

8-25-2016

Everything Is Drag: The Politics of Performing Beautiful Women in Cold War Chile

Carson Emily Morris

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds

 Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Morris, Carson Emily. "Everything Is Drag: The Politics of Performing Beautiful Women in Cold War Chile." (2016).
https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds/57

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in History ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Carson Emily Morris

Candidate

History

Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Elizabeth Q. Hutchison, Chairperson

Dr. Kimberly Gauderman

Dr. Judy Bieber

Dr. Margaret Jane Slaughter

Dr. Stephen Gundle

**EVERYTHING IS DRAG:
THE POLITICS OF PERFORMING BEAUTIFUL WOMEN IN COLD WAR CHILE**

By

Carson Emily Morris

B.A., Spanish, Wake Forest University, 2002
M.A., Latin American Studies, University of New Mexico, 2006

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
History**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2016

©2016, Carson Emily Morris

Dedication

To Nana, With infinite love

This dissertation is dedicated to my maternal grandmother, Margaret “Peg” Bailey Stanfield Walker, fondly known to me and to her other grandchildren as Nana. Although she did not live to see its completion, this dissertation would not exist had it not been for her encouragement and insistence that I finish my PhD. My Nana taught me the importance of traveling, of learning new languages, and of being independent and open to new experiences and ideas. Most of all, she engrained in me a firm belief that writing and dancing are equally powerful acts. This dissertation fulfills a promise that I made to her on her deathbed.

Acknowledgements

The dissertation is the result of over ten years of research and writing, a task I could never have accomplished without the support of many people and institutions. First and foremost, I want to thank my family for their support, encouragement, and understanding of the enormous financial and physical sacrifices I have made, sacrifices that have often kept me away from them more than I would have liked. I especially want to thank my incredible son Elias Andres for making those sacrifices with me, for moving with me multiple times nationally and internationally, for adjusting so well to a new country, and for saying goodbye to so many friends in Chile and elsewhere each time we continued on our journey. And I want to thank him for doing all of this with a smiling face and an adventurous spirit. I also want to recognize the profound support of my parents, Everett Lee Morris, III and Gilda Anne Walker Morris; of my siblings, Everett and Jessie; of my step-grandmother Carolyn P. Morris; and of all of my grandparents, Peg Walker, Harry Gordon Walker, Everett Lee Morris, and my paternal grandmother, Arvis Lauren Stewart Morris, the only one of the four who lived to see this project's completion.

I am also forever indebted to my professors in the History Department at the University of New Mexico, and particularly to my committee members. I was truly blessed to work with such a strong and supportive committee. I thank my advisor, Dr. Elizabeth Hutchison, for continuously pushing me to think more critically and to dream bigger, for setting high standards and believing I could accomplish them. The road she paved in Chilean studies of gender and sexuality offered me countless invaluable connections in Chile, Argentina, and the United States. Dr. Judy Bieber also supported me morally and intellectually and guided me throughout my graduate studies, never hesitating to provide me

speedy, constructive feedback on all things academic and otherwise. I will never forget her sewing a quilt for my newborn son whilst leading heavily theoretical intellectual discussions in seminar. Dr. Kimberly Gauderman was also a profound inspiration to me, from the first time she blew my mind in her class on Early Latin America to the countless instances in which she reminded me of the value of my work and of my being. It is a great honor to be the last graduate student to work with Dr. Jane Slaughter. She provided me with rich knowledge of Comparative Gender and Sexuality in diverse regions of the world both in seminar and in our countless private conversations, constantly emanating profound wisdom and encouragement in her sparkling eyes. In so many ways, she has truly been a pillar of support for me, and I can honestly say that this dissertation would have never been completed without the foundation of that support. I am also so appreciative of my “dream” outside committee member, Dr. Stephen Gundle, for so effectively demonstrating the importance of studying the politics of beauty, for agreeing to work with a stranger on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, and for offering me critical insights on this project. Outside of my dissertation committee, I also want to extend sincere thanks to Dr. Michael Ryan, Dr. Tiffany Florvil, and Dr. Linda Hall for their inspiration, guidance, and support. Dr. Hall’s Beauty, Body, and Power course, in particular, inspired the whole idea of this project, and she was the first one to suggest that I turn it into a dissertation. All of these people, as well as countless other faculty and staff, have been invaluable in making this project what it is.

This project and the international fieldwork it required would never have been possible without generous funding from the University of New Mexico, including the Office of Graduate Studies, the Feminist Research Institute, the Latin American & Iberian Institute, the Bilinski Foundation, and Dean’s Dissertation Awards. Such awards, including the LAII

Doctoral Research Fellowship, allowed me to conduct over 15 months of research in Santiago, Chile. The Bilinski Foundation Fellowship and Dean's Dissertation Award supported the critical last year of writing of this dissertation. I am honored and eternally grateful for all of the financial support that made this dissertation possible, including employment by the University of New Mexico's Spanish & Portuguese Department, College of Education, and History Department, as well as both The Howard School and The Galloway School in Atlanta, Georgia. I also want to recognize the American Historical Association's Committee on LGBT Studies for their important work in general and support of my project in particular.

My research in Chile was strengthened by the support and guidance of many people and institutions. I am forever grateful for my affiliations with the University of Chile's Latin American Culture Studies Department, the Chilean Center for Women's Studies, and Organizando Trans Diversidades (OTD Chile). Furthermore, Dr. Emma De Ramon, of the National Archive of Chile, and Dr. Pía Montalva were both profoundly helpful to me in conceptualizing my project and advising my research. I also want to thank a great number of friends and colleagues who assisted with my project, research, and general well being throughout these ten years and two hemispheres of my doctoral degree. While I do not have room to name everyone individually, I do want to personally recognize several people who were particularly invaluable throughout this process, including Fernando Garavito, Dr. Tshepo Chéry, Dr. Colin Snider, Dr. Leith Passmore, Dr. Damián Wilson, Dr. Lawrence Roybal, Jesse Zarley, Estela Vasqu ez, Jos e Bucheli, Talal Saint-Lot, Carlyn N. Pinkins, Kelley Sawyer, Amanda Sutton, Amber Bradshaw, Michel Riquilme, Claudia Rodriguez, Victor Hugo Robles, and Valentina Verbal. I must acknowledge as well the profound

inspiration of two of Chile's greatest sexual politics activists, Hija de Perra and Pedro Lemebel, may they rest in peace and power.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank all of the people who generously offered me their stories in countless conversations and in the nineteen anonymous oral histories I conducted. Isabel Allende and Luis Rivano both graciously spoke to me about my project. The names of those who shared their oral histories with me will remain anonymous, per our agreement, but their bravery and openness have made this project all the more richer. Every single person I spoke to touched my heart and soul profoundly, and I am forever indebted to each of these people who trusted me enough to share some of the most intimate and painful details of their lives.

**EVERYTHING IS DRAG:
THE POLITICS OF PERFORMING BEAUTIFUL WOMEN IN COLD WAR CHILE**

By

CARSON EMILY MORRIS

B.A., Spanish, Wake Forest University, 2002
M.A., Latin American Studies, University of New Mexico, 2006
Ph.D., History, The University of New Mexico, 2016

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines productions, consumption, and performances of female bodies, genders, and sexualities in Chile under changing Cold War political regimes from 1950-1990. Drawing on deconstructionist and performance approaches, I consider the multiple, changing ways Cold War Chilean cisgender and transgender women performed their femininity as part of racialized nationalist projects, analyzing laws and government documents, contemporary print media, television, film, literature, cabaret and theater performances, and oral histories and testimonies of female, queer, and transgender Chileans, including cabaret artists and nightclub owners. My focus on nonreproductive sexuality tells a new story of women in Latin America, of queerness in Latin America, and of Chilean politics and civil rights. It also reveals race, sex, and gender constructions as transnational processes. Establishing the entertainment industry as a fundamental structure of power, I demonstrate the role of productive sexualities such as beauty culture, sexual performance, and nude magazines in providing education in femininity under democracy and dictatorship. I show that, despite drastic regime shifts, including the presidency of socialist Salvador Allende and

the US backed right-wing dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, the elite maintained overarching continuities in policing heteronormative gender and sexuality and in the related sexualization of female bodies. Yet all Cold War Chilean governments also made space for- and enjoyed the performance of- alternative sexualities. The performance of essentialized aesthetic and behavioral markers of femininity was central to constructions of gender and sexuality for both cisgender and transgender women. Likewise, cisgender women and queer Chileans resisted and inverted normative notions of binary gender roles in public and private spaces throughout the Cold War period. By centering transgender communities in the history of sexuality and states and reframing sexual performance as potentially emancipatory rather than inherently exploitative, my work pushes beyond the usual scope of Latin American feminist scholarship, challenging cultural and scholarly paradigms about Latin American gender and sexual identities and their sources of power and influence.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	xiv
Chapter 1 Introduction: Performativity, Performance, and Politics: Nonreproductive	
Sexuality in Cold War Chile	1
Sex and the Chilean State	3
Theorizing Performance and Performativity	10
The Entertainment Industry as a Structure of Power, Beauty Culture, and National Identity	15
Deconstructionist Theory.....	20
Nonreproductive Sexuality and Queer Theory	24
Shame and the Versatility of Respectability.....	27
The Politics of Sexual Performance and Appearance in Cold War Chile	29
Sources and Chapterization.....	31
Chapter 2 “Education in Femininity:” Producing and Consuming Beauty, Everyday	
Performances of Sex Appeal, and the Politics of Passing.....	35
Sexual Education in Mass Media: The New Eugenics of Beauty	44
Official Sexual Education In Beauty	61
The Politics of Passing.....	69
Beauty and Passing Under the Dictatorship.....	85
Beauty Pageants: Female Bodies As Natural Resources	91
Conclusion	100
Chapter 3 Striptease: Performing Sex, Gender, and Race in Cold War Chilean	
Cabarets.....	103

The Case of Chilean Sexual Performance	106
The Chilean Sexual Performance State.....	115
Race and the Exoticization of Diversity	119
The Picaresque, the Burlesque, and the Humoresque.....	121
Buddy Day and Bim Bam Bum	122
Boites and Other Businesses with Vedette Performances	129
Employees and Clientele.....	134
Professionalism in Sexual Performance.....	138
Rewriting Narratives of Respectability and Shame	141
A Closer Look at Sexual Performance Under Dictatorship.....	158
Chapter 4 Exposure and Censorship: Nude Magazines and Films Under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship.....	170
The History of Nudity in Chilean Magazines	175
Nudity: Not Just For Men	183
Nudity Under the Unidad Popular	185
Nude Models' Motivation.....	189
Reporters and Photographers	190
Female Desire	191
The Production of Exploitation.....	196
Race and Exoticism.....	198
Transvestites and Lesbians	200
Models Who Were Not Sexualized.....	204
Representations of the State in Nude Magazines.....	205

The Representation of Sexual Performance Businesses	207
Nude Magazines Under the Dictatorship	209
Television and Films.....	213
Chapter 5 Conclusion	220
Queering the Transition	222
Bibliography	227
Archives	227
Published Primary Sources	227
Secondary Literature.....	228
Appendix A Figures	239

List of Figures

Figure 1: “Eligen Miss Chile a lo Musica Libre,”	239
Figure 2: Actress Malu Gatica, Chile, 1945	240
Figure 3: “Traditional Dances from Easter Island” in “Chile Salutes the World,” Third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	241
Figure 4: Easter Island indigenous dance group Tararaima performing in the National Palace for President Allende and his wife.....	242
Figure 5: Easter Island indigenous dance group Tararaima performing in the National Palace for President Allende and his wife.....	243
Figure 6: Juan Cordoba de Lasalle, a transgender woman known as “Blanquita,” and Oscar Tortosa Filipone	244
Figure 7: Catalina Wing, a transgender man	245
Figure 8: French vedette Ivonne Menard.....	246
Figure 9: Gladys Lorenz, Miss Noche 1971	247
Figure 10: Cleopatra	248
Figure 11: Striptease Queen in El Picaresque.....	249
Figure 12: Photograph of Rakatan, Osvaldo Muñoz Romero, kissing and hugging Miss Striptease Chile.....	250
Figure 13: Eugene D’Arcy.....	251
Figure 14: Choreographer Paco Mairena with dancer Carlos Reyes	252
Figure 15: Lesbians in nude magazine <i>Viejo Verde</i>	253

Chapter 1 Introduction: Performativity, Performance, and Politics: Nonreproductive Sexuality in Cold War Chile

“The closest thing to a right-wing machista is a leftist machista.”

–Feminist saying related to me by a Chilean transvestite, Santiago, September 2015.

“Socialists are just as machista as conservatives.”

–Isabel Allende, *La Tercera*, October 21, 2002, p. 34.

In April 1973 the political climate of Chile was increasingly volatile, as Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, and rightwing opposition forces alike organized amongst the intense political polarization plaguing the country and in anticipation of the looming military coup, which on September 11th would violently end the democratically elected presidency of Socialist Salvador Allende. That April of the last year of Allende’s presidency, gay and transvestite Chileans organized Chile’s first public queer demonstration in the capital. The demonstration was vehemently condemned in the press, with the magazine of Salvador Allende’s party announcing that “50 abnormals united in the Plaza...”¹ Another newspaper applauded a bystander’s suggestion that they “douse the demonstrators in gasoline and light them on fire.”² The following month, Chile’s famous transvestite dance group, The Blue Ballet, fortuitously left to tour Europe.

In the midst of this heated political climate, the annual Miss Chile beauty contest featured a unique twist. The July issue of Chilean nude magazine *Novedades* provided photographic and textual coverage of the contest. As always, the coverage emphasized the importance of finding a Miss Chile who could successfully represent the nation in the Miss Universe contest. However, this year, on the contest’s 21st anniversary, the traditional format

¹ “50 anormales reunidos en Plaza de Armas,” *Revista Paloma*, quoted in Victor Hugo Robles, *Bandera Hueca: Historia del Movimiento Homosexual de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial ARCIS: 2008), 15.

