as such for some supporters because he obtained legitimacy within the party and his popularity increased. Some of the Chileans exiles who participated in the festival, personally knew Jeremy Corbyn.

and ideals of the traditional left—more focused on social justice, trade unions, and the increased role of the state. The explicit support of Jeremy Corbyn refers to a left based on the principles of egalitarianism, anti-capitalism and unionism that were important to Marxist movements in Europe and Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. Thatcherism in the 1980s played a central role in disorganising the left, mainly creating an anti-union movement (Hall 1985). Corbyn’s Labour Manifesto, leaked in April 2017, was described by the press as a throw-back to the 1970s because it proposed major participation of the State and of the unions in public services<sup>147</sup>. Mainstream media portrayed this manifesto as a regressive political agenda, but Corbyn argues that major expense on public services will improve the current process of privatisation and arrest the decline of public services such as the NHS. This left orientation gave major relevance to the traditional left-wing political agenda such as economic policy, state participation, and union movements, rather than topics that are central to the New Left such as civil rights or gender equality.

Like Jeremy Corbyn, some participants of the festival have been inspired by Latin American politics in order to strengthen and reaffirm their political ideas. In an interview I conducted with Adrian Weird, assistant chief of staff of the Unite Union, Weird advised me that Unite is supporting a series of solidarity campaigns with Latin American governments who are against neoliberal policies and the Washington Consensus. In fact, Unite Union has a policy of international support for left governments and movements, such as the Palestine cause or the Kurdistan struggle, but they have a particular interest in Latin America leftist politics because they directly confront neoliberalism. Adrian shared with me his fascination of Latin American progressive governments:

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<sup>147</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/labour-leaked-manifesto-1970s-stuck-tories-fox-hunting-jeremy-corbyn-theresa-may-a7730941.html> <http://newsthump.com/2017/05/11/daily-mail-rages-at-labours-back-to-the-1970s-manifesto-because-it-would-prefer-to-go-back-to-the-1930s/> <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/30/labour-would-take-country-back-1970s-trade-union-membership/>

We [progressive governments in Latin America] don't accept the premise of the private sector, we don't accept structure adjustment, and we don't accept public spending cuts, and privatization [...]. This is amazing. How can a group of countries, you know, who were said not to be economically developed or whatever, just stand up to America and they say no? Great!

Adrian Weir, interview, 16 June 2017

In the 1960s and 1970s, the British left supported the Cuban revolution and the Chilean Popular Unity; during the past decades, support and attention was focused on the New Latin American left, or the Pink Tide. The program of the 2015 *El Sueño Existe* festival includes a small section stating: 'ALBA: Another way is possible. ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) is a trade bloc of the Caribbean and Latin American countries who believe unity is essential to addressing poverty, inequality and climate change'. The link between the phrase 'another way is possible' and 'ALBA' means that this conglomerate is conceived as an alternative way of doing politics and international trade. As Adrian Weir maintains, public policy carried out by ALBA countries based on expanding the role of State rather than privatization, and the increase of public spending for social programs, are an amazing public policy supported by Unite.

This admiration of Latin American politics and criticism of UK politics is part of the experience of Maureen and Tim, a couple who actively participated in *El Sueño Existe* festival as organizers and music performers. Maureen told me that she was involved in Latin American politics during the 1980s, when she met and supported Salvadorian exiles in Nicaragua. Years later, these exiles returned to El Salvador. Maureen maintained contact with them and she and Tim, created the Salvadorian Network. Maureen explained to me that her solidarity with the Salvadorian community is reciprocal, in terms of her not only giving support, but also receiving inspiration and commitment from political organisations. I asked Maureen about the relevance of the progressive governments in Latin American during the 2000s and she advised me that this was very relevant for British activists:

Anyone who was interested in progressive left politics was very excited about what was happening in Latin America. Once Chavez got elected in Venezuela and the impact that had on the whole continent. The way that galvanises the confidence. And suddenly there was hope, and there was change. So, all of this here, in the middle of the neoliberal misery. The only place in the world where there seems to be hope, and change, and dynamism, was Latin America.

Maureen Russell, interview, 12 July 2017

During the interview, Maureen goes further with her explanation of the midst of the misery that she was a part of. Maureen feels impotence in relation to the extreme power of the rich and profit-oriented corporations<sup>148</sup>. She explained to me that this sometimes makes her feel negative and apathetic. Another element of her frustration in relation to the UK politics, is her scepticism about the democratic system in Britain: 'it doesn't feel very democratic but it looks as though we have a very open, transparent voting system with political parties. But the reality is that is everything is screwed and twisted to favour the rich and the ruling elite'<sup>149</sup>. Maureen is also sceptical about the mind-set of some British citizens that feel the UK is part of a superior civilisation with outstanding democratic institutions.

Tim, Maureen's partner, shares similar scepticism about UK official politics, mainly its imperialist legacy. Tim considered himself an anti-imperialist, and he sees the Union Jack as a symbol of British Empire. He told me: 'I am British so I

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<sup>148</sup> Scholars like Stuart Hall (2010, p.177) have mentioned the invasion of Hungary as a liminal experience in which the socialists in Europe experienced the politics of Stalinism as a tragedy that pushed leftists to look for alternative projects. During the 1970s, some Communist Parties from Western Europe created distance from Soviet communist, and Eurocommunism was created with a liberal conception of democracy. The Chilean Popular Unity was an inspiration for Eurocommunism because it proposed a constitutional and electoral path to achieve socialism. Although Eurocommunism has some relevance in Europe during the 1970s and 1980, this project started to decay in the 1980s and lost political relevance in the 1990s. Meanwhile, the British Communist Party (BCP), created during the 1920s inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution, started to decline from the 1950s onwards, and had to dissolve itself in 1991 because of the insufficient number of militants (Callaghan and Harker 2011, pp.1, 13, 254). The Labour Party, created in the 1890s as a consequence of the divisions within the Liberal Party and inspired by the Trade Union Congress (TUC), took a liberal and centred position from the 1990s onwards, with no clear opposition against neoliberal agenda during the past three decades.

<sup>149</sup> Maureen Russell, interview, 12 July 2017.

see my own flag as an imperial flag. I've never been happy when things have a Union Jack on them, because I always feel that is a symbol of imperialism<sup>150</sup>. Tim explained to me that his leftist, anti-imperial political identity was, in part, a response to his bourgeois, conservative family background. Because of his socialist ideas and practices, Tim is considered the 'red sheep' of his family. He developed his political consciousness during the 1970s when he was part of a political company called Banner Theatre, located in Birmingham. Tim started to listen to Víctor Jara and the New Chilean Song during this time because of his participation in Banner Theatre. Over the next decade he was involved in Latin American solidarity with his partner Maureen. They have travelled together to Nicaragua, Salvador, Venezuela, and Bolivia in cooperation with leftist political causes. As with Maureen, Tim felt a great sense of hope because of the consolidation of ALBA in the middle of the 2000s: 'And I found [ALBA] very inspired and very moving, because for so long after the end of the Sandinista first government in 1990, it looked like the left was going nowhere in Latin America'. For both, Maureen and Tim, *El Sueño Existe* festival is a space of belonging and home that reconfirms their political identities. For Tim, the festival includes a fascinating mix of politics, culture, history, and revolution. For Maureen, the festival provides a safe space for people with similar political ideas: In Maureen's words:

[The festival] pulls together a lot of people that already have progressive left-wing ideas, and for us, it is just a wonderful space everyone here, more and less, not exactly the same, more and less the same, so it is a very safe, wonderful space. In the rest of the world is very hostile, I think it is great to have a space that you see people [...] understanding things in a way that I do. That is more or less, or there are similar views to me. And that feels really good. So, I feel that this is a very important role in the festival.