² From *El Clarin*, quoted in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 16.

of the contest changed. This year, the semifinals were held in a nightclub called Eve in the posh Santiago neighborhood of Vitacura. Instead of parading in bathing suits and evening gowns, the 45 contestants competed “in flirty miniskirts, dancing to the beat of soul music in the style of the *lolas* from the popular show ‘Musica Libre.’”³ True to form, cabaret and nude magazine photographer Julio Bustamante cleverly angled his camera from below in order to provide *Novedades* readers visual access to the panties the contestants wore underneath their miniskirts.

“Lola,” from Vladimir Nabokov’s 1955 novel *Lolita*, is an inherently sexualized word commonly used in Chile to refer to adolescent women or girls.⁴ “Musica Libre” was a popular Chilean television show that featured *lolas* in miniskirts dancing with *lolos* to popular music from the U.S. One of the stars of the show, described by the nude magazine as the “*superlola*” Maricel, was one of the 15 Miss Chile contestants that advanced to the final round. The contest, organized by Chilean photographer Horacio Walker, included Chilean fashion model Elsa Faundez on the jury.

This uniquely Chilean twist on the traditional beauty pageant structure tapped into various common Chilean forms of female performance and representation, combining them onto one stage. The traditional Miss Chile elements of high fashion, racism, and classism remained intact, demonstrated by the inclusion of high fashion model Elsa Faundez, the exclusion of female bodies that did not correspond to European aesthetics of beauty, and the location of the contest in an exclusive upper class neighborhood. Elements of contemporary popular Chilean youth culture, as well as female fashion and beauty culture, were clearly

³ Julio Bustamante, photographer, “Eligen Miss Chile a lo Musica Libre,” *Novedades*, July 1973.

⁴ Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955). See Chapter on Education in Femininity for further discussion of this word.

visible in the form of the new contest format that mimicked the “Musica Libre” show and required the use of miniskirts. Furthermore, the 1973 contest’s location in a nightclub reflected the fundamental importance of the cabaret and nightclub industries in the performance and representation of Chilean femininity. This was not the first Chilean beauty pageant to be held in a cabaret or nightclub, but it was the first and only time Miss Chile contestants would compete in miniskirts in a nightclub. Lastly, the picaresque camera lens of Julio Bustamante and the resulting photographs published in nude magazine *Novedades* illustrate the historical significance of nude magazines in Chilean culture and female representation. (See Figure 1 in Appendix A)

Sex and the Chilean State

This dissertation demonstrates the role of productive sexualities, including beauty culture, sexual performance, and nude magazines, in providing education in femininity under Chilean democracy and dictatorship from 1950-1990. I show that, despite drastic regime shifts, the elite maintained overarching continuities in policing heteronormative gender and sexuality and in the related sexualization of female bodies. The production, consumption, and performance of essentialized aesthetic and behavioral markers of femininity were central to constructions of gender and sexuality for both cisgender and transgender women. However, cisgender women and queer Chileans alike resisted and inverted normative notions of binary sex and gender roles in public and private spaces throughout the Cold War period. By centering transgender communities in the history of sexuality and states, establishing the entertainment industry as a fundamental structure of power, demonstrating the continuity of productive and other nonreproductive sexuality under democracy and dictatorship, and reframing sexual performance as potentially emancipatory rather than inherently exploitative,

my work pushes beyond the usual scope of Latin American feminist scholarship, reveals race, sex, and gender constructions as transnational processes, and challenges cultural and scholarly paradigms about Latin American gender and sexual identities and their sources of power and influence.

The opening quotes by Isabel Allende and a Chilean transvestite serve to frame the 1973 queer demonstration and Miss Chile contest within Chilean history and historiography as well as broader discussions of Latin American gender and sexuality.⁵ Chile, like many Latin American countries, experienced a very heated Cold War as political conservatives (and reformist-centrists) sought to avoid troubling Communist outbreaks, particularly in the wake of the 1959 Cuban Revolution. With financial and institutional assistance from the United States, Chilean conservatives and moderates attempted to modernize their country through public health policies, education, and consumerism. These processes, working alongside limited economic reforms designed to reduce inequality, were intended as a means of curbing leftist influences.

The Chilean Communist party, founded in 1922, joined with Socialists and Radicals to form the Popular Front in 1936, which won presidential elections in 1938, 1942, and 1946.⁶ The government banned the Communist party in 1948, one year before women gained the right to vote. In 1958, the ban on the Communist party was lifted and Salvador Allende's

⁵ "Nada mas parecido a un machista de derecha que uno de izquierda," from anonymous oral history, Santiago, September 2015; *La Tercera*, October 21, 2002, 34, Special collections, Isabel Allende box, National Library of Chile.

⁶ Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1979); Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney, *Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2009); Valeria Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina: Culture, Politics, and Sexuality from Perón to Videla* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2014); Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 4. See also Figure 2 in Appendix A: 1945 Photograph of Actress Malu Gatica wearing a bikini that says "Vote For Allende."

People's Action Front (FRAP), "a coalition uniting Socialists and Communists," lost the presidential election by a mere three percentage points.⁷ The Cuban revolution and the Cuban Missile Crisis changed the dynamics of the Cold War and with it United States-Chilean relations. In 1961, President Kennedy initiated the Alliance for Progress, encouraging reforms in Chile and Latin America in order to curb communist revolution. In 1964, the Popular Front again narrowly lost to centrist Christian Democrat candidate Eduardo Frei.⁸ Despite Chilean conservatives' and United States' efforts to the contrary, in 1970, socialist Salvador Allende was finally elected as president representing the Unidad Popular. He served as President until he lost his life in the US supported September 1973 violent military coup that led to Augusto Pinochet's right-wing dictatorship. A 1988 plebiscite removed Pinochet as president in 1990.

A strictly political periodization emphasizes the importance of political and regime changes, focusing on the democratic right of the 1950s, the increased organization of the left in the 1960s, the presidency of elected socialist Salvador Allende (1970-1973), and the right-wing military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). The dominant paradigms of gender as applied in the Latin American scholarship have also centered these important institutional processes of political economy and state formation.⁹ The relationship of Chilean gender and sexuality to Cold War political projects, in particular, has been well documented

⁷ Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950-1973* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 87.

⁸ Tanya Harmer, *El Gobierno de Allende y la Guerra Fria Interamericana* (Santiago: Universidad Diego Portales, 2013).

⁹ Heidi Tinsman, "A Paradigm of Our Own: Joan Scott in Latin American History," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1357-1374.

by the Chilean historiography on gender.¹⁰ Just as with the broader Latin American gender scholarship, it effectively demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between gender construction and state power and the importance of gender in structuring public and private space under all Chilean governments.¹¹

Heidi Tinsman shows how political projects used constructed gendered roles in their structuring of Chilean society, under both the Christian Democrats' attempt to reform capitalism and the Popular Unity's effort to create socialism.¹² Indeed, the late Chilean feminist Julieta Kirkwood criticized leftist parties' indifference to women.¹³ She wrote of "the myth of the revolutionary explosion of the common Chilean woman," a myth which she attributed to the Chilean left.¹⁴ Francisca Rodriguez, militant of the Chilean Communist party and founder of the organization of indigenous and rural women (ANAMURI), said in 2012 that "the left owes women a great debt."¹⁵

Scholars of Chile have also examined the effects of the September 1973 military coup and long dictatorship on women's rights and sexual freedom, including contemporary feminist issues such as birth control, abortion, and divorce as well as early homosexual organizing, seeking to determine to what degree the right-wing dictatorship stunted or

¹⁰ Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, *Gendered Compromises*; Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

¹¹ For examples of such scholarship by Chilean scholars, see Julieta Kirkwood, *Feminismo y participación política en Chile* (Santiago: FLASCO, 1982); Rafael Sagredo and Cristián Gazmuri, eds. *Historia de la Vida Privada en Chile: El Chile contemporáneo de 1925 a nuestro días, Tomo 3* (Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones S.A., 2008); Edda Gaviola et. al. *Una Historia Necesaria: Mujeres en Chile: 1973-1990* (Santiago: Aki & Aora Ltda, 1994); Eliana Lardo, ed. *Genero en el estado, Estado del Genero* (Santiago: ISIS, 1998).

¹² Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*, 3.

¹³ Julieta Kirkwood, *Ser Política En Chile: Las Feministas y Los Partidos* (Santiago: FLASCO, 1986), 144.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 92.

¹⁵ Video Testimony of Francisca Rodriguez, 2012, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

advanced policies of sexual liberation.¹⁶ Indeed, among some Chilean historians, feminists, and LGBT activists, there has been a tendency to point to the late sixties and early 1970s as a time of an increased sexual freedom that was stunted and violently repressed by the September 11, 1973 coup and subsequent dictatorship.¹⁷ While Mala Htun's study of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile challenges the widely accepted notion that democracies expand women's rights and that dictatorships restrict women's rights, Pieper Mooney demonstrates that in Chile, women saw unprecedented restrictions to their sexual and reproductive rights under the military and very limited legal changes in favor of gender equality.¹⁸ However, some gender scholars have pointed out continuities in these political ruptures, such as Lisa Baldez's work on the continuous mobilization of women under changing regimes.¹⁹

Such scholarship has also effectively demonstrated the fundamental importance of women's reproductive sexuality and roles as mothers in these relationships to political projects under the democratic right, the democratic left, and the military regime.²⁰ Jadwiga Pieper Mooney's excellent study of citizenship rights in Chile through the lens of gender analysis argues that motherhood is intimately tied to public policies and political competitions on nation-state and international levels, stating that "motherhood, as the most

¹⁶ See Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*; Mala Htun, *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003); Margaret Power, "Class and Gender in the Anti-Allende Women's Movement: Chile 1970-1973," *Social Politics* (Fall 2000): 289-308; Margaret Power, *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende 1964-1973* (State College: Pennsylvania State Press, 2002); Lisa Baldez, *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002); John French and Daniel James, *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers* (Durham: Duke University, 1997); Robles, *Bandera Hueca*.

¹⁷ See for example Robles, *Bandera Hueca*; and Jadwiga Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*.

¹⁸ Htun, *Sex and the State*; Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 8 and 136.

¹⁹ Baldez, *Why Women Protest*.

²⁰ See Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, Power, "Class and Gender;" Power, *Right-Wing Women*; Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*; Baldez, *Why Women Protest*; French and James, *The Gendered Worlds*.

important signifier of womanhood in Latin America, has been at the heart of the gender system and critical for defining women's responsibilities throughout the nation.”²¹

Processes of political economy and state formation in the Latin American gender scholarship have been emphasized, however, at the expense of deeper consideration of sexual identity and performance.²² Such a focus limits our understanding of the complexity of sexuality in Latin America, serves to further normalize the heterosexual gender binary, and maintains both the invisibility of transgender communities and the marginalization of sexual performance artists. The overwhelming focus on reproductive rights and heterosexuality in these discussions, while very relevant to understanding constructions of femininity, obscures the larger picture of Chilean, and Latin American, sexuality. Ignoring both the historical trajectory of Chileans that did not conform to the legally and culturally enforced heterosexual gender binary and the ways that the Chilean state, under democracy and dictatorship, encouraged nonreproductive female sexuality, limits our understanding of the complexity of sexuality in Latin America. This dissertation's focus on **nonreproductive sexuality**, which refers to all forms of sexuality not intended for reproduction, tells a new story of women in Latin America, of queerness in Latin America, and of Chilean politics and civil rights.

The Chilean political and economic elite maintained overarching continuities in the legal and cultural sexualization and commodification of “feminized” bodies, including both cisgender and transgender performances of femininity.²³ Further, all Cold War Chilean

²¹ Pieper Mooney, *Politics of Motherhood*, 2.

²² Tinsman, “A Paradigm of Our Own.”

²³ The term “cisgender” refers to persons' whose expressed gender is the same as the gender they were assigned at birth. The term has recently been employed among gender scholars and in popular culture to refer to people who are not transgender in an attempt to diminish the stigma associated with being transgender. I employ it throughout my dissertation as a descriptive tool to clarify whether a person is cisgender or transgender, though my use of the term is also intended to push back against the normalization of cisgendered

governments and regimes legally and culturally policed nonnormative genders and sexualities. Cold War Chilean political parties' focus on reproductive sexuality in this period excluded any attempts to advance sexual freedom for LGBT persons. While all political regimes boasted women's role as mothers, all Cold War Chilean governments allowed space for the production and consumption of sexualized femininity and used representative sexualized femininity to promote their political projects.

Beyond the discursive focus on motherhood, women were also encouraged to engage in various forms of what I call **productive sexualities**, a term I use both to distinguish from reproductive sexuality and to imply a commodified, sexualized product to be marketed, sold, and consumed. Chilean productive sexualities include the consumption of feminine beauty products, racialized performances of regional and national representation in beauty contests such as the Miss Chile pageant, sex work, the performance of erotic, semi or fully nude dances or stripteases in public, legal businesses such as cabarets, and the performance of sexuality in nude magazines. Likewise, queer and transgender Chileans found a cultural and economic niche for survival in productive sexuality, particularly in transvestite sex work and in staged trans performances.²⁴

Exposing the history of Cold War Chile's booming cabaret and sexual performance industries, I reveal a world where norms of gender and sexuality were contested and inverted. Women were encouraged to perform pleasure and desire and to consume products and

people. See Marcia Ochoa, *Queen for a Day: Transformistas, Beauty Queens, and the Performance of Femininity in Venezuela* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) for more description of this word.