Maureen Russell, interview, 12 July 2017

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<sup>150</sup> Tim Hollings, interview, 12 July 2017. Apart from working in solidarity with El Salvador and other Latin American countries, Hollings has participated in the Irish pro-independent group "Troops Out Movement", and he feels close to the independent struggles of Wales and Scotland.

Maureen's comments refer to the idea that the rest of the world is aggressive and unfriendly in relation to their own political views. When she is participating in the festival, she did not feel that she possessed an unusual political identity.

### 7.5 Conclusions

This chapter focused on the politics performed at the festival. The festival provides a multifaceted way to experience politics, based on the combination of a variety of stimulus and sources of information. The explicit inclusion of politics in the festival is a distinctive feature of this event, that differentiated it from other festive events connected to Latin American politics. In this sense, the festival is explicitly oriented towards political education. Following the examples of the New Chilean Song, the festival also encourages the transmission of political knowledge using artistic means such as music, theatre, and poetics. The political identities performed in the festival are based on a process of citation and recitation of discourse including embodied gestures that were central to the politics of Chile and Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s, but obtained a new meaning in contemporary politics. It is a reactivation of politics instead of mimicry. Domínguez is reciting, in his speech, political ideas related to notions of anti-imperialism, social justice, and the Nation-State sovereignty that were eclipsed by postmodern theories during recent decades (Moraña 2008, p.31). For instance, on one reading, post-modern Garcia Canclini's (2005) hybrid paradigm proposes a multiple and rhizomatic approach to identities and politics from the 1990s onwards, because of the exhaustion of the 'binary opposites' mode of thinking of previous decades.

At the conference *The New Latin Americanism: Cultural Studies Beyond Borders*, Beasley-Murray (2002) argued that it is difficult to refer to Latin Americanism in the 21st Century outside the neoliberal and commercial approach encouraged by global capitalism. Beasley-Murray uses the term 'Latin Performativity' to illustrate the way that icons of mass culture such as Taco Bell, Shakira, football teams, and so on, have become a regulatory discourse to describe Latin America

nowadays. The problem, according to Beasley-Murray, is that the tropes of solidarity are no longer functional in contemporary Latin Americanism; and thereby the enunciation of Latin America is as empty a signifier as the content of contemporary global capitalism. However, Domínguez's speech proposes that the revival of the Latin American left-wing in the 2000s gives political content to the empty signifier of Latin America in order to create a leftist Latin American performativity in which figures such as Víctor Jara, Salvador Allende, and Hugo Chavez, and so on, are cited and incorporated into speeches and practices, reactivating the anti-imperialist and solidarity tropes. In accordance with the idea of multifaceted forms of transmission of political knowledge, the festival also encourages the citation of embodied political discourse such as the closed fist as a symbol of struggle, or iconic songs of struggle that reactivate and revive the spirit of fight in progressive movements in Latin America.

The festival performed the politics of international solidarity, based on a spirit of denunciation and cooperation amongst political activists facing common struggles. Its intention was to have a causal effect on political struggles such as the de-criminalisation of unionism in Colombia, or the revalorisation of Welsh culture and language in the face of the cultural invasion of English. Through the call to the public to participate in solidarity action as in the photograph 'CESE BILATERAL AL FUEGO', the festival is calling on the audience to be part of the acts of denunciation. In this sense, the festival is not only representing international solidarity, but it is also provoking change. Finally, the festival highlights the fact that the progressive left with socialist inclinations in Britain have been inspired by the political movements and governments in Latin America, as can be seen in the case of Jeremy Corbyn with Salvador Allende and Popular Unity, and other participants who have experience of the Nicaraguan revolution in the 1980s, and the Pink tide from the 2000s onwards, as inspiration. In this sense, Latin America is a geography of political hope, and the festival provides the material, symbolic and social elements by which it is possible to transport and reactivate political hopes in Latin America in the liminal space of

this festival, producing an effect of 're-normalisation' amongst political activists with socialist ideas.

## Chapter 8. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to understand the ways in which the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, and Víctor Jara, contribute to the process of transmitting and performing identity from the perspective of the legacy of Víctor Jara (Chapter 4); Chilean exiles (Ch5); musicians of the music of Jara and New Chilean Song (Ch6); and the perspective of political activists who participated in the festival (Ch7). Following a theoretical framework based on concepts related to performance theory, this thesis has analysed the process of construction of belonging and memory through the analysis of interviews with participants, and the political and artistic practices of the festival. Taking into consideration the aim and theoretical framework of the thesis this conclusion will summarise the main findings of the thesis; it will explain the salient aspects of the research, and the theoretical implications; and it will refer to the opportunities for possible future research.

### 8.1 Main findings

In Chapter 2 I explained the main argument of the thesis in light of a theoretical discussion on performance. I argue that both the festival and the music of Víctor Jara are used to both suspend, and reproduce, specific musical and political norms. Based on the theory of cultural performance (Turner 1987), I advanced the interpretation of the festival as liminal event that performs alternative temporality, spatiality and politics from that experienced in everyday life, creating an atmosphere that revives the era of the climax of New Chilean Song and Popular Unity. In addition, I argued that this function of the 'suspension' of everyday life practices is taking place through a process of citation and repetition of specific aesthetic and political norms and values that are related to this period (Bell 1999; Taylor 2003). Thus, this argument about the double function of suspension and reproduction of normativity is implicated in a combination of

theories of cultural performance which emanate from studies on rituals and festivities (Turner 1982a; Falassi 1987); the contribution of theories of performativity and identity (Fortier 1999); and theories that study music performance as a social experience (Frith 1996b; DeNora 2000).

In Chapter 3 I explained my methodological assumptions. Following the theoretical assumptions of the performance epistemology, I conducted ethnographic research which includes my participation in the festival as a musician, member of the public and part of the organisation team. Taking into consideration debates on the ephemerality and permanence of performance (Phelan 1993), my ethnographic experience has highlighted that the festival should not be analysed as an event whose existence is framed in a specific period of time - such as three days over the year - but as a long-term experience, since the repertoire produced in the festival is lived and reproduced in different times outside of the liminal event. In this sense, my argument accords, in part, with Schechner's notion of performance ontology which asserts that performances are not ephemeral, but they are retained within the body through memories, gestures or behaviours (Schneider 2001). This idea challenges Phelan's notion of performance as evanescent activity. My participatory ethnographic approach indicates that the rehearsals and the organisation of the festival can be a long-standing process that is present at different times of the year. For the musicians, festival participation implies a level of preparation and work that provokes a sense of stability and prolongation. In addition, within the thesis I have put forward a critique of the notion of neutrality and objectivity (Schechner and Brady 2013, p.2), incorporating my own experience in the field as a part of the research. Therefore, the inclusion of both my family, music and political background and my associated friendships and music performances with some festival-goers, has to be considered, not as a biased decision, but as a methodological choice.

In Chapter 4, I offer a critique of the body of literature that has researched both New Chilean Song (Fairley 1984; Ruiz 2006; Velasco 2007; Oporto 2014; Vilches 2014; Karmy and Farías 2014; Rodríguez 2017) and Víctor Jara in particular

(Kosichev 1990; Sepúlveda 2001; Schmiedecke 2013), based on the lack of interest in the fans and amateur musicians who followed this music, and how this music is performed at live events. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that the relevance of Víctor Jara is rooted, not only in his prolific oeuvre (Torres 1998) or the relevance of his death as representative of the repression in Chile (McSherry 2015b), but it is also rooted in the fact that Jara generates a fanaticism and admiration that people want to celebrate and commemorate. In this sense, Jara is relevant also because he is a figure through which people can locate their own fantasies, wishes and desires. This last idea is consistent with the notion of subjunctive mood (Turner 1977), and also the notion of music enacting imagined desires, thereby enabling people to feel what they would like to be (Frith 1996b, p.274). Therefore, I explained how the development of the festival is based on Jara's dream, in particular, specific political and artistic values such as anti-commercialism, advocating socialist and communist ways of living, anti-imperialism, etc. In complement, within the chapter I demonstrated that the prolific creativity of Jara is not to be understood merely by his personal attributes, such as his personal effort or capacity to overcome poverty, but also because his artistic and political trajectory was inserted into a series of institutional arrangements that conditioned his music practice (Gilroy 1993). In sum, the contribution within this chapter is focused on expanding biographical, textual and musicological approaches to the study of Jara and New Chilean Song, proposing a sociological perspective that includes an analysis of the ways his legacy has mobilised ordinary people - not necessarily renowned artists or politicians - to create art, festivities and political debates.

In Chapter 5, I mainly use Turner's theory of liminality to explain why the festival has been important for some Chilean exiles. Some of the exiles explicitly told me that this festival helped them either to survive, or to experience catharsis - or emotional release. Thus, I suggest this cathartic, healing function of the festival is facilitated through the creation of an atmosphere that revives the symbolism of pre-coup Chile, the creation of a sonic space in which the music of New Chilean Song is played repeatedly, and the conglomeration of groups of people who hold

New Chilean Song and Popular Unity in high esteem. Thus, the festival is fulfilling the function of satisfying the desire for continuity and resistance of these political and artistic traditions, producing positive effects in the subjectivity of Chilean exiles. Following current debates on liminality proposed by social psychology, this chapter suggests that the festival accomplished the function of liquification of mundane experience and contributed to creating a vital subjectivity (Stenner 2017). As explained in Chapter 5, these concepts refer to the feeling experienced by some Chilean exiles like Alejandro, that the festival contributes to making fluid, or revitalising, specific practices that were important during their youth living in Chile, but remained in a 'cold state' for a great part of their life as a migrant. The festival accomplished the role of reaffirming and revitalising political and musical values. I suggest this function is particularly relevant in the case of Chilean exiles since they were repressed by the Pinochet regime because of their affiliation and commitment to these political values. Therefore, the festival can be interpreted as a ritual of symbolic inversion (Falassi 1987, p.3) in which the political values that constituted the main reasons for the punishment they faced at certain times and in certain places, and became a motive for reward and approval among a *communitas*. In addition, this chapter showed that Popular Unity is experienced as a liminal revolutionary experience (Thomassen 2014) by some Chilean exiles, since it was a period of intense change and agitation that marked their lives forever. Thus, this chapter shows that liminality is not only a feature of the festival, but also relates to a specific period of time, and to a situation of ontological indeterminacy (Greco and Stenner 2017, p.152) some Chilean exiles experienced because of their forced migration.

Chapter 6 focuses on the experiences of musicians who followed New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara. In this chapter, I included debates from the sociology of music field, to analyse the uses of the music of Jara and New Chilean Song in everyday life (DeNora 2000; Bennett 2005). A first key finding is that the music of Jara and New Chilean Song is used as a biographical element, as a means to explain and express specific moments in their lives. In particular, taking the concept of the scenario presented by DeNora (2000, p.105), I suggest this music

transports musicians to memories of hope and memories of tragedy since the music is associated with both positive and negative moments of their lives. As I explained in Chapter 4, Víctor Jara's life was both representative of a positive period of creativity before the coup, and a tragic period of repression during and after the coup. Thus, this music has the capacity to enact both sentiments of hope and tragedy. In this chapter I demonstrated that the music of Jara and New Chilean Song is used as a mark of differentiation and a critique of popular music (Bennett 2005, p.117). I suggest that Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song offers a general criticism of the values of commercialisation and imperialism, however, the way people interpret this critique varies according to specific lifestyles and worldviews. Thus, some people like Tony Corden have used an element of Jara's music which has an ecological bent, to criticise the way that capitalist society is destroying the planet, meanwhile others – such as Martin López or John Cuevas- use this critical element to refer to the invisibility of Latin American music in the mainstream media. Another central finding is that Jara's music has been used as a philosophical and spiritual reference for the construction of individuality. In this sense, this chapter was seeking to expand the notion of music as a technology of the self as articulated by DeNora (2000, p.46) - this refers to the role of music as an object that forms part of the agency of individuals in late modernity- to music as a technology of the self in the Greek use of the term, as an exercise practised by individuals to achieve a state of virtuosity inspired by the ethics of an extraordinary person (Foucault 1997b, p.225). In this sense, Jara's music can be interpreted as part of an 'aesthetic of the existence' of the musicians I interviewed.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I showed how political identities performed in the festival are based on citational practices (Butler 1999) that allude to discourse on international solidarity, social justice, and political struggle that have been developed by progressive left-wing governments in Latin America – such as Popular unity in the 1970s, and ALBA countries from the 2000s onwards (Moraña 2008). This discourse proposes a critique of dominant economic neoliberal discourse based on economic growth and austerity measures. In addition, I

suggested that the process of citation is based also on the repetition of specific rituals and gestures of the left such as singing 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido', that implies the use of a closed fist, singing whilst standing up. Following the concept of the repertoire of Diana Taylor (Taylor 2003), I use the concept 'political repertoire' to argue that the transmission of political knowledge in the festival is based on embodied, face-to-face acts of transfer. Another important element of the political identity performed in the festival is the establishment of a discourse of solidarity based on the commonalities of people who are facing imperial domination (Stjernø 2005). In this sense, the festival encourages solidarity between Latin American countries and Wales, taking into consideration the struggles of both to conserve their indigenous culture and their language. The figure of Víctor Jara is also a symbol of this internationalist spirit since his musical repertoire includes explicit reference to this topic, for example, in the song 'The Right to Live in Peace'. Finally, I use the concept of 'Latin America as geography of political hope' (Waitt 2008) to argue that some British political activists who participated in the festival are disappointed with contemporary politics in the UK and Europe, because of the consolidation of neoliberalism as a primary economic force since the 1980s. Therefore, they placed their hopes of change on socialist progressive movements in Latin America, and thus, the festival is the place in which this hope is reaffirmed and celebrated.

In summary, the double effect of suspension and reproduction of normativity is based on the idea that the festival and the legacy of Víctor Jara creates an atmosphere that celebrates a period, place and politics that is critical of hegemonic music and politics in the UK. In this context, the word 'suspension' is used as synonymous with a bridge, in terms of the event providing symbolic, material, social and affective elements to recreate a period, and use it to critique a set of contemporary issues, such as imperialism, neoliberalism, violation of human rights, destruction of the planet and commercialisation of music. I argue that this bridge is created through the citation of norms, values and ideals that were part of this period. In this sense, Víctor Jara is emblematic in this process of the citation of norms and values, since his figure is the epitome of these norms

and values because of his prolific career, but also because of the circumstances surrounding his death.

## 8.2 Salient aspects and implications of the theory

In this section, I will discuss and analyse some salient aspects related to the findings of this thesis. Instead of looking at the findings chapter by chapter, I will focus on commonalities, and provide a contrast between the different perspectives discussed in the thesis.