²⁴ The term "trans" is commonly used in Chile, and I employ it here and throughout the dissertation to refer to all persons who transgressed binary sex and gender roles. This includes transvestite, transgender, and transsexual persons. I use both this term and the word "transgender" to refer to all three of these categories. The use of "transvestite" and "transsexual" are also employed specifically to refer to cisgender men who dressed and styled their bodies as women, sometimes employing certain technologies of bodily transformation, in the former case and to refer to persons who used technologies of bodily transformation to physically change their genitals in the latter case.

services that dressed and undressed their bodies for seductive purposes. Chilean regimes that were otherwise engaged in shoring up gender and sexual difference actually protected space for -- and their officials often enjoyed -- the performance of alternative sexualities. Numerous journalist accounts and artists' testimonies all attest to the substantial participation of Chile's political elite in cabarets and nightclubs under both democracy and dictatorship. Further, despite state policing of nonnormative identities, laws pertaining to sexuality, such as state regulations of brothels and sexual performance businesses, reveal how the state facilitated the continued success of the sexual commerce and performance industries across different kinds of regimes.

Following Joan Scott's insight that "politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics," I show how beauty, bodies, genders, and sexualities, as historical constructions, are themselves political, thereby demonstrating how political discourse encourages and censors specific femininities in private, economic, and political spaces.²⁵ Scott's assertions that politics and gender are inextricably related, and that even formal politics are gendered, serve as a foundational theoretical base for my project, which will demonstrate that a history of Cold War politics in Chile is not complete without a gendered analysis of the performance of feminine beauty as a political and commercial construction.²⁶

Theorizing Performance and Performativity

In Shakespeare's play *As You Like It*, the character Jaques declares that "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," adding that "one man in his

²⁵ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Revised Edition (New York: Columbia University, 1990).

²⁶ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075, 1070.

time plays many parts.”²⁷ This insight captures one of the central premises of this dissertation. We perform bodies, genders, and sexualities in private just as in public, in the home just as in the workplace, and off-stage just as on-stage. Our performances can be fluid and changing so that we may indeed play many different parts. I use the term **sexual performance** to refer to performance of the body intended to be erotic or seductive in nature. I describe this performance as sexual instead of erotic to also imply the performance of sex and/or gender difference. My framing of sexual performance as both erotic and gendered borrows from feminist philosopher Judith Butler’s idea of “performativity,” where gender and sexual identities are produced “through a stylized repetition of acts” and regulations in socialization.²⁸

Therefore, gender is not fixed; it is a continuous performance in which one person may play many parts. Butler argues that “gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo.”²⁹ Similarly, Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues that the body is not a “natural species,” but rather “an historical idea,” gaining its meaning “through a concrete and historically mediated expression in the world.”³⁰ While performance theorist Diana Taylor argues that such performativity is “harder to identify because normalization has rendered it invisible,” a historical deconstruction of such normalization renders it visible

²⁷ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act 2, Scene 7, 139-143 (Classic Books Company, 2001).

²⁸ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” in *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press: 1990), 270-282, 270 and 278. Italics in original.

²⁹ Butler, “Performative Acts,” 271.

³⁰ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “The Body in its Sexual Being,” in *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), quoted in Butler, “Performative Acts,” 271-272. See also Simon De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Vintage, 1974), 38.

again.³¹ And, indeed, as Butler maintains, it is “imperative to consider the way in which this gendering of the body occurs.”³²

While it is crucial to recognize that we may perform racialized genders, bodies, and sexualities always and everywhere and that we may indeed play many parts, it is also fundamental to study what is typically bracketed as performance.³³ The privilege of performing as performance opens a space where we are encouraged to play with societal and political norms, to reimagine our reality, and to cross lines we might not otherwise dare to cross. But how do we separate our reality from our reimagining of it?

We cannot speak of normative bodies, genders, and sexualities without considering the ways we perform on stage. The world of actors, models, and cabaret performers is entertainment for much broader segments of society. Using theatrical allowances of bending and inverting norms, that world not only defines the parameters of normativity (or lack thereof) for those that inhabit its space of labor (actors, performers, directors, choreographers, and other entertainment functionaries), but it also provides lessons in normativity for larger society, or at least the viewing public.

Performance theorist Diana Taylor notes that because the different uses of terms and concepts of “performance,” and “performativity” across disciplines “rarely engage each other directly, performance also has a history of untranslatability.”³⁴ She establishes performance as a methodological lens for analysis (of both performance and performativity).³⁵ She encourages scholars to use a paradigm of scenarios rather than simple textual analysis. Such

³¹ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University, 2003), 5.

³² Butler, “Performative Acts,” 274.

³³ See Diana Taylor’s discussion of this in *Archive and Repertoire*.

³⁴ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 6.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 28-29.

a paradigm includes analysis of images, bodily gestures, stereotypes, attitudes, power relations, social constructions of bodies, clothing, sounds, style and audience along with narratives and plots. Using performance as a methodology makes an entire spectrum of attitudes and values visible.³⁶ Following structural anthropologist Victor Turner's assertion that "performances reveal culture's deepest, truest, and most individual character,"³⁷ Taylor argues that "performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity."³⁸

Using performance as a methodological lens for analysis of the performativity of sex, gender, beauty, race, and sexuality, I explore multifaceted performances of Chilean femininity in the Cold War period. I examine such performative performance in beauty industries, including women's magazines, fashion designers and models, and beauty contestants and contests, as well as the ways that such performances reflected long-standing norms of sex differentiation in Chilean public schooling. My analysis of nude magazines also uses performance as a methodological lens for analyzing the performativity and agency of nude models.

While my work focuses heavily on public performance, I also analyze the quotidian ways that both cisgender and transgender women constructed and performed their genders and sexualities in private spaces. This evidence demonstrates that there is no essential feminine body, beauty, or gender. When a cisgender woman wears a dress, high heels, and make-up, her wardrobe is part of a stylized performance in the expression of her gender

³⁶ Ibid, 49.

³⁷ Victor Turner, "From a Planning Meeting for the World Conference on Ritual and Performance," quoted in Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 4. See also Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

³⁸ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 3.

identity. My examination of such everyday performances of femininity³⁹ demonstrates that, indeed, everything is drag.

Philosopher Judith Butler notes that in the theater, the audience is aware that it is an act and can “de-realize the act,” allowing for “strict lines to be drawn between the performance and life.” Whereas, outside of the theatrical context, the act can become dangerous because “there is no presumption that the act is distinct from a reality.”⁴⁰ Yet, performance within the theater is both imaginary and real. And indeed, Butler herself recognizes that the transvestite can challenge “the distinction between appearance and reality,” noting that, “If the ‘reality’ of gender is constituted by the performance itself, then there is no recourse to an essential and unrealized ‘sex’ or ‘gender’ which gender performances ostensibly express. Indeed, the transvestite’s gender is as fully real as anyone whose performance complies with social expectations.”⁴¹ I extend this to include an analysis of the way cisgender women may also challenge the distinction between appearance and reality by performing roles that do not comply with social expectations. This dissertation thus serves to complicate our historical understanding of norms and normativity, revealing the role of on-stage sexual performance in constructing alternative norms for bodies, genders, and sexualities and demonstrating the complexity that exists in determining what constitutes a stage.

My examination of cabaret and striptease performers applies the theory of performativity to performance itself, thus demonstrating the ways that Chilean and foreign artists performed race, bodies, genders, and sexualities on-stage, using the de-realized safe

³⁹ My use of “everyday performances” borrows from James Scott’s work, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University, 1987).

⁴⁰ Butler, “Performative Acts,” 278.

⁴¹ Ibid.

space of the stage to fully realize their gender and sexual identities. A focus on on-stage performance provides new insights into the spectrum of normative bodies, genders, and sexualities in Cold War Chile and throughout Latin America. We gain insight into the booming Latin American cabaret industry of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. This world of topless dancers, queer choreographers, and a transvestite dance company forces us to rethink Cold War Latin America, both culturally and politically.

The Entertainment Industry as a Structure of Power, Beauty Culture, and National Identity

In Latin America, as in other places, the entertainment industry has historically functioned as an important structure of power alongside the state, the Church, and science/medicine. U.S. and European scholars have established the entertainment industry's significance as a structure of power that can work for and against religious and state institutions in the construction of national identity. For example, Stephen Gundle emphasizes the entertainment industry as one of the institutions that deeply influenced Italy's use of representations of women in its national imagery,⁴² and Joanne Meyerowitz shows how the entertainment industry brought transsexuality to the United States before it was addressed by the medical and legal communities.⁴³

Establishing the entertainment industry as a fundamental structure of power allows us to consider the ways that the commodification of images and performances of female bodies constructs sexualized, racialized representations of national identity and national beauty.

Stephen Gundle defines beauty as:

⁴² Stephen Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), ivii.

⁴³ Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the US* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2002).

a gender-specific and culturally-validated summation of the ideal physical qualities of a specific ethnic group or population. Such qualities must be collectively approved and reinforced through the periodic proposition of new examples that will prevalently be drawn from the section of the population whose age falls between adolescence and maturity. The distinction between ethnic group and population is important because not all nations are based on ethnicity and, even where they are, immigration has in many instances led to a shift of emphasis to a more loosely-defined notion of the national community. The term ‘feminine beauty’ has been preferred to ‘female beauty’ in the title because it suggests more strongly the notion of an ongoing process of construction rather than a fixed and universal biological given.”⁴⁴

Building on Gundle’s definition of beauty, I define Chilean beauty as a gendered and culturally-validated sexed, sexualized, and racialized constructed performance of the summation of the ideal physical qualities of Chilean national identity. My revised definition stresses the performative aspects of beauty, allowing me to focus on constructions of sexed bodies and genders, the heteronormative sexualization of feminine beauty, as well as the particular racial implications of Chilean beauty, specifically the exclusion of racially and ethnically diverse Chilean bodies in the imagining of representative national identity.

Other scholars have emphasized the racial implications of beauty in the context of the Americas. Sarah Banet-Weiser’s evaluation of beauty pageants in the United States shows how staged bodies can constitute “proper” representatives of national identity that mediate racial, gendered, and sexual identities while constructing women as commodities.⁴⁵ Most recently, some critical studies on beauty and power in Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela help fill the gap in such scholarship in Latin America.⁴⁶ Scholars like Stanfield, Edmonds, and Ochoa have shown how beauty technologies and pageants mediate class distinctions and

⁴⁴ Gundle, *Bellissima*, xxiv.

⁴⁵ Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California, 1999), 1-2, 11.

⁴⁶ Michael Stanfield, *Of Beasts and Beauty: Gender, Race, and Identity in Colombia* (Austin: University of Texas, 2013); Alexander Edmonds, *Pretty Modern: Beauty, Sex and Plastic Surgery in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University 2010); Marcia Ochoa, *Queen for a Day*.

national racial ideologies by simultaneously exoticizing diversity and reinforcing Eurocentric aesthetics, while also providing countries national products that are able to successfully participate on the global stage. Marcia Ochoa's work on Miss Venezuela analyzes the contest as a national product that allows the country to successfully participate on the global stage, mediating Venezuelan racial ideology.

I bring this global scholarship on beauty culture and national identity to bear on the history of Chile. I focus on the racialized commodification of beauty to show how beauty contests and culture exalted European aesthetics and appropriated aspects of imagined indigeneity, while excluding actual indigenous women, Afro-Chileans, and Jewish, Arab, and Asian Chileans. I use this same framework in my examinations of cabarets and nude magazines, revealing how the even longer Chilean historical tradition of sexual performance promoted a gendered, racialized, and sexualized marketing product of the nation for international political and business competition, while also providing space for "exoticized" diversity in terms of sexual and racial difference.

The global scholarship on the racial and sexual politics of international cabarets greatly informs this work and helps us understand the function of sexual performance in Chile. Shane Vogel looks specifically at performances of race and sexuality in Harlem cabarets, reframing the cabaret as a queer literary and performance tradition which cultural workers used to critique racial and sexual normativity and imagine alternative narratives of sexual and racial selfhood.⁴⁷ Vogel shows how artists worked to transform the politics of representation, understanding the cabaret as "a space of intimacy that exceeds or eludes sexual categorization." Vogel's work offers an insightful way to examine cabaret culture,

⁴⁷ Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

both by considering performance artists as active agents and by offering a reframing of the cabaret as a sexually elusive space of intimacy.

Other scholars have also demonstrated the cultural and political agency of cabaret and nightclub performers, including the ways that these performers highlighted U.S. civil rights and race relations issues and opened up a space for the Soviets to challenge the U.S.'s rhetoric of equality. Mary Dudziak shows how sexual performance artist Josephine Baker “was caught in the cross fire of the Cold War in Latin America in the early 1950s” by campaigning for racial tolerance and how she “used seduction as a political tool.”⁴⁸ In her work on performer Paul Robeson, Kate Baldwin explains the separation of “Robeson the artist” and “Robeson the activist” as being “related to an occlusion of the international in Cold War histories that divided the world into international and domestic spheres, carefully locating questions of racial and cultural difference in the domestic.”⁴⁹ Yet, as Andrew J. Rotter demonstrates, nations construct each other, and gender is a transnational process.⁵⁰ My work reveals sex, gender, and race as transnational processes.

The international sexual performance market, relegated to the world of frivolity and domesticity, was highly political in terms of the racial and sexual politics surrounding these bodies and who was allowed to perform what, where, and when. The Chilean cabaret industry was intrinsically transnational, and therefore must be understood within this context. The case of Chilean cabarets, thriving under both socialist democracy and neoliberal dictatorship, contributes to the scholarship on the politics of Cold War cabarets in

⁴⁸ Mary L. Dudziak, “Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War,” *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (September 1994): 543-570, 555 and 543.

⁴⁹ Kate A. Baldwin, “Black Shadows across the Iron Curtain: Robeson’s Stance between Cold War Cultures,” in Kate A. Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 206-207.

⁵⁰ Andrew J. Rotter, “Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964,” *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (Sep., 1994): 518-542, 521-22.

demonstrating how these contrasting political regimes used the cabaret as both personal entertainment and for business and tourism purposes.