### *The religious analogy*<sup>151</sup>

The first idea to be discussed is the parallel between the festival, and religion. This is an interesting analogy since, although Marxism was originally formed as a materialist and secular ideology (Marx 1964), it is possible to appreciate that in Latin America there are religious and spiritual elements in Marxist-oriented movements such as with New Chilean Song. The parallel starts with Jara as a sacrificial figure, a person who died upholding the principles of his ideology. Using Heinrich's notion of hagiography (1996, p.35), it is possible to trace a hagiography of Jara since he became a cult figure, similar to a saint. A second parallel is the idea of the festival as pilgrimage. Thus, the theory of cultural performance by Turner is useful in analysing this analogy because Turner was interested in religious events such as pilgrimages (Turner 1978). As I mentioned in Chapter 5, the festival, *El Sueño Existe*, is considered by some Chilean exiles, not as a ritual of consumption, but as a space for reflection. In this sense, it is not comparable to going to a spectacle in a city because it requires a reflective pause, as Roberto Navarrete entreats. The festival is not simply a liminoid event, but a type of pilgrimage in which the journey to Wales 'could be considered as a rite of passage into the liminal zone' of the festival (Jaimangal-Jones, 260). In this regard, and

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<sup>151</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Henry Stobart for suggesting this analogy. Personal conversation with Dr Henry Stobart, 7th June 2018.

following a Turnerian analysis of rituals, St John (2006) suggests that although electronic dance music culture is not a religion, it contains religio-spiritual dimensions such as ritual, a sense of belonging or new forms of spirituality. A similar idea can be applied to the figure of Víctor Jara and to New Chilean Song - they are not a religion, but they contain religio-spiritual elements.

During my fieldwork, I witnessed people referring to Jara as a spiritual, sometimes God-like, figure. During an organisational meeting, there was a discussion among the members of the committee, about the position of Jara on a painting which located him in the middle of the mountains, in a divine position. Consuelo argued that she did not like Jara's position because it resembled God, and thus, an authoritative figure. Tony Corden replied that he had no problem considering Jara as a God. In different conversations I have had with Corden over time, we also spoke about Jara as a referent for our conduct. We have judged our own behaviour in relation to our ideas and knowledge of the behaviour of Jara, in a similar way that religious people judge their own conduct according to the example of a saint, divinity or spiritual figure. The iconic idolatry of Jara can be analysed in light of literature that established parallels between the idolatry of Christianity and the iconography of popular singers (Till 2010, p.49). Another parallel between the festival and religion, is the relationship between music and politics, that in the case of some religions, expression can be compared to the relationship between song and praise (Wren 2000). As I explained in Chapter 7, there is a tension between the level of politics and music in the festival. Keith Jackson states that Víctor Jara's music is inseparable from the politics. Therefore, it is necessary to include political speakers (praise) to properly follow Jara's example. However, there are others that see the music (song) as the aspect of Jara's legacy that needs to be represented in the festival.



Figure 11. Painting by Stuart Hampton. Organisation Meeting 29 Oct 2016  
(Photo by the author)

However, Turner's theory - and its optimistic view of cultural performance - is limited to understanding the reproduction of specific gender norms in ritual events. In this regard, the analogy between the festival and religion can offer interesting points for analysis, since the figure of Víctor Jara is also reproducing a cult of male figures - similar to, for instance, Christianity where Jesus, saints and religious structures are predominately male. This cult of male figures is not unusual in emancipation movements in Latin America - we must remember the relevance of figures such as Sandino, Castro, Guevara, Chavez- all of them male, virile figures. From a feminist point of view, Consuelo Rivera explained to me that she was against the exaltation of the figure of Jara as a God - as the poster portrayed him - because, according to her, this vision reproduces the notion of male hegemony. In this sense, the theory of performativity allows us to understand this specific feature of the exaltation of Jara, since the festival is producing belonging through the citation of gender norms (Fortier 1999). In the space of the festival, male hegemony was often reproduced, for instance, in the proportion of male and female political speakers at the festival. From the perspective of Chilean exiles, the festival space is reproducing the political values of Popular Unity, including the predominance of male presence in the political arena (Power 2000, p.290). In this respect, it is important to note that the main political leaders of Popular Unity, and musicians of New Chilean Song, were male.

Indeed, bands such as Quilapayún and Inti Illimani are comprised solely of male musicians. Although Violeta Parra and her daughter, Isabel, were important figures of the movement, they are an exception if we consider the total number of musicians who are part of this movement<sup>152</sup>. The notion of *Hombre Nuevo*, or 'New Man', is a clear gender-biased concept that encourages male hegemony (Stout 2014). However, as I explained in Chapter 7, this male hegemony is not completely imitated and replicated in the space of the festival, since they were some performances, such as 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido', that included female singers.

Another element of the parallel between the festival and religion is the immortalisation of Jara. Indeed, a liminal feature of the festival is to prolong - in a symbolic way - the life of Víctor Jara, to overcome his tragic death. This idea is particularly interesting in light of the song *Manifiesto*, in which Jara criticises the ephemeral fame within the commercial music scene, and he advocates for singing for the stars and the earth. Indeed, the exaltation and immortalisation of Jara contains paradoxical elements since many of the interviewees from this thesis note that a key feature of Jara was his humility, i.e., he had a modest opinion of his own importance. This humility was part of his exaltation. Indeed, some of the interviewees stated that a key value of Jara's was his humility, of being one more person in the group. He did not want to pursue fame - as stated in the manifesto song - however, he became globally renowned because of his aesthetic values. Finally, the religious parallel explicitly notes, in John Cuevas's view where he refers to Jara as a spiritual being who is looking down on him from heaven. This idea is also related to a sense of morality in which Jara represents the good, and on the opposite pole, Pinochet's dictatorship represents the bad. In a very explicit way, Jara uses religious metaphors, for example in Prayer to Labourer or his

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<sup>152</sup> The male musicians were Angel Parra, Patricio Manns, Rolando Alarcón, Payo Grondona, and bands integrated solely or mainly by male figures such as Inti Illimani, Quilapayún, Aparcoa, Los Curacas, Tiempo Nuevo, Los Amerindios and Illapu. I am using the list of musicians included in New Chilean Song based on McSherry's list (2015a, p.6).

version of *El martillo*, illustrating the connection between Marxism and Catholicism in the Latin American context.

*The discussion of nostalgia and celebration of the past*

Another relevant discussion thread in this thesis relates to the concept of nostalgia. As I have demonstrated in the thesis, the return and celebration of the 'Golden Age' of Víctor Jara - the end of the 1960s, beginning of the 1970s- is a recurrent trope in the festival. For some festival goers like Alejandro, nostalgia invoked in the festival is a survival strategy. He needs to revive the past in order to face the present and the future. In this sense, the festival accomplishes a renewal function, it re-energises a specific system of values connected to the period celebrated. The invocation of nostalgia is not only Alejandro's idea, but it is also part of a broader feeling amongst the Chilean diaspora, as the documentary 'Nostalgia of the Light' highlights. However, the idea of nostalgia is contested for other festival-goers like Pedro Fuentes or Flakito, who both think that the festival is not about nostalgia. For Pedro, the festival - and by extension, the values of New Chilean Song - is related to contemporary struggle. The festival is the New Chilean Song formula of using the arts as a form of education on political issues. For Flakito, the words *El Sueño Existe* -the dreams lives on - is a present sentence, so the name of the festival demonstrates that this event is a not a mere celebration of the past, but it is the continuity of a cultural movement that is still valid in the present time. As I explained earlier, the idea of reflexivity by Turner (1987) is useful in understanding how the festival uses the values and symbols of New Chilean Song as a means to critique contemporary times. In this sense, it is not mere representation, but it is an active performance.

Another idea concerned with time is related to the temporality of New Chilean Song as a cultural movement. This thesis proposed a new approach to the study of New Chilean Song from the perspective of fans and amateur musicians, since the main body of literature refers to the main musicians or to the analysis of the artistic elements of this movement, such as the lyrics and music. In this sense, the

concept of scene (Bennett and Peterson 2004) discussed in the literature review is relevant to understanding this sociological approach to the festival. If we consider New Chilean Song to be a cultural movement that has been carried out, not only by its main musicians, but also by fans and amateur musicians, then it is possible to rethink the temporality of the movement. Experts on New Chilean Song have indicated that the movement was created and reached its climax in Chile before the coup; and it was prolonged by the Chilean diaspora - including renowned musicians of this movement - in various places all over the world. In relation to the beginnings of the movement, some intellectuals such as Chilean musicologist Juan Pablo González (1996, p.25) and musician Osvaldo Rodríguez (Oporto 2014, p.22), contend that *La Nueva Canción Chilena* started in 1965 - the year of 'La Peña de Los Parra'. Other literature refers to 1969 as the year of the baptism of the movement with the first edition of 'El Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena' ('New Chilean Song Festival') (Fairley 1984, p.109). Some authors indicate that there was an intense development of this movement outside Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship (Rodríguez 2014; Gavagnin 2016; McSherry 2016). Thus, the literature mentioned above is mainly focused on the period between the 1960s until the end of the 1980s, but there is less interest in the impact of this movement from the 1990s onwards. The case of *El Sueño Existe* illustrates that this movement still has an impact on fans and amateur musicians 30-40 years after its peak.

Some of the interviews I conducted in my research point to the existence of a local and translocal scene (Bennett and Peterson 2004) of New Chilean Song in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s. The local scene was led mainly by Chilean amateur musicians who played in Latin American *peñas* in London, meanwhile the translocal scene was led by the renowned musicians of this movement, musicians such as Inti Illimani, Quilapayún and Isabel Parra who played in established venues such as Logan Hall. During the 1990s the local and translocal scenes of *La Nueva Canción Chilena* decreased due to the return of some exiles - like Víctor Jara's family - to Chile. During the 2000s, *El Sueño Existe* started and the festival has contributed to the reactivation of a small local scene related to the legacy of

New Chilean Song. Thus, some of the musicians who participated in the local scene of the 1970s and 1980s, like Peter Godfrey and Patricia Ponns, found a new place to perform music. However, the festival also included musicians and political activists who did not participate in the Chilean Solidarity scene of the 1970s and 1980s. Although the festival celebrated New Chilean Song, the event has not included renowned musicians of this movement, apart from Osvaldo Torres in the 2013 edition. To summarise, it is possible to argue that New Chilean Song is not a past movement, but it is still a vehicle of mobilisation amongst fans and amateur musicians.

### *Music collectives and anti-commercial music*

It is difficult to conclude that this music is neither a subculture, nor a neotribe. As Hebdige's study illustrates, subcultures are created through the permanent exhibition of mundane objects such as shoes or pins, as a mark of differentiation (Hebdige 1991). The people who met at this festival did not use this aesthetic homogeneously or in similar fashion, but - as I demonstrated in Chapter 6 - they incorporated it into their everyday life in different ways. In the festival, it is possible to appreciate a plurality of styles. Thus, I agree with the critique of the subcultures - that this concept assumes the existence of rigid and coherent style preferences (Bennett and Kahn-Harris 2004). However, I suggest that nor is the concept of neotribes useful to refer to a type of collective identification that is produced in the festival, since this concept assumes that individuals are freely able to choose aesthetic preferences, overestimating the self-constitution of agency, and not properly considering structural forces that shape these aesthetic preferences (Hesmondhalgh 2005, p.24). This thesis has showed that structural forces, such as the economic model (neoliberalism), or the restriction of governments (such as the prohibition of *La Nueva Canción* during the Pinochet dictatorship), have shaped the way this music has been used by different festival-goers. Thus, I suggest that the concept of *communitas* is appropriate in order to understand the type of collective relationship that is taking place within the festival. As explained in Chapter 5, Chilean exiles at the festival have experienced

a type of comradeship and openness with each other. It is an occasion where they feel an extraordinary energy from those who are part of the event (St John 2014, p.54). In my view, the *communitas* experienced in the festival is not spontaneous, but ideological (Deflem 1991 p.15), in terms of there being a set of ideological norms and codes that are celebrated in the festival, that provide the guidelines for the *communitas* experience.

I suggest that the relationship between normativity and community can be related to the discussion of music values in popular music (Frith 1996b). Musical value is intrinsically connected to questions of sociability. Music - understood as sound, activities, texts and ideology - cannot be separated from its context. Thus, specific music genres such as punk or opera, carry out a series of values related to a taste within the community. As I mentioned in the theoretical chapter, music value is created based on the capacity of people to understand specific norms and rules associated with specific music genres. This capacity to understand is cultivated in everyday life. In this research I have highlighted the relevance of New Chilean Song, not only as a 'sonic' or political movement, but also as a movement that refers to a set of values. Returning to the religious analogy, it is possible that there was a New Chilean Song peak at the end of the 1960s and 1970s, it was a time when specific music and political values were expanded and these values did not disappear with the movement, but they remain as a guiding reference. Values such as anti-commercialism, anti-imperialism, humility, political commitment and exaltation of 'popular', are promoted by this movement. I suggest that these values are displayed through performance. Thus, music is not necessarily 'expressing' these values, but also producing them. Because Víctor Jara was killed whilst relatively young and at the peak of the movement, he has an aura of incorruptibility of the values celebrated by the festival-goers. Jara's values are also a motif for discussion among his followers. For instance, the value of anti-commercialisation can be questioned in light of the inclusion of Jara's music on a transnational music platform such as Spotify, or the value of defending human rights - like 'El Derecho de Vivir en Paz' - it can also be disputed in light of some of the repressive measures taken against left-wing governments in Latin America.

Therefore, this thesis has shown that some discussions on the sociology of music are useful in expanding our understanding of the New Chilean Song movement and the legacy of Víctor Jara. Therefore, the sociology of music can contribute to the literature on this movement. Inversely, I suggest that the literature on New Chilean Song can also contribute to the expansion and respond to some assumptions from the field of sociology of music. For instance, Frith summarises his argument on the relevance of genre rules, paying attention to the specific circumstances under which popular music was developed in the West:

Value language is itself shaped by historical and social circumstance; and in the West, at least, how people think about popular music is an effect of the nineteenth-century industrialization of culture, and the use of music as a commodity (Frith 1996b, p.95)

Frith's comment explicitly suggests that there is a close relationship between industrialisation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the conversion of music into a commodity. This differs from that of the Chilean situation - and also of Latin American circumstances where the process of industrialisation and the commodification of culture is completely different from countries such as the UK or the US. Indeed, New Chilean Song was a movement that explicitly challenged the process of the commodification of music, proposing alternative ways of music production like *Discoteca del Cantar Popular* (DICAP). In a similar way, Bennet's critique of the concept of subculture presupposes the existence of 'late modern consumer-based societies' and a postmodern subjectivity (1999, p.605). As I explained earlier, since the concept of neo-tribe is explained as a consequence of the conditions of life in a postmodern consumer society, it is not a useful category to analyse anti-consumption movements like New Chilean Song. Meanwhile, DeNora's concept of music as technology of the self is influenced by Giddens' notion of self as a reflexive project (DeNora 2000, p.48). This view assumes the existence of a post-traditional modernity in which individuals construct their identities in response to a series of lifestyle options that are generated by a

capitalistic production and consumption (Giddens 2003, p.5). In short, these theories are constructed and located in specific historic circumstances that do not take into consideration the historic specificity of cultural movements that did not emerge as part of post-industrial and post-modern societies.

In particular, DeNora and Bennet's theories highlight the notion of self-constitution and agency as key elements to understanding the social implications and uses of music. However, through the analysis of the experience of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, it is possible to see a continued tension and dialogue between agency and structures, in the sense that the music during Popular Unity was explicitly supported by specific structures of power of the state, thus, it was brutally banned by structures of repression within Pinochet's state apparatus. I argue that the concepts of election and agency are problematic in understanding the way in which music is producing a sense of collective identity. In this respect, Gilroy's (1993, p.30) theorisation of music as counter-culture of modernity, provides a more appropriate analysis on how music is used as a counterhegemonic force and as a site of resistance. Thus, following the assumption of the theory of performativity that the subject is not the originator or author of its practice (Bell 2007), it is possible to argue that music is not only a device for the self-constitution of agency, but it is an effect of specific structures of power. In this sense, I suggest the concept of 'music performativity' is useful in analysing the process of how identification with specific music is not only produced by the agency and free decision of individuals, but is a consequence of the citational practices that come from regulatory frames.