The role of profit in shaping spaces for alternative sexualities is, as Foucault noted, crucial to understanding the interplay of sexuality with structures of power.⁵¹ However, as I show, profit is not a sufficient explanation for understanding alternative sexualities. My work complicates cultural studies that reduce sexual performance and commerce to monetary exchange and posit the commodification of sex and desire as a capitalist phenomenon.⁵² Striptease is not inherently capitalist nor democratic. Sexual performance cannot be reduced to mere commodification; this simplification negates the performers' own agency and subjectivity. Further, transnational striptease culture was well established by the mid twentieth century and was supported in Chile by both democratic socialists and the military dictatorship.

Therefore, scholarly debates on striptease's relation to feminism and democracy must address the historical significance of striptease before the feminist movement and under dictatorship. Liepe-Levison has effectively addressed the first issue, demonstrating that striptease is neither feminist nor misogynist.⁵³ Following Liepe-Levison, I emphasize the agency of nude models and performers. Analyzing both cabaret performances and nude magazines, I show that striptease and other sexual performance can both challenge and reinforce heteronormative ideals and regulations of gender and sexuality.

⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Vol. 1. (New York: Random House, 1978), 4.

⁵² Brian McNair, *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratization of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 6; Jorge Pavez and Lilith Krauser, eds. *Capitalismo y Pornología: La Producción de los Cuerpos Sexuados* (Antofagasta, Chile: Universidad Católica del Norte, 2011).

⁵³ Katherine Liepe-Levinson, *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire* (New York: Routledge: 2002).

My examination of nude magazines complicates Mulvey's notion of the male gaze and of nude models as passive.⁵⁴ As Susan Bordo demonstrates in her study of images of male bodies, "inviting, receiving, responding...are active behaviors."⁵⁵ Following Bordo, I highlight nude models' agency by emphasizing their performance as models. Using evidence of female readership, I also propose the notion of the female gaze. This is an important recognition because as Beth Eck notes, "There is a dialectical experience in viewing nudes. Gender informs how one looks, and how one looks informs gender, particularly as it is linked to sexual identity."⁵⁶

Deconstructionist Theory

This dissertation analyzes Chilean femininity as a racialized, gendered, and sexualized construction. I focus on various forms of Chilean productive sexuality. My work applies relevant deconstructionist theories on bodies, gender, sexuality, and power so that I analyze these as constructivist rather than essentialist.⁵⁷ It rejects an assumption of "patriarchal equilibrium," that men's oppression of women has existed across time and space, albeit in changing ways.⁵⁸ Such assumptions reduce conflictual relationships to those between men and women, ignore historical evidence to the contrary, and discount women's own role in constructing gender and history. Furthermore, as Joan Scott recognizes, there is "nothing about the body, including women's reproductive organs," that inherently determines

⁵⁴ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975), 6-18.

⁵⁵ Susan Bordo, *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and in Private* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 190; Beth Eck, "Men Are Much Harder: Gendered Viewing of Nude Images," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 5 (Oct. 2003): 691-710.

⁵⁶ Eck, "Men Are Much Harder," 706.

⁵⁷ Foucault; Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁵⁸ Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

social divisions.⁵⁹ Moving beyond a patriarchal framework, my project will follow Scott's understanding that "inequalities of power are organized along at least three axes," race, class, and gender.⁶⁰

Likewise, Judith Butler's refusal to fix the body as existing separately from the discourse that constructs it is invaluable in deconstructing gendered ideals built around the body.⁶¹ As Butler notes, the body exceeds discourse and reworks the very norms that might constrain it. She thus deconstructs the relationship between the body and gender arguing, "sex, by definition, will be shown to have been gender all along."⁶² Butler helps complicate the very separation of sex and gender itself.

Recent scholarship on transgendered bodies, from which my work also borrows, intersects with Butler's arguments. Joanne Meyerowitz's groundbreaking monograph on transsexuality in the U.S. historicizes competing U.S. and European notions of sex.⁶³ It shows how the categories of sex, gender, and sexuality have been intertwined in American science and culture and adds to the historiography on the medical control of sexuality, reproduction, and gender identity. While some argue that transsexuals "reinscribe the conservative stereotypes of male and female and masculine and feminine," they can also serve "as symbols of the mixed-ness or third-ness that illustrates the multiplicity of genders or denaturalizes and parodies the pure oppositions of imagined binaries."⁶⁴ Meyerowitz traces a "transatlantic shift" in sex-reassignment surgery from Europe to the United States from the 1930s through the 1950s and shows how the sensationalist and sexualized coverage

⁵⁹ Scott, *Gender*, 2.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 30

⁶¹ Butler, *Bodies*.

⁶² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999): 8.

⁶³ Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 11-12.

of Coccinelle gave increased hope to U.S. Male-to-female's.⁶⁵ As I will show, this transatlantic shift reached into South America as well.

Just as this project follows Scott's, Butler's, and Meyerowitz's deconstruction of genders and bodies, it also takes a Foucauldian approach to sexuality. Foucault complicated the claim that sex has historically been repressed and silenced, arguing that sexuality has become increasingly under the watch of secularized science/medicine and the state.⁶⁶ Thus, this project views sex, gender, and sexuality as constructed rather than essential.

Critical Race Theory's recognition of the social construction of race helps to deconstruct the social thoughts and relations involved in creating supposedly essentialist racial categories.⁶⁷ Recognizing that bodies, sex, gender, and sexuality are socially constructed necessarily implies the social construction of both race and beauty ideals. Scholars of Latin America have shown the central role of race in gendered constructions as well as the ways that 19th and 20th century policies of eugenics and public health blended racialized and gendered ideologies.⁶⁸ As scientific racism became increasingly discredited in the 20th century, standards of beauty picked up where eugenics left off in determining and encouraging specific hierarchical, desirable, measurable traits of ideal, fit bodies.

Scholars have shown that in Latin America both race and gender are constructed differently and hold different social meanings than their constructed counterparts elsewhere.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 49 and 188.

⁶⁶ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.

⁶⁷ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University, 2001).

⁶⁸ Sueann Caulfield, "Interracial Courtship in the Rio de Janeiro Courts, 1918-1940," in Nancy P. Appelbaum, Karin Roseblatt, and Anne S. Macpherson, eds. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 163-186; and Alejandra Bronfman, "Mismeasured Women: Gender and Social Science on the Eve of Female Suffrage in Cuba," in William French and Katherine Bliss, eds. *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield: 2006): 71-86; and Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (New York: Cornell University, 1991).

Excellent work on race in Latin America has shown that historically constructed racial categories are more fluid in Latin America and that national discourses have tended to promote the idea of one national race.⁶⁹ Such myths of racial democracies have allowed for “both equality and inequality to be imagined and experienced.”⁷⁰ Since the nineteenth century, positivism, modernity, and eugenics have encouraged many South American countries like Chile to favor the promotion of a whitened, Europeanized *mestizo* (mixed) national identity and to exclude and “other” many ethnicities and racial constructions within their own population.

In the case of Chile, political, economic, and cultural elites touted their European aesthetics and behaviors while discursively excluding indigenous, African-descended, Arab, Jewish, and Asian Chileans.⁷¹ Chilean national identity has been imagined as *mestizo*, but as a very Europeanized and modernized mix with an imagined distant indigenous past.⁷² With important variations in region and time period, such discourses have been sustained by notions of *mestizaje* and whitening, of modernity vs. barbarity, and by encouraging European

⁶⁹ See Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 1997); Appelbaum, et. al, eds. *Race and Nation*; Marcia Ochoa, *Queen for a Day*. For a challenge to prevailing notion of the fluidity of Latin American categories of race, see Edward E. Telles and Tiana S. Paschel, “Beyond Fixed or Fluid: Degrees of Fluidity in Racial Identification in Latin America,” Presented at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, San Francisco, CA, May 25, 2012.

⁷⁰ Peter Wade, “Race and Nation in Latin America: An Anthropological View,” in Appelbaum, et. al, eds. *Race and Nation*, 263-282, 264.

⁷¹ René Peri Fageström, *La Raza Negra en Chile: Una Presencia Negada* (Santiago: LOM, 1999). Peri did not discuss Arab, Jewish, or Asian Chileans but they should be included in this list of excluded ethnicities. It should also be noted here that the use of the term “European aesthetics” holds little meaning both within Europe and among scholars of Europe, considering both the reality of ethnic and racial diversity within Europe as well as the critical ways that issues of race and ethnicity have influenced national and international European relations. In Latin America, such distinctions among Europeans have held much less meaning in the twentieth century. In Chile, generally only Jewish Europeans have been culturally distinguished from other Europeans. I use the term European aesthetics here, and throughout this dissertation, in the context of Latin America and specifically of Chile, to refer to a relatively light skin tone and tall stature and a bodily appearance that was not easily identified as indigenous, Afro-Latino, Arab, Jewish, or Asian. While European aesthetics in the Chilean context showed particular preference for blonde hair and blue or green eyes, such physical traits were not a necessary component of such aesthetics.

⁷² Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*, 38.

immigration while excluding racial categories from census data and/or racial minorities from representations of national identity.

Chilean beauty industries touted models and contestants with European aesthetics, often adopting imagined indigenous elements while excluding actual indigenous women and Chilean of non-European ethnicities. The Chilean cabaret industry gave preference to Chilean women with European-aesthetics, using height requirements as a measurable standard of bodies to be displayed, and especially favored performers from Europe and Argentina (the latter imagined as a more Europeanized nation). Yet, Chilean cabarets and nightclubs also appreciated performances of exoticized racial and ethnic diversity. Of the productive sexualities analyzed in this dissertation, nude magazines were the most accepting of racial and ethnic diversity. However, even in these magazines there are references to women with European-aesthetics being of the *raza chilena*, or Chilean race.

Nonreproductive Sexuality and Queer Theory

Sex and sexuality cannot be understood in terms of their reproductive functions only. A history of productive sexuality then serves to highlight sexuality's nonreproductive functions.⁷³ In doing so, it challenges the centering of reproduction in understanding sexuality and allows us to better visibilize the clitoris, female sexual pleasure, and nonheteronormative sexuality, thus complicating essentialized notions of genders and sexualities as well as the emphasis of the role of penetration in sexuality. Indeed, acknowledging that sexuality is much more complicated than reproduction and rightfully

⁷³Evolutionary biologists have maintained that nonreproductive sexuality is "a phenomenon of which any satisfactory explanation of female orgasm must take account." Jocelyn Bosley, "From Monkey Facts to Human Ideologies: Theorizing Female Orgasm in Human and Nonhuman Primates, 1967–1983," *Signs, Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Indigenous Feminisms* 35, no. 3 (Spring 2010).

decentering the role of penetration allows us to deconstruct essentialized notions of masculinity and femininity that still largely pervade the scholarship on queer Latin America.

As the title, “Everything Is Drag,” indicates, I examine performances of femininity by both cisgender female and queer Chileans. This is a queer, feminine-centered alternative approach to examining what Don Kulick has labeled “not-men” in his study of transgendered Brazilian prostitutes.⁷⁴ Kulick claims the existence of two genders, men and not-men, the latter defined by the “passive” role of being penetrated and including both cisgender women and transvestites. Roger Lancaster described a similar phenomenon in Nicaragua in which homosexuality is defined by the passive sex role and men who are penetrated are “feminine men, or more accurately, feminized men, not fully male men.”⁷⁵ Such studies are founded on assumptions of the centrality of phallic-penetration to male and female sexuality and of essentialized attributes of masculinity and femininity that posit female sexuality as inherently passive.

While Kulick and Lancaster claim that gender in Latin America is often constructed in relation to sexual roles, rather than genitals or sexual desire, they fail to critically examine the essentialist attributes they categorize as “woman” or “feminine.” Their conclusions ultimately essentialize binary genders as fixed and reduce the category of womanhood, or not-men, to the act of being penetrated. Such a definition based on the act of being penetrated obscures the complexity of both transgender and cisgender female sexuality. James Green helps to complicate this tendency to define both gender and sexuality in terms of active and passive sexual roles, showing that “Gender and sexual role behavior have been much more

⁷⁴ Don Kulick, “The Gender of Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes,” *American Anthropologist* 99, no. 3 (September 1997): 574-585, 575.

⁷⁵ Roger N. Lancaster, *Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992), 242.

fluid and shifting among Brazilian men, even among those men whose primary sexual desire was toward men of the same sex.”⁷⁶

Vek Lewis’s exploration of nonnormative Latin American sexualities and genders insightfully recognizes that transvestites’ subjectivities “are as much about sexuality and desire as they are about gender,” but he also essentializes transvestites’ femininity as “an expression of their desired (passive) role.”⁷⁷ Lewis argues that the period from 1985 to 2005 was a “crucial period in the changing perceptions of nonnormative sexualities.” Citing historical studies of homosexuality and travestism, he notes that in Chile, among other places “the processes of the sociopolitical visibilization of travestis and transsexuals, for example, are only really noticeable from the early to mid-nineties onward.”⁷⁸ As I will show, transvestites and transsexuals were visible culturally, socially, and politically (in terms of state policing and medical and legal discourses) in Chile by the 1950s.

My queer, feminist approach is built on a critical examination of the supposedly essentialist attributes Kulick and others categorize as “female” or “feminine.” While my examination of femininity also places queer and cisgender female Chileans in the same framework, by no means do I consider them to be the same gender or inhabiting the same sexuality. Moving beyond a Freudian phallo-centered analysis, I analyze cisgender and transgender women together as a means of interrogating the very process of gendering bodies, a process which attributes specific aesthetics and behaviors to binary constructions of maleness and femaleness. As Butler notes, “it would make no sense . . . to define gender as

⁷⁶ James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 7.

⁷⁷ Vek Lewis, *Crossing Sex and Gender in Latin America* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 7.