### *Music and ritual as a way of healing*

Another relevant discussion is the use of music and ritual as a strategy for healing. In this respect, the experience of Chilean exiles is important since most have experienced trauma because of the political repression and expatriation they endured. As I showed in Chapter 5, Pedro Fuentes explained that during the 1970s and 1980s the main agenda for Chilean exiles was to support the resistance in

Chile, politically and economically. There was not enough time for self-help. However, since the 1990s, after the end of the Pinochet regime, the community started to develop self-help activities. Thus, the festival can be framed within this process of self-help. Literature on mental health in exiles has been mainly focused on biomedical solutions (Gideon 2018, p.228). Therefore, this thesis has highlighted the relevance of using art and festive events as part of the therapy. In this regard, Consuelo Rivera-Fuentes has a clear position in relation to problematic situations considering the way standard medicine treats painful events like torture (Rivera-Fuentes and Birke 2001). Consuelo asserts that a key problem is that the doctor is acting like a god and as the owner of the patient's body'. The 'patient' plays a passive role in the treatment; thus, the process of healing is incomplete. For Consuelo, engaging art and poetry is a more effective way to recover from trauma and pain than biomedical solutions such as pills. According to Consuelo, the performance of the pain - to make the pain public instead of it being an intimate process - is central to the process of healing.

Within the thesis, I illustrated that the music and arts of the festival is therapeutic because it has the capacity to generate a sense of continuity and permanence to specific political and artistic practices that were subject to punishment during the dictatorship. Therefore, another way of understanding nostalgia is as a need for people to recover something that was taken from them, a precious belonging. Playing this music implies an invocation of lost homeland, of the lost political project, and of course, lost comrades - like Víctor Jara - who died in terrible circumstances. Therefore, the ritual of healing is related to the power of the festival in creating a safe space in which it is possible to revive and resurrect ideas, music and people who were assumed lost or dead. I suggest that this safety can be related to the concept of music asylums (DeNora 2013) that refer to the therapeutic effects of music. In DeNora's (ibid., p.1) words: 'I describe how music, as a specific form of cultural activity, can be practised in ways that offer what I shall speak of as "asylum". I use the term "asylum" to denote respite from distress and a place and time in which it is possible to flourish'. This idea of asylum resonates with the notion of 'aesthetic refuge' that I mentioned in Chapter 6 to

illustrate a perception related to Jara's music as a 'shield' that protects people from the constant bombardment of capitalist values. As DeNora notes, music has the ability to transport people to a space/time in which it is possible to escape from distress.

Another source of discomfort for some of the Chilean exiles I interviewed is the way the justice system in Chile has not properly punished the perpetrators of the crimes of victims committed during the Pinochet dictatorship. As McSherry (2015b, p.65) notes, the legal case of Jara symbolises the struggle against impunity in Chile. Thus, the pain and frustration of exiles is not only addressed directly to the repressors, but also to the Chilean justice system, both during, and after, the Pinochet dictatorship. Events such as the festival contribute to addressing and expressing this feeling of injustice through the ritual of planting trees, for example, to commemorate two Chileans who disappeared during the dictatorship - as happened at the 2011 festival - (Ramírez and Serpente 2012) or to provide a platform through which people can talk about their experience during the coup and military dictatorship as in the launch of 'We Touched the Sky'.

Finally, using a self-reflective analysis of my experience in the festival, I have experienced a healing of specific pains and frustrations related to family issues and my own sense of dislocation, anxiety and stress in the UK neoliberal higher education system (Gill 2010). Depression, anxiety and other psychological mental disorders can be triggered in international graduate students as a consequence of the difficulties of the psychosocial adaption to new environments (Poyrazli et al. 2002), or difficulties with the language (Brown 2008). International students have also faced problems of loneliness and lack of networks (Sawir et al. 2008). I experienced some of these difficulties during the first stage of my research – difficulties such as isolation, lack of networks, and lack of support and social activities. Since I am inclined to use non-medical methods of psychological treatment, instead of looking for a pill to combat anxiety, I was looking for a social opportunity to improve my situation. As I explained in Chapter 3, I have

experienced the festival as an emotional refuge, mainly because it is a space in which something that has special value for me, like the repertoire of New Chilean Song, is celebrated and encouraged. Therefore, the festival helped me to recover, giving me licence to express my cultural background in an alienating space such as the UK. Therefore, this music has been a medium through which to establish special relationships with people, and also to express feelings such as pain. Following on from the argument in the previous paragraph, my participation in the festival has been a 'medicine' to overcome psychological stress and a sense of alienation.

### *New Chilean Song as counter global music and politics*

It is important to analyse the music of the New Chilean Song movement which is part of a counter-hegemonic globalisation (Santos 2011, p.18). In Latin America, music styles emanating from the global north such as metal, punk or hip-hop, have been incorporated into the music landscape. Conversely, New Chilean Song has influenced the tastes and lifestyles of people living in the UK. It is possible to see a process in which a specific Latin American music genre is becoming a source of veneration and fanaticism in the UK. In particular, the existence of a network of non-Latin American musicians who play and incorporate Víctor Jara's music, highlights the fact that this music has influenced the lifestyles of people in the global north.

I suggest that the counter global effect of New Chilean Song can be analysed in the light of the aesthetic principle of compilation and exaltation of traditional and rural music. As I explained in Chapter 4, one of the principles of New Chilean Song was the exaltation of the value of peasants, and to rescue songs from rural areas<sup>153</sup> Therefore, many of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara's songs include references to

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<sup>153</sup> As Alejandro Reyes explained to me in a personal conversation, in his view, New Chilean Song contains both regressive, and progressive, movements. It was regressive since it was looking for artistic forms from rural areas - for this reason the work of collecting music was, for Parra and Jara, very important - however, they used this art to propose transformation for the future (progress).

nature, as in 'La Jardinera', mentioned in Chapter 7, or 'Manifiesto', explained in Chapter 4. As I explained in Chapter 6, the idea of returning to exaltation of the land has been used by Cloud Cuckoo - a band with ecological concerns - as a key element of New Chilean Song. Thus, the idea that the repertoire of New Chilean Song resonates with ecological movements, is interesting. The exaltation of nature is a way of criticise the way the planet is destroyed and used by human beings in contemporary globalisation. Therefore, part of this exaltation of New Chilean Song as a counter-hegemonic global movement is also part of a critique of the destructive 'progress' of developed countries like the UK<sup>154</sup>.

Another important thread relates to politics. The festival is a hub in which different solidarity campaigns and activists meet to refer to current political affairs in Latin America. This invocation of Latin American political projects is related to a criticism of contemporary British politics - mainly the politics of austerity and the anti-migration agenda. In relation to the politics of austerity, many interviewees had a clear, critical position on the Conservative government cutting social services such as housing, health or pension provision, arguing that the welfare system in the UK ensures social justice and a minimum standard quality of life to UK citizens. The privatisation of these services - following the argument about the lack of funds - implies an increase in inequality and a diminished standard in the quality of life for people. In this sense, the leftist political projects that were or are carried out in Latin America are seen as an example of counteracting the hegemonic neoliberal tendency of privatisation. Allende's government - following a democratic route to socialism- was looking for an increased role of the state in providing social services. In a similar way, the governments of Venezuela and Ecuador have followed a similar route more recently. Therefore, these examples are used to illustrate the fact that neoliberalism is not an inevitable force, but it is possible to find an alternative. This idea is replicated in the political discourse of politicians like Jeremy Corbyn,

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<sup>154</sup> This idea also resonates with the fascination some people have with ecological concerns and with the lifestyles and cosmovision of indigenous people in Latin America.

who said at the 2013 festival, that British society actually can afford the public services that are currently restricted by austerity measures.

In this sense, counter globalisation occurs, not only in music, but also in politics (Muhr 2013). The political experiences of the left are experienced as examples to follow. The criticism and negative view of contemporary politics in the UK - which can be extended to other Western countries such as those in Europe and the US - means that they are trying to follow the examples of the global south to face the politics of the global north. This idea resonates with the scepticism of Keith Jackson in relation to consideration of Westminster and the Houses of Parliament as the mother of parliaments around the world. Thus, Keith Jackson is criticising the concept of the UK as a standard model of democracy, freedom and stable government. Indeed, Jackson has highlighted the existence of repressive and anti-democratic measures in the UK political system. Another important element of this 'counter global' politics is that the politics of Popular Unity and the art of New Chilean Song has a clear anti-imperial discourse that is required to challenge imperial attitudes in the UK which are still present today. Specifically, the criticism in relation to the imperial position of Westminster towards Wales or Ireland reflects a level of antipathy towards imperial discourse of the UK which is not seen as a civilizing process, but as a destructive and alienating one. In this sense, I argue that a clear anti-imperial position such as that taken by Víctor Jara, is necessary to challenge contemporary neo-imperial attitudes. The theoretical implication of the preservation of the anti-imperial discourse is that this trope is not necessarily obsolete. Therefore, following the conceptualisation of New Chilean Song as a set of values, it is possible to refer to Popular Unity as a referent for the international left to carry out a socialist agenda through democratic means. As I explained previously, the desire to continue to celebrate the values of Jara, are connected to the desire to continue to celebrate the values of a political project, not only a cultural one.

A second political reflection relates to the politics of migration in the UK. Coming back to chapter 5, I agree with Roberto Navarrete's opinion regarding refugees,

not as 'people in need' as the current Conservative government has done<sup>155</sup>, but to regard them as active individuals with the capacity to contribute to society. In this sense, this thesis has shown how Chilean exiles are integrated into society, not out of charity, but because they have specific features as political capital, to contribute to specific political projects. Therefore, refugees have something to contribute to society. As many Chilean exiles explained to me, their integration into British Society was not only facilitated by the migratory policies of Harold Wilson's government, but also as a consequence of a network of institutions that stood in solidarity with Chilean exiles, and also with the existence of a robust welfare state that provided, for instance, free education to the population - a situation that is completely different to nowadays.

The ideas within the thesis have been discussed, not only with reference to the migratory status of the Chilean exiles, but also with reference to the quality both of the music and the festival. In Chapter 6, I suggest that Jara's music is considered as a device that protects Peter Godfrey from the bombardment of capitalist and religious messages that he rejects. In this sense, this music plays the symbolic role of refuge. This is another means of understanding how the music creates a sense of belonging through creating a safe space. Additionally, the festival is a safe space in which, for instance, Maureen Russell can feel safe to express her own political ideas. Maureen also expresses the difficulties she faces subscribing to socialist ideology in a capitalist country like the UK. From the perspective of many festival-goers, the mainstream media - not only the right-wing media, but also the Guardian - tend to discredit the achievements of the progressive left governments in Latin America, accusing them of being repressive and violators of human rights. Due to this many like Maureen find there is no space in the mainstream media to express or represent their political position. Therefore, Maureen states that sharing her views with people who hold similar political views, gives her some satisfaction because it is not easy to find such people in

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<sup>155</sup> See Conservatives plan to change definition of refugees:  
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/conservatives-refugee-definition-change-reduce-asylum-seekers-uk-election-manifesto-2017-a7743176.html>

everyday life. This is part of the political liminality of the festival, since it is a focal point for people who share similar views (Bennett and Woodward 2014).

*New Chilean Song's ethos as criticism of contemporary neoliberal academy*

I suggest that the festival and its commemoration of New Chilean Song and the legacy of Jara, can provide creative, transformative tools to articulate a critique, not only of contemporary politics and music, but also of contemporary neoliberal academy. Following Beer's (2014) argument developed in the punk ethos, I suggest that neoliberal academy needs to take inspiration from aspects that fall outside of the standard social science craft, in order to revitalise it. Beer argues that fragmentation and uncertainty is part of the sense of crisis experienced in sociology as a discipline. In the context of the uncertainty, sociologists tend to choose safety paths and practices that restrict and de-energise the discipline and 'place sociology in the background of public dialogue' (Beer 2014 p.2). Taking into consideration Beer's formula, I propose to use New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara's ethos as a source of inspiration to revitalise sociology and to encourage specific forms of public participation. In particular, I suggest that the New Chilean Song ethos advocates for an anti-imperial attitude which is required to challenge other structural problems in the UK academy, such as Eurocentric knowledge (Mignolo 2009) and cognitive injustice (De Sousa Santos 2008). Therefore, this case study is relevant, since paying attention to epistemologies of the south that were born in the context of social struggle, can challenge the hegemony of a Western-centric approach.

As explained in Chapter 4, Jara supported the University Reform in 1967 and 1968. This reform aimed to change the curricula within universities, to establish new structures of power affording the major participation of students in decision-making, and major participation of the universities in the process of modernisation and development of the country (Huneus 1988). Jara created the song 'Movil-Oil Special', in reference to the role of a special police squad call Grupo Móvil who were repressing the student movement that took place during

the University Reform. As I explained in this thesis, Jara took an anti-intellectual stance, in the context that intellectualism was synonymous with a passive contemplation of reality. Jara sought to use art and knowledge to transform reality. University played a relevant role in mobilising progressive changes in the country. Indeed, bands such as Inti Illimani were born in the heart of university life in the second half of the 1960s. As we have discussed throughout the thesis, music, and especially the song, played an educational role, i.e., the arts were explicitly used as a tool for creating consciousness about historical, political and social problems and realities.

In my ethnography I discussed the crisis of neoliberal education with different festival-goers. As I explained in Chapter 4, Keith Jackson – a former academic - explained to me that the neoliberal academy has been separated from quotidian people, establishing a complex codified language that mainly only elite groups can understand. According to Jackson, at the time he was delivering university classes in the 1970s, the language was not as encrypted as it is today. The problem with the encrypted language is that it generates a barrier between academic and non-academic people. This argument is similar to Beer's notion of punk sociology as a strategy to reduce the gap between academics and the people who are participating in the research. For Jackson, it is necessary to establish bridges and space between academic and non-academic people, to circulate and generate knowledge. Furthermore, the hegemony of neoliberalism in the economic conditions of university access, based on inaccessible fees for the working classes, is an illustration of the negative economy reforms led by Thatcherism in the 1980s that are still present nowadays. According to this rationale, Jackson has promoted the participation of public intellectuals in the festival. The notion of permanent and accessible education is part of the rationale of the festival. Keith is aware of the need to educate people in Latin American culture and politics, using enjoyable modes such as festivals and arts. I suggest that a relevant role of public intellectuals in the festive event is to use non-scientific language to communicate ideas. Music, poetry, film and dance are legitimate ways of expressing thoughts and ideas. In the context of the festival, the arts are

communicative tools that encourage corporeal and creative forms of transmission, and the circulation of knowledge. The practice of intellectuality is not necessarily based on rational or logocentric mediums, but it is possible to circulate ideas through body and play.