⁷⁸ Lewis, *Crossing Sex*, 4.

the cultural interpretation of sex, if sex itself is a gendered category.”⁷⁹ To be clear, I am not arguing for a third gender. Indeed, I am not counting genders at all. Gender is continuously constructed and performed, fluid, and changing, defying categorization. Likewise, to quote the late Chilean transvestite Hija de Perra, “Sexuality is unorganized.”⁸⁰

Shame and the Versatility of Respectability

Because I am focusing on individuals who have largely been marginalized in both Chilean society and historiography, it is crucial for me to examine shame as a historical construction. Following Sally Munt, I argue that the construction of shame has political effects, as it “performs culturally to mark out certain groups.”⁸¹ There is nothing inherently shameful about striptease and sexual performance (or any other forms of nonreproductive sexuality) and it is crucial to recognize both the sources and effects of imbuing such performance and sexuality with shame for both cisgender women and queer Chileans. Further, people can rewrite stigmatizations of shame. Munt recognizes that, “Sometimes there is no reason or justification for being stigmatized by shame, and shame is transmuted into pride as part of a strategy by individuals and groups to reverse the discourse,” a la Foucault.⁸²

Sexual performance in Chile as best understood as embodying a versatility of respectability. This phrase is my translation of something the famous Chilean actor, writer, and nightlifer Rafael Frontaura wrote regarding the bohemian theater lifestyle in his 1957

⁷⁹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 7.

⁸⁰ Hija de Perra, Debate: Trans en Chile, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, November 2013.

⁸¹ Sally Munt, *Queer Attachments: The Cultural Politics of Shame* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 2-3.

⁸² Munt, *Queer Attachments*, 4. See also Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.

chronicle of Santiago theater and nightlife from 1920 to 1955.⁸³ Frontaura, who starred in the 1926 silent Chilean film, *La Ultima Trasnochada* (*The Last Allnighter*), received the National Art Award in 1949.⁸⁴ While he used “the versatility of respectability” to describe his work as an actor, his words capture the essence of sexual performance in Chile.

However, when speaking of his youth, Frontaura notes that being an actor was not well respected by society, despite the importance of the theater and circuses, etc. to entertainment and high society culture. He says it was common to hear people sympathize with mothers whose sons had “thrown their lives away to become artists.”⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that sexual performance artists were not the only ones playing with a versatility of respectability, but rather that this negotiation was central to many entertainers’ lives.

Frontaura ends his book with a poetic “Curtain,” referencing the curtain closing at the end of a performance, in which he says “The apparent frivolity involves the tragedy of the other face, that which is not shined upon by the bright lights of the oil lamps, the intimate pain, the ambiguity, failure or anguish...”⁸⁶ His choice to end his book with this quote recalls the “versatility of respectability” that he spoke of earlier. He reveals that women and transgender persons were not the only ones dealing with constructions of respectability and shame in the entertainment world. The stigma that society attached to entertainers was something that everyone involved faced in their own way. Yet, the stigma itself was two-faced. The same society that relegated entertainment to a precarious respectability also kept those people employed by paying to enjoy their entertainment.

⁸³ Rafael Frontaura, *Trasnochadas: Anecdinario del teatro y de la noche santiaguina* (Santiago: Editora Zig-Zag, 1957), 105 and 121.

⁸⁴ My translation.

⁸⁵ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 113.

⁸⁶ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 222.

The Politics of Sexual Performance and Appearance in Cold War Chile

The relationship of Chilean gender and sexuality to leftist, reformist-centrist, and right-wing political projects has been well documented by the Chilean historiography on gender.⁸⁷ Still, some scholars and other Chileans of the left tend to equate sexual performance with the right. Famous Chilean cinematographer Pablo Larrain stated that sexual performance is antithetical to socialism in a 2012 interview.⁸⁸ Chilean political historian Veronica Valdivia has looked at topless culture under Chilean dictatorship in the late 1970s and 1980s, arguing that the dictatorship's 1978 neoliberal policies encouraged the opening of topless and other sex market businesses.⁸⁹ Yet, as I show, striptease and other sexual performance businesses have a long history in urban Chile, one that far predates both the dictatorship's neoliberal policies and the socialist presidency of Salvador Allende.

Some recent scholarship also specifically considers aspects of Chilean appearance within the traditional Cold War political periodization.⁹⁰ Patrick Barr-Melej's work on Poder Joven, a nonviolent countercultural group policed by both the UP and the military regime, briefly explores youth-based trends such as *hippismo*, a consumerist counterculture.⁹¹ Just as Manzano shows in Argentina, he argues that hippies created an identifiable culture delineated

⁸⁷ See Kirkwood, *Feminismo y participacion*; Sagredo and Gazmuri, eds. *Historia de la Vida Privada*; Gaviola et. al. *Una Historia Necesaria*; Lardo, ed. *Genero en el estado*; Roseblatt, *Gendered Compromises*; Klubock, *Contested Communities*; Baldez, *Why Women Protest*; Power, "Class and Gender," Power, *Right-Wing Women*; Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney, *Politics of Motherhood*; Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict*; French and James, *The Gendered Worlds*.

⁸⁸ Pablo Larrain, interviewed by Violet Lucca in "Projecting and Excavating the Past: An Interview with Pablo Larrain," *Film Comment*, April 19, 2012, Film Society of Lincoln Center, Accessed 4/18/16, www.filmcomment.com/blog/projecting-the-past-an-interview-with-pablo-larrain. Interview published in English.

⁸⁹ Veronica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile?' Las Mujeres y el Sexo Bajo la Dictadura Pinochetista," in *Mujeres: Historias Chilenas del Siglo XX*, ed. Julio Pinto Vallejos, (Santiago: LOM, 2010).

⁹⁰ See also Alvaro Góngora and Rafael Sagredo, eds. *Fragmentos para una historia del cuerpo en Chile* (Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones S.A., 2009).

⁹¹ Patrick Barr-Melej, "Siloísmo and the Self in Allende's Chile: Youth, 'Total Revolution,' and the Roots of the Humanist Movement," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 4, Nov. 2006.

by consumption patterns, among other things.⁹² Such culture identified itself in large part through clothing, hairstyles, and sexuality, emulations of the U.S. hippie movement. Poder Joven questioned all constructed notions of difference, arguing that sexual liberation was not gendered, a position that drew great criticism from the UP. His work agrees with Power's argument that no national political force in Chile called for women's liberation under Allende, but he argues that we must consider such outside political parties.⁹³

Chilean scholar Hernan Errazuriz considers the aesthetic-cultural coup of the military dictatorship in his fascinating examination of the aesthetics of the dictatorship. He focuses primarily on street names, the covering up of political murals, the removal and construction of monuments, national holidays, and appropriate colors for houses, but he also touches on the policing of physical appearance.⁹⁴ A cleansing process intended to wipe out traits associated with the left included the cutting of men's hair and beards and the censoring of red and black colors in clothing.⁹⁵

Additionally, Pia Montalva's history of fashion in Chile charts changes in the production, styles and consumption of clothing in Chile from 1960 to 1976.⁹⁶ Although historically high fashion was modeled on European, and particularly French, styles the 1960s also saw a gradual move from a preference for European styles to a Chilean and Latin American style that incorporated indigenous influences. The national monopoly on fabric and fashion weakened throughout the dictatorship, however, and was largely stamped out by the

⁹² Manzano, *The Age of Youth*.

⁹³ Barr-Melej, "Siloísmo," 769.

⁹⁴ Luis Hernán Errázuriz, "Dictadura Militar en Chile: Antecedentes del Golpe Estético-cultural," *Latin American Research Review* 44, no. 2: 2009; Luis Hernán Errázuriz and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada, *El Golpe Estético: Dictadura Militar en Chile 1973-1989* (Santiago: Ocho Libros Editores Ltda., 2012).

⁹⁵ Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*, 145.

⁹⁶ Pia Montalva, *Morir un poco: Moda y sociedad en Chile 1960-1976* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2004). See also Peter Winn, *Tejedores de la Revolución: Los trabajadores de Yarur y la vía chilena al socialismo*, trans. Verónica Huerta y Paula Salazar (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2004).

1982 unregulated opening of the market. Her work helps connect fashion trends to large-scale economic policies and cultural changes and provides invaluable insight into the representation of indigenous culture in the creation of a uniquely Chilean style.

Collectively, the literature on sex and the state demonstrates that while some women used gendered constructions of femininity to better arm their personal and political protests, others used the privilege of consumerism as a means of expressing their gendered and sexual rights. Still, scholars have not paid enough attention to the function of appearance in the performance of constructed feminine roles.

Sources and Chapterization

Following recent trends in cultural and social history, my work combines techniques in ethnography, archival research, and media studies to address these questions. I juxtapose the legal regulation and policing of gender and sexuality in Chile with the performance of femininity in print media, cabarets, theater, literature, film, television and personal accounts. I focused on collecting oral histories with cisgender, trans, and queer Chileans as a decolonizing methodology of the body in order to include personal accounts of female and transgender experiences in consuming, constructing and contesting norms of feminine beauty, bodies, and sexuality.⁹⁷

From 2013 to 2015 I collected nineteen oral histories from cisgender women and men and queer and transgender persons who lived in Chile during the 1960s, 70s and 80s, exploring how people from different class, gender, generational, and political backgrounds consumed, negotiated, and/or contested ideals of femininity. The oral histories I conducted, along with published memoirs and blogs, provide personal accounts of transvestites,

⁹⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

transsexuals, and cisgender women and men dating back to the 1950s, including the mother of a transgender person, LGBT activists, a fashion designer, an Arab-Chilean female actress who appeared topless on film, a transgender cabaret performer, cabaret and nightclub owners, and a woman who worked at a 1980s *café con piernas* (café with legs), a Chilean coffeeshop where women in sexy uniforms serve coffee to clientele.

The Chilean National Archive's Women and Gender Archive was also a resource because it includes the recorded video testimonies of dozens of prominent Chilean women of diverse backgrounds, such as testimonies of an indigenous female weaver discussing how appearance has changed within Mapuche culture; of actress Shlomit Baytelman discussing her role as a prostitute who has a sexual relationship with a 15 year old boy in the 1977 film *Julio Empieza En Julio*; and of Claudia Rodriguez, famous Chilean transvestite performance artist and poet from the 1990s into the present.

Because my project addresses not only personal identity and experience, but also state regulation and construction of sexual norms, I invested considerable time in the review of political and economic history sources. I carried out archival work in the Chilean National Library on state regulations, laws, and penal codes regulating sexuality, including laws on marriage, adultery, prostitution, rape, and homosexuality, as well as alcohol laws that serve in regulating nightclubs, cabarets, and other sexual performance businesses. Senate records were particularly helpful, revealing connections among the government and sexual performance industry elite, including a Senate homage to sexual performance business owner José Aravena, known as the godfather of Santiago nightlife.

Print media housed in the National Library was a fundamental source base for this project, including collections of cabaret revue show books and nude magazines, magazines

and newspapers of different political persuasions, and several chronicles written by contemporary nightlife reporters. I also carried out extensive research in the Archive of women's magazine *Revista Paula*. The Museum of Education Archive provided me information on how the state constructed male and female bodies and identities through physical and sexual education and school uniforms. I also analyzed visual sources, including photographer Sergio Larrain's 1960s photographs of brothels with both female and transvestite prostitutes, as well as photographs of sexual performance artists in the National Library's digital collection and in various online blogs.

This dissertation is divided into three body chapters that examine different types of productive sexuality under the democratic right, left, and center and the right wing dictatorship. Chapter Two, "Education in Femininity': Producing and Consuming Beauty, Everyday Performances of Sex Appeal, and the Politics of Passing," looks at both the consumption of beauty products and services and productions of beauty contests throughout the Cold War period, as well as everyday performances of beauty and femininity as heteronormative constructs of sex differentiation. I also consider the politics of passing and medical-legal discussions of homosexuality, sex change, and education in femininity. Chapter Three, "Striptease: Performing Sex, Gender, and Race in Cold War Chilean Cabarets" examines the booming sexual performance industry under democracy and dictatorship. As the first work on cabaret culture in Latin America, the chapter enriches our understanding of the multiple prescribed norms of race, gender, and sexuality in the region both within and beyond historical scholarship. Chapter Four, "Exposure and Censorship," reveals how nude magazines and films flourished throughout the Cold War period, both highlighting images of female nudity under socialism and challenging the historiography on

ensorship under the dictatorship. The Conclusion offers some final remarks and insights and briefly connects my mapping of queer Chile and productive sexuality to LGBT activism and consumptions and performances of sex appeal following the transition to democracy. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

Chapter 2 “Education in Femininity:” Producing and Consuming Beauty, Everyday

Performances of Sex Appeal, and the Politics of Passing

“This untranslatable English word [sex-appeal]... Nobody knows exactly what it is made of but you could make a pretty good recipe with a few staple ingredients: flowing hair, shapely legs, cat like walk, sensual mouth, little clothing and a lot of perfume. As very few are born with sex-appeal, the market offers a wide supply of substitutes capable of fabricating it at an almost reasonable price. There are creams to remove hairs and other to make it grow. There are sensual mouths that wash off with soap and water and cat-like walks obtained by tight corsets and high heels making balance quite precarious. There are batting eyelids with screens of false eyelashes and fingernails that you take off at night like false teeth. If with this whole arsenal of beauty products there are still ladies without sex appeal, it is because they are rebellious women who protest against the consumer society, or nuns with incurable vocation, or ‘in’ girls that prefer to be in style, like skeletons in costume (esqueletos disfrazados).”

–Isabel Allende, “Sex-Appeal,” *Revista Paula*, October 1969, p. 37

In 1969 Isabel Allende wrote about “sex-appeal” for the feminist magazine *Revista Paula* where she worked. While her piece, like most of her other contributions to the magazine, was intended to be humorous, it captures some fundamental aspects of contemporary performances of Chilean femininity. She pinpoints aesthetic markers and behavior that are “staple ingredients” in constructing and performing sex appeal, and she emphasizes the fabrication and consumption of beauty products in its creation. While Allende is talking about beauty industries, the phrase “sex-appeal” implies a beauty that is sexually appealing, or sexualized, and as she indicates in the full article, one that is appealing specifically to “the macho.” The piece clearly conveys the gendering of sex appeal, as she references ladies. However, the ingredients she outlines as staples in its performance are all fabrications intended to manipulate and style the body, and while the body is assumed to be female, there is no reference to the actual sexed body in these ingredients. Allende’s use of the English phrase “sex-appeal” reflects processes of transculturation resulting from

increasingly globalized beauty industries.⁹⁸ Furthermore, she references women who rebel against the consumer beauty culture and “in” girls who styled their bodies in line with the increasingly popular hippie fashion. Thus, while she defines ideal aesthetic markers, she also recognizes competing notions of styling the body.

The story of Chilean productive sexuality begins with an analysis of productions, consumptions, and performances of beauty, or sex appeal, as a construction of femininity. Building on Gundle’s definition of beauty, I define Chilean beauty as a gendered and culturally-validated sexed, sexualized, and racialized constructed performance of the summation of the ideal physical qualities of Chilean national identity.⁹⁹ Such a definition allows me to focus on constructions of bodies and genders, the heteronormative sexualization of feminine beauty, and the exclusion of racially and ethnically diverse Chilean bodies in the imagining of representative national identity.

This chapter examines the quotidian ways that both cisgender and transgender women constructed and performed their sex, gender, and race, as well as the ways in which beauty and femininity were commercially, culturally, and legally taught as a construction of sex difference. Sex difference was policed throughout the Cold War period by the state as well as in the home, in the workplace, and in commercial and cultural arenas. Incorporating a female and queer perspective, I focus on the dressing, styling, and behaviors that Chileans adopted in the performance of femininity. In referencing “Everyday Performances” I blend feminist philosopher Judith Butler’s idea of “performativity,” where gender and sexual identities are

⁹⁸ The English word sex-appeal appeared in “Hollywood necesita siempre una Marilyn Monroe,” *Revista Vea*, July 22, 1953. It was also the title of a 1939 Chilean nude magazine, though it is unlikely that Isabel Allende was familiar with this magazine. See Cecilia García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Paula Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas Chilenas*, (Santiago: Universidad de Diego Portales, 2012), 169.

⁹⁹ Gundle, *Bellísima*, xxiv.

produced “through a stylized repetition of acts” and regulations in socialization with James Scott’s notion of everyday forms of resistance.¹⁰⁰ This framework allows an examination of the everyday gendered styling and performance of the body. This is at times a conscious performance and, often, is so normalized and engrained that it is subconscious.

My focus on quotidian gender performativity reveals how cisgender and transgender Chileans used the same markers of feminine gender in order to perform their femininity, often in line with legal and cultural regulations in socialization. Such a focus also reveals instances of resistance to such socialized regulations. Transgender Chileans looked to the same ideals and products as cisgender women in the production and performance of femininity. Indeed, cisgender and transgender women alike appropriated, inverted, and resisted aesthetic and behavioral norms of sex difference and beauty culture in the performance of their gender.

Rather than examine the essentialized female body, I focus on the cultural and legal markers in the styling of the body that were constructed as essential attributes in the performance of Chilean femininity by both cisgender and transgender females. When a cisgender woman wears a dress, high heels, and make-up, her use of these constructed markers of femininity is just as much a part of a stylized performance in the expression of her gender identity as it is when a trans person wears them. This queer interpretation of the performance of femininity demonstrates that there is no essential feminine body, beauty, or gender. Everything is drag.

Many Chileans had to adopt certain gendered markers of styling the body in order to effectively “pass” as male or female. The importance of passing was vital under the

¹⁰⁰ See Judith Butler, “Performative Acts,” 270 and 278; and James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

democratic right and left as well as under the dictatorship, although passing took on new meanings following the 1973 coup. Linda Schlossberg recognizes that “the ability to transcend or abandon” one’s “authentic identity” complicates the very meaning of authenticity and highlights the performative nature of identity itself.¹⁰¹

My research builds on important scholarship dealing with beauty industries. Pía Montalva’s history of fashion in Cold War Chile recognizes the regulatory mechanisms behind fashion and emphasizes the importance of women’s magazines in “normalizing” feminine conduct through “a series of rules that recommend how women should dress, style their hair, do their make up, and move, as well as how to talk and what to talk about.”¹⁰² Indeed, women’s magazines were a crucial tool in teaching women how to perform as women. This performance included the dressing and styling of the body as well as movements and voice intonation.

Montalva charts the development in the 1960s of a uniquely Chilean style of fashion and beauty that incorporated (imagined) indigenous influences.¹⁰³ The Institute for the Promotion of Labor (1965), financed by both the U.S. Alliance for Progress and government funds under President Frei, implemented a system to teach women to make clothing capable of competing with that of the fashion industries, with the most skilled of these women opening boutiques in which they designed their own clothing.¹⁰⁴ Montalva shows how elements of (imagined) indigenous fashion were integrated into this Chilean fashion in the late 60s and early 70s as part of a Campaign of Chilean fashion led by fashion designers in

¹⁰¹ Linda Schlossberg, “Introduction: Rites of Passing,” in eds. Maria Carla Sanchez and Linda Schlossberg, *Passing: Identity and Interpretation in Sexuality, Race, and Religion* (New York: New York UP, 2001), 2.

¹⁰² Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 51-52.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 23-31. See also Winn, *Tejedores de la Revolución*.

¹⁰⁴ Montalva, *Morir un Poco*, 72-84.

conjunction with the National Tourism Department, but says that this effort ended in September 1973.¹⁰⁵ However, Brenda Elsey's work on the 1987 Miss Universe pageant, in which Chilean representative Cecilia Bolocco won in the last year of the dictatorship's constitutionally mandated rule, addresses the way the government exploited indigenous culture to attract tourism as well, while offering the regime an opportunity to mobilize nationalism and showcase its achievements to the nation and to the world.¹⁰⁶

Indeed, Chilean beauty culture, including fashion, women's magazines, and beauty pageants, appropriated imagined indigenous culture while excluding actual indigenous women from its European-aesthetic of Chilean beauty throughout the Cold War period. This hegemonic European-aesthetic of Chilean beauty also excluded Afro-Chilean, Jewish, Arab, and Asian Chileans. Beauty pageants, racialized commentaries in mass media coverage of them, and information on their reception in oral histories reveal both racial and gendered constructions as transnational processes.¹⁰⁷

A rise in consumption, cultural industry, and mass communication in the 1960s brought more international fashions, including miniskirts, women's pants, and bikinis,¹⁰⁸ in line with contemporary international hippie culture and Chilean feminist discourse.¹⁰⁹ Montalva argues that fashion designers were principal allies of women's liberation in the

¹⁰⁵ Montalva, *Morir un Poco*, 92.

¹⁰⁶ Brenda Elsey, "I have united all Chileans': Miss Universe, Augusto Pinochet, and the Transnational Solidarity Movement," American Historical Association Presentation, Jan. 7, 2012.

¹⁰⁷ Rotter shows that gender is a transnational process. See Rotter, "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations."

¹⁰⁸ Archive of *Revista Paula*; Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ For more on international hippie culture, see for example: Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998). For hippie culture in the Southern Cone, see: Manzano, *The Age of Youth*; Isabel Cosse, "Infidelities: Morality, Revolution, and Sexuality in Left-Wing Guerrilla Organizations in 1960s and 1970s Argentina," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23, no. 3, September 2014; Barr-Melej, "Siloismo."

1960s by creating fashions that did not hide women's bodies.¹¹⁰ Yet, Jaqueline Dussaillant Christie's examination of changing hygiene and beauty practices in Chile demonstrates tensions resulting from Chilean women revealing their bodies, and particularly their cleavage, throughout the 18th and 20th centuries.¹¹¹

Many Chileans both inside and outside of academia consider these changing fashion choices of the 1960s and early 1970s to have ended suddenly with the dictatorship's policing of gendered fashion.¹¹² Indeed, Montalva argues that women's fashion was the sector that most felt political ruptures like the coup.¹¹³ The military police cut off men's hair and women's pant legs in the months following the coup, simultaneously enforcing gendered dress codes and disciplining their opposition.

Luis Hernán Errázuriz and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada's history of the "aesthetic coup" in Chile documents the enforcement of gendered dress codes under the dictatorship, evidencing its political and cultural connections.¹¹⁴ Men with long hair and beards had been associated with the political left throughout the Americas, in large part because of appearance of those involved in the Cuban Revolution in 1959. In 1970, the Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner had declared a "war on long hair and miniskirts because they formed part of the communist strategy of subverting order, morality, and good customs."¹¹⁵ In Chile, the systematic cutting of long hair and beards also targeted red and black clothing as aspects of

¹¹⁰ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 66.

¹¹¹ Jaqueline Dussaillant Christie, "Consumo y belleza. Los cuidados del cuerpo femenino, siglos XVIII-XX," in Gongora y Sagredo, *Fragmentos*, 445-501, 446-448. "Circular a los rectores de iglesia sobre el traje de las mujeres en el templo," *Revista Catolica*, Santiago, Year 12, December 16, 1911, 799, quoted in Dussaillant, 447.

¹¹² Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 223-227. Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos: Indumentaria y Violencia Política en Chile, 1973-1990* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultural Económica Chile, 2013), 120.

¹¹³ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 12.

¹¹⁴ Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*, 25.

physical appearance that were political in nature. Montalva argues that the early dictatorship's fashion served to reinforce sexual difference,¹¹⁶ and that the military's strict dress codes were relaxed in the late 1970s, as alternative fashions became increasingly available and common.¹¹⁷

However, my examination of the consumption and performance of Chilean beauty, or sex appeal, shows competing notions of dressing and styling the female body throughout the Cold War period. Such disparate performances of femininity are one of many insights gained through personal accounts of female and transgender Chileans, which I found in archived testimonies and collected in anonymous oral histories I conducted. Examining advice on styling the body in women's magazines, beauty advertisements, and beauty contests, along with personal accounts of styling the body, I demonstrate that the uncovering of the female body was not a phenomenon of the 1960s and that not all Chilean women equated such uncovering with liberation. The military government's gendered dress code reflected long established sex-differentiated styling of the body in public schools. Additionally, Chileans experienced the dictatorship in varying ways, depending on class, sex, gender, and race; not all Chileans faced a gendered dress code. Beauty advertisements show that throughout the early dictatorship there was a disconnect between "official fashion" and the fashions being sold in advertisements. The "official fashion" propagated in cultural production was in line with the military's policing of physical appearance, yet popular magazines never stopped advertising pants for women.

¹¹⁶ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 225. Montalva notes that the military's strict dress code was relaxed in the late 1970s except for those living clandestinely.

¹¹⁷ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 120.

Furthermore, changing notions of beauty all functioned as a sexing, gendering, and racializing educational force and as a heteronormative construction of sexuality, sex, and gender performed by and on the body. In describing racialized sexed and gendered constructions of Chilean beauty I use the term sexual education to describe both the teaching of sexuality and of bodily sex difference, an education provided in the home, in state schooling, in the workplace, and in the cultural and commercial production of beauty industries. Such education explicitly demonstrated and instructed Chileans on how to mold and style the body and on how to behave in order to perform as women. While the instructions for and policing of the styling the body changed in important ways over time, the sources of sexual education remained the same. Cultural production reinforced public and private sexual education on dressing the body as a fundamental instrument of constructing sex and gender difference. As seen with school uniforms, clothing was one of the principal markers of sex and gender outside of school as well. Likewise, hairstyles were as important as clothing in marking gender and identity for both women and men.

Beauty contests also used beautiful female bodies to represent provinces and regions, and as a gendered, sexualized, racialized, and heteronormative representation of the nation itself. Chileans were taught through language, magazines, and beauty contests (and later increasingly through television and films) that female bodies were representative of the nation. Like the fashion industry, Cold War Chilean beauty contests and their widespread press coverage reinforced the idea of Chilean female beauty as a specifically European-aesthetic model of the nation, adopting imagined indigenous aspects while excluding actual indigenous women, as well as African-descended, Jewish, Arab, and Asian Chileans.

I use the phrase beauty culture to describe such everyday performances, as well as performances of femininity in pageants, fashion modeling, and products and services advertised. Beauty itself is a performance. It is a racialized, gendered, sexualized product to be bought, performed, and sold. Yet, the beauty industry is not necessarily a capitalist phenomenon, as it flourished equally under Chile's experiment with democratic socialism as well. Chilean Communists and Socialists alike promoted the beauty industries through fashion advice and representative images of beautiful women.

The importance of representative beauty to socialists and communists is not unique to Chile. Communist Cuba also historically used images of female bodies to advertise itself in Europe and Canada, and it participated in the Miss Universe contest until 1968.¹¹⁸ Further, comparative literature on economies based on production versus those based on consumption demonstrates that the ability to produce and consume were standards for successful modernity for both the socialist and the capitalist models of consumption.¹¹⁹ Scholars have shown how, in Soviet Russia, fashion and beauty products, obtained "mainly through illegal means or party connections" were coveted as status symbols and subversive displays.¹²⁰ Lena Moskalenko argues that, while Russian women became economically and socially equal to men following the 1917 Revolution, "the only right taken away from them was the right to be

¹¹⁸ Coco Fusco, "Hustling for Dollars: *jineteras* in Cuba," *The Bodies That Were Not Ours: And Other Writings* (London: Routledge, 2001), 137-153; Coco Fusco, *English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas* (New York: The New Press, 1995); Belinda Edmondson, "Pubic Spectacles: Caribbean Women and the Politics of Performance," *Small Axe* 13 (March 2003): 1-16; and the official Miss Universe webpage, Accessed 4/18/16, www.missuniverse.com. See also Stephen Gundle's analysis of Communist beauty pageants in mid-twentieth century Italy in "Catholics, Communists, and Beauty Contests," in *Bellissima*: 125-141.

¹¹⁹ Susan Reid and David Crowley eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Susan Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union Under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 211-252.