As I explained throughout the thesis, the festival provided an educational role, it provides an alternative version of Latin American politics in relation to hegemonic discourse proposed by the Western media. For scholar Patrice McSherry (2016), the musicians of New Chilean Song played an unintended role of organic intellectuals in Gramsci's terms. As McSherry (2016, p.6) explains '[o]rganic intellectuals were charged with demonstrating that the system did not in fact benefit all and that another system was possible'. Therefore, the musicians of this cultural movement translated into song, the aspirations and interests of the Chilean popular classes. In the context of the festival, Francisco Domínguez has played the role of the organic intellectual in the sense that he proposes a robust discourse against the political role of the US in Latin America. Francisco's speech is congruent with the aesthetic discourse of Víctor Jara and other musicians of New Chilean Song in terms of their criticism of US imperialism. The strategy Francisco uses to communicate his views is through a clear and direct message, supporting his statements with statistical data and relevant political information. So, his speech is accessible and informative for people who are not necessarily experts on the topic. Although I have not spoken with him about this specific topic, it is probable that Francisco is applying, in the UK, the academic ethos he experienced in pre-coup Chile in which participation in public life was a key element for academic performativity.

Finally, I suggest that the concept of performativity as citationality is useful in challenging the problem of misrepresentation of the epistemologies of the south in contemporary UK neoliberal academy. In the theory of performativity, the process of citation is key for the production of belonging. If we applied this premise to the contemporary academy, I can argue that my sense of belonging to neoliberal academy was problematic since I could not find enough space to use

theories and concepts coming from my home -I called it the 'global south' here. However, the inclusion of songs, poems, and literature on New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara in my thesis, propose a more balanced inclusion of ideas from my original home, to the UK academy. In this sense, the festival not only permitted me to express my Latin Americanness and Chileanness as a musician, as I previously explained, but it also enabled me to incorporate a specific corpus of knowledge from the global south as a central element of discussion.

### 8.3 Suggestions for future knowledge/practice

The first line of study that I would suggest should be developed in the future is the study of the legacy of Víctor Jara in Chile and throughout the world. As I mentioned in the introduction, at least in Chile, the festivalisation of Víctor Jara is a current phenomenon since there are a number of festivals that use his name. Therefore, through the study of these festivals it is possible to analyse, in depth, the artistic and political values that Jara represents, and to measure his impact on contemporary arts in Chile. A further point is the impact of Fundación Víctor Jara which is promoting specific artistic, cultural and political agenda. For instance, Fundación signed an agreement with the Chilean Museum of the Memory and Human Rights to promote citizenship education based on memory<sup>156</sup>.

In terms of its impact abroad, the legacy of Jara can be studied from different perspectives. First, his relevance in the solidarity campaigns with Chile across the world during the 1970s and 1980s. This thesis has noted the relevance of Jara as an iconic figure in Chilean solidarity campaigns in the UK; however, there is no systematic recollection of material or analysis of the way that Jara was used in these campaigns in terms of concerts, posters and songs. In addition, it would be interesting to study the use of Jara's art in different countries. For instance, to study the translations of Jara's poems into other languages, and the covers of Jara's songs by international musicians. In a similar vein, it would be interesting

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<sup>156</sup> <https://ww3.museodelamemoria.cl/Informate/museo-y-fundacion-victor-jara-firman-convenio-de-cooperacion/>

to study songs and artwork created for the purpose of commemorating Jara. In this research, I have shown that in the UK context, poets such as Adrian Mitchell and folk singers such as Dafydd Iwan have created poems or songs inspired by, or based upon, Jara's songs. In addition, it would be important to study the events or institutions inspired by Víctor Jara that are currently operating abroad – such as the radio station, Víctor Jara, operating from Stockholm<sup>157</sup>. Alongside my research for this thesis, I had various informal conversations about the relevance of Jara in different countries, including Palestine, Israel and Iran. There is a potential to analyse the legacy of Jara and his global impact.

Although issues of gender and class have arisen in this thesis, I suggest that the study of New Chilean Song and Víctor Jara can be analysed more in depth in light of these categories. In terms of gender, and returning to the religious analogy, a potential analysis of New Chilean Song is the relationship between the ideal of the New Song and the construction of masculinities (Seidler 2006b). Indeed, it is possible to argue that New Chilean Song has been a movement whose leaders are male, heterosexual figures, who glorify male figures, and a movement in which females are positioned in secondary roles. In the lyrics of some New Chilean songs, musicians perpetuate the idea of singing about the beauty and sexuality of females, and of the heroism of males. In addition to gender studies, the study of class would also be interesting. From a Marxist worldview, the music of New Chilean Song and Jara proposes an explicit critique of dominant classes, namely oligarchies, bourgeoisie or simply the wealthy. There is also a vindication of the lifestyle and art of the popular classes, namely peasants, labourers and indigenous peoples. Meanwhile, the main exponents of the New Song in Latin America are from an educated-middle class. Therefore, it would be interesting to analyse in detail the New Chilean Song in relation to the class positions of its main figures.

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<sup>157</sup> <http://radiovictorjara.com/>

On a broad level of abstraction, this thesis has used a performative theoretical framework to analyse a case that is related to Marxist ideas. Following an orthodox interpretation of the teleology of Marxism -capitalism-socialism-communism, it is possible to establish that communism - the last stage – is still an aspiration. During the Cold War era, this aspiration was lived as a real alternative, but it has weakened since the 1990s onward. Indeed, from the lectures given by some members of the Chilean Communist Party, communism was an inevitable process, in other words, they firmly believed that capitalism was going to collapse, and then socialism, then communism, will be the predominant force across the world. This ideological dispute was central to Allende's political project and to Jara's artistic project. Indeed, the lyrics of New Chilean Song included plenty of metaphors that refer to the new era that was coming, for instance, the use of the metaphor of 'red dawn' in 'El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido', or the sentence 'everything will change' in 'Plegaria a un Labrador'. In this sense, the subjunctive mood of cultural performance theory can be applied to the study of communism. In other words, a relevant study would be how the cultural performances and arts play a role in the creation and expression of communist desires. In the case of Chilean art, it is interesting to see that Víctor Jara, Violeta Parra and Pablo Neruda, three of the main artistic references of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, were connected to a communist ideology. In this regard, another element I think it would be important to analyse, is the role of the International World Youth Festivals in the 1950s, in the development of Jara and Parra's artistic careers.

In terms of theme, I suggest that migrant music would be a clear line of research to be analysed. In the ethnomusicological field, over the last three decades there has been an increase in the number of studies concerning the relationship between music and migration, focusing on the role of music to overcome situations of subalternity (Kruger and Trandafoiu 2013); to create new spaces of expression and interaction (Stokes 1994); to analyse the different fluxes of music (Toynbee and Dueck 2011); of transcultural capital (Kiwani and Meinhof 2011); and as hybrid space (Pacini Hernandez 2010). Following this line of research, it would be possible to analyse New Chilean Song as a music movement and genre in

which migrants and diaspora populations placed themselves as a hybrid, authentic or fluid collectives in contemporary globalisation.

#### 8.4 Concluding remarks

This thesis highlights the role of arts and festive events in proposing a critique of contemporary political, cultural and social life. This thesis has analysed how the legacy of Víctor Jara and New Chilean Song, and by extension, how Jara himself, has had a social impact, constitutes a system of values and norms that provide guidelines about conduct, and proposes a critique of contemporary political and cultural life. This thesis, I would suggest, offers an expansion of the existing corpus of literature that refers to the New Chilean Song movement, since it is not focused exclusively on mainstream musicians, or on artwork – such as music and poetry - but refers to the ways in which this music movement is performed in live situations and how it impacts on people. In addition, this thesis also highlights how the tropes of social change, anti-commercialism and anti-imperialism, that are central elements in the aesthetics of Jara and New Chilean Song, should not be considered obsolete visions as some scholars of sociology and music and cultural studies suggest, but they are still valid and useful categories with which to analyse contemporary culture. This thesis also analyses the capacity of ritual events such as the festival, to provide a critique of social life. Festive events such as *El Sueño Existe* are useful arenas within which to propose alternative worlds and to enact desires and wishes. In addition, this thesis demonstrates how the arts can be used, not only as a commodity or means of self-expression, but as a medium of sociability, transformation and critique.

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