¹²⁰ Beth Holmgren, "Bug Inspectors and Beauty Queens: The Problems of Translating Feminism Into Russian," *Genders*, no. 22 (December 1995). Mary Neuburger also shows how fashion and beauty products were a public personal statement of resistance to state's uniform authority in Bulgaria in "Veils, Shalvari, and Matters of Dress: Unravelling the Fabric of Women's Lives in Communist Bulgaria," in Reid and Crowley eds., *Style and Socialism*: 169-87.

feminine, to have the means and time to look after themselves, and, after all, to be beautiful, ‘to be women’ in a higher sense.”¹²¹ By 1987, however, communist Soviet political leaders concerned with the weakening of family ties and searching “for a new role for Soviet women” started the first Soviet beauty contests, beginning with the 1988 Miss Moscow contest.¹²²

Sexual Education in Mass Media: The New Eugenics of Beauty

Mass mediated and commercial sexual education taught cisgender and transgender girls and women practices that they could and should adopt in order to be beautiful, and thus feminine. This section critically analyzes beauty culture as a racializing, sexing, and gendering educational force and as a heteronormative construction of sex, gender, and sexuality performed by and on the body and disseminated through magazines, fashion, and beauty industry advertisements, in private spaces, and in the sphere of labor. Beauty culture reflected long standing norms of sex differentiated styling of the body required in public schools, examined in the following section. I address the dissemination of beauty culture in beauty pageants in a separate section in this chapter. Just as eugenics had hierarchized bodies based on measurements, beauty culture served to hierarchize bodies using standard measurements as well.¹²³

¹²¹ Lena Moskalenko, “Beauty, Women, and Competition: ‘Moscow Beauty 1989’” in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, eds. Colleen Ballerino Cohen, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje (New York: Routledge, 1996): 61-74, 63. See also Fannina Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia* (New York: Routledge, 1933), 196.

¹²² Moskalenko, “Beauty,” 66.

¹²³ Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje also note that “Recent scientific propositions that knowing what is beautiful is the result of hard-wired pathways in the visual cortex mirror in some disturbing ways both similar propositions about intelligence and personality, and mid-twentieth century efforts to develop a physical science capable of defining the perfect human body,” in “Introduction: Beauty Queens on the Global Stage,” in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage*, eds. Cohen, et, al., 7. See also Nancy Etkoff, *Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty* (New Kensington: Anchor Books, 1999).

Magazines had become an increasingly popular medium of entertainment, information, and sexual education over the course of the twentieth century. As with other entertainment industries, the production of magazines was intimately tied to an international competition in modernity with the US and Europe. *Zig Zag*, one of the first Chilean magazines, stated in its first issue in 1905, “We want to prove, with this Magazine, that it is possible to produce in Chile, with complete success, a publication whose drawings and photographs are in no way inferior to the illustrated magazines of the US, France, and England that are offered to a larger public...”¹²⁴

In their history of Chilean magazines, Cecilia García and Paula Escobar describe how the editorial *Zig-Zag* launched a variety of other magazines throughout the first half of the twentieth century, including magazines specifically directed toward a female audience.¹²⁵ Many of these magazines emphasized advice on finding a husband, with sections like, “Advice for a Bride” and “Do You Want to Get Married?”¹²⁶ These magazines served, among other things, to teach women that they needed to find a husband and offered some advice on how to do so. The publisher later founded women’s magazines *Eva* and *Rosita*. *Eva* (1942-1974) was mainly a fashion magazine, pulling its references from Paris.¹²⁷ *Rosita* (1947-1972), in contrast, was targeted largely to the popular classes and provided patterns and instructions for women to make their own clothing and home decorations.¹²⁸ Actress

¹²⁴ Revista *Zig-Zag*, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 31.

¹²⁵ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 65.

¹²⁶ “Consejos a una novia,” *Familia*; and “Quiere usted casarse?,” *Margarita*, in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 65-68.

¹²⁷ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 71-72.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 74-75. See also Ana Maria Ledezma, “La sociedad en vitrina: mujeres en la publicidad. Chile a mediados del siglo XX” in *Concurso Tesis Bicentenario 2005*, Santiago (June 2007), 277.

Mireya Moreno noted that she learned to sew from such magazines.¹²⁹ All of these magazines served as a form of sexual education via cultural production, explicitly demonstrating and instructing Chileans on how to be women, what to wear when, and on how to behave *as women*. One 1940s *Rosita* edition instructed women to protect their treasure, the zone “that should not be seen,” implying that certain parts of women’s bodies were meant to be invisible.¹³⁰

Yet, not all magazines instructed women on how to be homemakers, and some offered alternative views on how women’s bodies should be dressed.¹³¹ For example, *Ecran*, created in 1930 and dedicated especially to films and theater, almost always featured a beautiful woman on the cover and was replete with pictures of women in bathing suits and bikinis as well as semi nude women in cabaret style shows.¹³² Originally based in both Hollywood and Santiago, Chilean María Romero later took over the magazine’s direction. It is important to note the role of Chilean women in producing these magazines, even in the first half of the century. *Revista Vea* began in 1939 and also regularly featured coverage of topless and semi nude Chilean and foreign cabaret artists.¹³³

Such magazines did not only offer images implying alternative views on styling the female body, but also provided fashion advice that allowed for more visibility of the body. A May 1943 issue of *Revista Ecran*, for example, dedicated a fashion segment to “Chic

¹²⁹ Video Testimony of Mireya Moreno, 2012, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

¹³⁰ *Rosita*, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 74.

¹³¹ While clearly nude magazines offered very different views on how women should dress and undress, I focus on magazines intended for female consumers in this chapter. I analyze nude magazines in Chapter 4, “Exposure and Censorship: Nude Magazines and Films Under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship.”

¹³² See advertisement for “Catita, la Mujer del Año,” in the Teatro Santiago, *Revista Ecran*, May 4, 1943, 27. See also coverage of dancer Carmen Brown, dancer “of color” who performed in Concepcion, “Carmen Brown Actua en el Palet, en Concepción, y Seguirá Viaje a Lima,” *Revista Ecran*, May 18, 1943, 25, in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 36, 40; Collection of *Revista Ecran*, National Library of Chile.

¹³³ Collection of *Revista Vea*, National Library of Chile.

Nocturno” (Nighttime Chic). The segment featured a picture of U.S. actress Ann Sheridan in a floor length dress with a plunging neckline. The piece was advertising the look of female stars, describing the fabric, design, and cut of Sheridan’s dress in detail without actually advertising the brand of clothing. Such fashion advice implied the important role of women in Chilean nightlife by instructing women on how they should dress to go out at night, visually demonstrating that a certain degree of cleavage was okay but skirts and dresses had to be long.¹³⁴

Jaqueline Dussailant Christie traces elite Chilean women’s long history of using make-up, dating back to 18th century practices of whitening faces with pastes.¹³⁵ She notes that during the 20th century make-up was incorporated as a practice by many women and was no longer an exclusive practice of elite women, actresses, and prostitutes.¹³⁶ Also, according to Montalva, beauty salons began appearing in Chile after World War II and were fairly commonplace by the end of the 1950s.¹³⁷ For women of a certain economic and social status, getting their hair done at beauty salons became a ritual.

Indeed, the ever-expanding beauty industry advertised a wide range of products Chileans could use to make themselves more feminine and used a constructed notion of beauty as a normative (albeit elusive) ideal that all females should work to accomplish. Some products literally molded bodies. A 1951 edition of *Revista Vea* included an advertisement for different types of corsets, including even a maternity corset.¹³⁸ In 1952, a Hormocit lipstick advertisement told female readers “If you want to seduce (conquistar), if you want to

¹³⁴ “Chic Nocturno,” *Revista Ecran*, May 4, 1943. I appreciate the work of García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría for bringing this fashion segment to my attention.

¹³⁵ Dussailant, “Consumo y belleza,” 452-453.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 475-478.

¹³⁷ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 39.

¹³⁸ “Fajas ‘Gacela’” advertisement, *Revista Vea*, May 2, 1951.

be very pretty,” they could “transform” themselves with their “magical” product.¹³⁹ This lipstick-induced transformation claimed to offer “a new life,” “beauty,” and “a new face.” The lipstick advertisement also informed *chilenas* that the eight color choices available were the “latest fashions in Paris and New York.”

Esther Saavedra, Miss Chile 1952, recalled that by 1958 “lolas had already uncovered themselves.”¹⁴⁰ “Lola,” a Chilean word commonly used to describe young women and girls, implies their sexualization by men. Following the 1955 publication of Vladimir Nabokov’s novel *Lolita*, about a man who obsessively sexualizes a twelve year old girl, this word increasingly came to be used in Chile to refer to girls and young women.¹⁴¹ Montalva notes that miniskirts were not a polemic scandal until lolitas began wearing them, which some people considered a true provocation against morality and good habits (*costumbres*).¹⁴² Saavedra’s testimony suggests that the widespread “uncovering” of female bodies occurred before the 1960s for many women. Both the beauty pageant section of this chapter and the

¹³⁹ “Hormocit,” *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952.

¹⁴⁰ Video Testimony with Esther Saavedra, 2013, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile. My translation of “Se habían destapado las lolas.”

¹⁴¹ Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955). The first Spanish version was printed in 1959, and the movie version of the book came out in 1962. A French dictionary defines “lolita” as “LOLITA n.f. (de *Lolita*, roman de V. Nabokov). Fam. Nymphette,” clearly recognizing the origin of this word. See *Le Petit Larousse Illustré*, French Edition, (Distribooks Inc, 2000). The Real Academia Española began including the word “lola” in 2001 as a word specific to Chile, and it now includes the origin of the word as well: “Lolo, la (de *Lolita*) 1. Adj. Chile adolescente.” This official definition mistakenly identifies the word as an adjective when it is more commonly used as a noun. *Diccionario de la lengua española, 23rd Edition*, (Spain: Real Academia Española, 2014). The official Spanish definition of this Chilean word defines it as a nonsexualized adolescent, quite different from the French nymphette definition. Yet, the Spanish definition also recognizes that the word comes from the book *Lolita*. Pia Montalva defines “Lolita” in the Chilean context as originating from Nabokov’s 1955 novel and “designating an adolescent of ambiguous conduct, enigmatic, in whose personality coexist features of fragility, perversion and vulgarity.” Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 66. It is noteworthy that the word lola appeared in a 1955 Chilean magazine, either indicating that some Chileans were reading the English version the year it came out or indicating a distinct origin of the word. Oreste Plath describes a legend that comes from the North of Chile about a young woman named Dolores, also known as Lola, who was betrayed by her lover, a miner. According to the legend, her ghost haunts the North of Chile. Oreste Plath. *Geografía del mito y la leyenda chilenos* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1983). Dolores was also the name of the young girl in Nabokov’s novel.

¹⁴² Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 66.

coming chapters on cabarets and nude magazines further demonstrate significant instances of uncovering of female bodies well before the 1960s.

Nevertheless, the increasing popularity of new ways of dressing and visibilizing the female body in the 1960s did not come without protest. While some women, like actress Malu Gatica, had been appearing in bikinis for photographs for political campaigns since 1945, the increasingly widespread adoption of the bikini in the 1960s caused a scandal among sectors of the Chilean church. In 1963, the archbishop of Valparaiso threatened to excommunicate women who wore bikinis to the beaches under his jurisdiction. Still, the bikini, encouraged by women's magazines, increased in popularity.¹⁴³ In 1967, again archbishop Emilio Tagle threatened to excommunicate not only women who wore bikinis but also their parents if they were minors. The vicar of Santiago noted that the prohibition did not affect people of other dioceses and that the Vatican had issued no instructions in this regard.¹⁴⁴ Chilean women continued to wear bikinis in increasing numbers.

Changing technology continued to transform the ways Chileans performed, received, and experienced entertainment. The invention and increasing popularity of the television proved to be a big blow to the magazine industry. Following the arrival of television to Chile in 1957, Maria Romero decided to step down as director of *Ecran* in 1961 as its circulation was declining.¹⁴⁵

In 1967, Roberto Edwards and Delia Vergara created the modern *Revista Paula*, with Vergara in charge of a team of reporters including Amanda Puz and Isabel Allende.¹⁴⁶ The magazine had a more modern layout and printing technology, with better paper quality, a

¹⁴³ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 59.

¹⁴⁴ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 59-60.

¹⁴⁵ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 58.

¹⁴⁶ *Revista Paula*, July 1967, Archive of *Revista Paula*.

glossy finish, and more color photographs. The magazine also reflected changing social roles for women in its feminist approach, taking on controversial subjects like infidelity, contraceptive pills, abortion, and divorce. From the very first issue, *Paula* began to take on such issues as part of their focus on women's liberation.¹⁴⁷ The first issue introduced the magazine as such, responding to:

Chilean women's need for a modern magazine that satisfies her taste for nice things and her restlessness about what is happening, and that seriously and bravely takes on her problems and questions. The world of the Latin American woman has changed. It is no longer reduced to sewing needles, cooking recipes, and baby diapers. Now her world is the entire world. Outside of the home she designs houses, fights cases in courts, signs checks, produces, influences politics, teaches in universities, is a surgeon, reporter, and makes news. But, by participating in all of these activities that were men's territory, she has not become a man. She continues and will continue to be a homemaker, mother, and a little frivolous. She performs her new modern roles while maintaining her femininity. Femininity that today has given her a new personality, free, restless, astute, and always a woman. Modern femininity that demands more... and that *Paula* wants to give her.¹⁴⁸

Thus, the magazine couched its feminist stance in line with its modernity and emphasized the maintenance of "frivolous femininity." Vergara later noted that the magazine's objective was to communicate "with real women and not the stereotypes," but they took this objective on with humor so as to "not provoke a war of the sexes."¹⁴⁹

The "problems and questions" of Chilean women that the magazine took on primarily dealt with women's reproductive rights and questioned male authority in marriage, including unequal legal rights to extramarital sex. Abortion was legally prohibited, except in cases of therapeutic abortion, legalized under the Health Code of 1931 only to be later prohibited

¹⁴⁷ See cover article, "Puedo tomar la pildora?," *Revista Paula*, 1967; Also, "Las Mujeres en la Decada de los 60: Revista Paula y Feminismo (1967-1977)," Memoria Chilena, National Library of Chile.

¹⁴⁸ *Revista Paula*, 1967, 7. (Vol. 1. I am including volume numbers for clarity when months are unavailable).

¹⁴⁹ Delia Vergara, "Revistas Femininas: por que las tienen que regalar?" *The Clinic*, February 2010, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 78.

again in 1989.¹⁵⁰ While contraceptives increasingly became available in the 1960s, their use was highly controversial. Even Isabel Allende, who enjoyed an upper middle class life with a professional career, “did not dare” ask her doctor for the new “marvelous pill.”¹⁵¹

Married Chilean women were disadvantaged by the Chilean Civil Code, which “secured uncontested legal authority of male heads of household to administer the lives of their wives and children.”¹⁵² Within marriage female sexuality was legally relegated to heterosexual monogamous procreation at the will of the husband: Rape was not legally defined in marriage, as Article 369 of the Penal Code noted that the punishments would be suspended in all cases in which the perpetrator of rape married the victim.¹⁵³ Divorce was illegal until 2004; throughout the Cold War period the only options for married couples who no longer wanted to live together as husband and wife were either to live separated or to seek an annulment on their marriage.¹⁵⁴ Adultery laws only applied to wives and the men they slept with.¹⁵⁵ Husbands could only be charged when their lovers lived with the married couple or in cases of public scandals, although with a lesser punishment. Legally regulated prostitution institutionalized a system in which men, married and unmarried, could exercise their sexual promiscuity.¹⁵⁶ Throughout the Cold War period, it was common for fifteen year

¹⁵⁰ Pieper-Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 52 and 160.

¹⁵¹ Isabel Allende, *Paula: A Memoir* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 100, quoted in Pieper-Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 52.

¹⁵² Pieper-Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 31.

¹⁵³ Article 369, *Código Penal, Edición Oficial*, Al 4 de Enero de 1974, aprobada por Decreto N. 626, de 17 de Mayo de 1974, del Ministerio de Justicia (Santiago: Editorial Jurídica de Chile, 1974), 96.

¹⁵⁴ Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 198; and Irma Barón Véliz and Tulio Lagos Valenzuela, *Educación Sexual En Chile* (Santiago: Impr. Contempo Grafica, 1997), 39.

¹⁵⁵ Article 375-381, *Código Penal, Edición Oficial*, 97-98.

¹⁵⁶ The Chilean state first began to regulate prostitution in 1896, legally placing prostitutes under medical and police control. Richard H. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile 1891-1941* (Stanford University Press, 2005), 34. From 1896 to 1925, the government issued a series of regulations attempting to control prostitution. Alvaro Gongora, *La Prostitución en Santiago 1813-1931: Vision de las Elites* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1999), 103. Early twentieth century brothels were described by Chilean chronicler Roberto Merino as having “a room with big mirrors, the mistress (*cabrona*), a musician (*campanillero*) and ‘a

old boys to have their first sexual experience with a prostitute; the ritual itself served as a form of sexual education.¹⁵⁷

Revista Paula's feminist stance is further demonstrated in a 1970 published editorial on women's liberation.¹⁵⁸ The article, discussing feminist movements in the U.S. and Europe, noted that:

In all of these feminist movements the woman objects to the inferior treatment she has received for centuries. She no longer wants to be the man's satellite. The man that demands perfumed breath, an impeccable shirt, a freshly cleaned and perfumed lover, that obliges a woman to be beautiful (did you stop wearing deodorant?) has fed her up. She is no longer the same woman who looked to advertising for her reason for being a woman, a lover, a wife, a housewife, a mother, always ready to respond to a man's requirements.¹⁵⁹

The magazine used an interview with a feminist from the U.S. to raise a number of controversial issues of potential interest to Chilean women, such as abortion and contraceptives, pornography, marriage, fashion and the role of advertising.

So many readers sent in responses to the feminist piece that it sparked the creation of the Readers' Tribunal or *Tribuna de Lectores*. The magazine stressed the importance of the readers' letters to the magazine. They recognized that while they had always included some

faggot playing the piano” (*maricon del piano*). Roberto Merino, *Horas Perdidas en las Calles de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana: 2000), 104. From 1925 to 1931, prostitution was illegal, but the prohibition was lifted in 1931 and regulation began again. Gongora, *La Prostitucion*, 237-242; Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 17. Due to increasing fears over STDs, in 1983 the Regulation of Sexually Transmitted Diseases passed, article N. 13 of which prohibited brothels. Jessica Vera Sanchez, “Tres Prostitutas en el Teatro Chileno,” (Undergraduate Thesis, University of Chile, 2004), 22-25. While sexual commerce itself remained legal, freelance sex workers could potentially face charges of offending “las buenas costumbres” according to Article 373 of the Penal Code, in *Codigo Penal, Edicion Oficial*, 97.

¹⁵⁷ The 1979 film *Julio Empieza en Julio*, filmed in 1976, is centered around the Cold War Chilean tradition of young men losing their virginity on their fifteenth birthdays to prostitutes. *Julio Empieza en Julio*, dir. Silvio Caiozzi, Chile, 1979. See also the testimony of the starring actress discussing this Chilean tradition in Video Testimony of Schlomit Baytelman, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile. In an anonymous oral history with a Chilean woman born in 1978, she said this tradition was very common up until recently. She stated that it happened frequently throughout the 1980s, although not among all families. Oral history, March 2014, Santiago.

¹⁵⁸ Amanda Puz, “Una Feminista Norteamericana Habla a Paula de La Liberación de la Mujer: Un Movimiento Serio Que Provoca Risas y Enojos,” *Revista Paula*, Oct. 1970, 36.

¹⁵⁹ Puz, “Una Feminista Norteamericana,” 40.

abbreviated letters in the section *Cartas*, often involving beauty questions, that there had never been space there for the most interesting letters, so “We began with a theme that provoked a large commotion judging by the number of letters that we received: Amanda Puz’s article about the Women’s Liberation Movement in the United States.”¹⁶⁰

The tribunal published some of the “authentic letters, based on real experiences.”¹⁶¹ In the first published letter, titled “I am in complete agreement with the feminist movement,” the author noted that “I energetically reject the pornographic business of feminine nudity, exhibitionist and humiliating beauty contests, etc. that naturally men manage economically...” Other published responses reflected the controversy of feminism in contemporary Chile, including letters titled “A Man: All of the Feminists Are Ugly,” “Chilean Women Should Do the Same,” “Chilean Men have given everything to Chilean women,”¹⁶² and “Women’s Liberation Movements: Massacre to Men.”¹⁶³

The modern and feminist *Revista Paula* was extremely successful from the start and would continue to flourish through the peaceful road to socialism, the coup and subsequent dictatorship, the return to democracy, and into the present. Montalva credits *Revista Paula* for playing a crucial role in the marketing of a Chilean style before the coup.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, the magazine was successful from the very first publication. They printed 80,000 copies of the first volume and sold every single one of them.¹⁶⁵ Reflecting on the early years of the magazine, Delia Vergara said in 2010, “I created and directed the most sold (and most

¹⁶⁰ *Revista Paula*, Jan. 1971, 2. They announced a small incentive for published letters, a trimestral subscription to *Paula*.

¹⁶¹ “Tribuna de Lectores,” *Revista Paula*, Jan. 1971, 14.

¹⁶² “Tribuna de Lectores,” *Revista Paula*, Jan. 1971, 15.

¹⁶³ “Tribuna de Lectores,” *Revista Paula*, Aug. 1971, 14.

¹⁶⁴ Montalva, *Morir un Poco*, 70-71.

¹⁶⁵ *Revista Paula*, 4 (Volume No. 2).

popular) women's magazine of all time. We were able to sell up to 120,000 copies."¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, as Jorge and Gonzalo Rojas note, in this same time period the cost of magazines became less of a restricting factor as "magazine exchanges" allowed for mass access; Many business locales sold equivalent issues of magazines at a very low price when customers traded in older issues.¹⁶⁷ All of the people I conducted oral histories with were familiar with the magazine, although some recalled it being more influential on them than others.

In their second volume, they discussed the magazine's purpose and content. In line with the objective of communicating with real Chilean women, it stressed the magazine's "*Chilenidad*." Volume 2 featured Chilean fashion and asked, "If we have everything in Chile, then why do we always focus on the imported?" Thus, the goal was:

To do everything possible in Chile. This is the spirit of PAULA. . . . Our society has its own characteristics and problems, and we are a part of it, so why keep looking for things and solutions outside of it? Yes, we will do it, but only when we cannot find something better in Chile and naturally to keep ourselves up to date.¹⁶⁸

The magazine thus primarily sought to represent Chilean society while integrating the international when and as needed. The magazine's purpose was in line with contemporary Chilean debates over national development.

This focus on *Chilenidad* broke away from earlier women's magazines like *Eva*, which explicitly used European models for references. Yet, it should also be noted that

¹⁶⁶ Delia Vergara, "Revistas femininas: ¿por qué las tienen que regalar?," *The Clinic*, February 2010, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 78.

¹⁶⁷ Jorge Rojas and Gonzalo Rojas, "Auditores, lectores, televidentes y espectadores. Chile mediatizado. 1973-1990," in Sagredo and Gazmuri, *Historia de la Vida Privada*: 381-424, 385.

¹⁶⁸ *Revista Paula*, 4 (Volume No. 2); Christen E. Zelaya, "The Portrayal of Women in Chilean Magazine Advertising" (Thesis, Texas Tech University, August 1995). In 1976 *Revista Paula* held the highest circulation and subscription rates and in the 1990s outperformed top political and business publications (4). Its audience consisted of both blue and white collar workers, including housewives and homemakers, ranging from 20-45 years of age (30).

before becoming the magazine's editor, Delia Vergara had earned her Masters in the US from Columbia University and had subsequently spent significant time in Europe so Vergara herself brought international influences to the magazine.¹⁶⁹ Still, the magazine promoted local beauty salons and fashion boutiques, which were increasingly spaces of female employment and ownership; Montalva considers this intervention of women fundamental in determining the development of Chilean fashion.¹⁷⁰

Instructions on beauty practices and products were provided in women's magazines, even in the feminist *Revista Paula* that in other places included critiques of the beauty industry. *Revista Paula* followed Chilean women's magazines before it in providing mass-mediated lessons in femininity, on the dressing and styling of the body as well as exercise routines designed to achieve ideal proportions and measurements. New products added new guidelines to the normative beauty mold, and women's magazines increasingly offered instructions on achieving beauty and thus femininity. A 1968 *Revista Paula* article titled "Reflection: What is missing to be beautiful?" informed readers that "Hair removal is not a refinement; it is a necessity."¹⁷¹ It is important to note that hair removal was a "necessary" practice in performing beautiful femininity for both cisgender and transgender Chileans.

A 1969 *Revista Paula* article titled "Is it possible to have a beautiful bust?" noted that having a beautiful bust is every woman's dream and gave tips on how to care for breasts to maximize their potential. Recommendations included cold water treatments, exercises such as swimming, hormones, and aesthetic surgery.¹⁷² As Dussailant notes, plastic surgery began

¹⁶⁹ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 77.

¹⁷⁰ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 67; Archive of *Revista Paula*.

¹⁷¹ "Reflexione: Que le falta para ser bonita?," *Revista Paula*, January 1968.

¹⁷² "¿Es posible tener un bonito busto?," *Revista Paula*, July 1969.

as a Chilean beauty practice in the 1960s and included tummy tucks, liposuction, nose jobs, and face-lifts among others.¹⁷³

Beauty was assumed as a goal all women wanted and needed. Yet, recall Isabel Allende's "Sex-Appeal" piece from the opening of the chapter criticizing the consumption of fabricated beauty as well as instances of resistance to gendered stylings of the body. Indeed, beauty was increasingly associated with consumerism. Like Isabel Allende said in 1969, products and services made beauty, not nature. A 1970 Sedal shampoo advertisement informed women that, "Many cosmetics can offer a pretty face... but what makes you really beautiful is the cosmetic in your hair..."¹⁷⁴ A 1970 *Revista Paula* article titled "Make up can transform a Face" informed readers that "make up makes beauty."¹⁷⁵

Beauty advertisements also sometimes provided beauty advice, beyond buying their specific product. A 1970 Artez Westerley cosmetic advertisement offered "ten quick pieces of beauty advice," that instructed women on completing an hour long daily morning routine that included 5 minutes of exercise, 10 minutes for make up, 5 minutes for brushing hair, and 8 minutes to get dressed.¹⁷⁶ The routine did not account for cooking breakfast or for any potential childcare responsibilities.

It is important to note that the Chilean advertising industry that increasingly targeted female consumers was largely run by men, with the exception of Techy Edwards, manager of the publicity agency Andes Advertising in 1970.¹⁷⁷ Edwards had started working for the

¹⁷³ Dussaillant, "Consumo y belleza," 499-500.

¹⁷⁴ Shampoo Sedal Advertisement, *Revista Paula*, February 1970.

¹⁷⁵ "El Maquillaje Puede Transformar el Rostro, *Revista Paula*, March 1970.

¹⁷⁶ Artez Westerley advertisement, *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

¹⁷⁷ "La Mujer Gerente: Techy Edwards, *Revista Paula*, January 1970. For comparative work on the importance of women's role as consumers see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage, 2004); and E.D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000).

agency in 1965 and was soon after made Creative Director. *Revista Paula* reported that Edwards was the only woman in the industry at the time and described her as hardworking and “ultra feminine.” In line with *Revista Paula*’s feminine feminist stance, women could be hardworking and feminine, but it needed to be explicitly stated that they were both at the same time.

Cultural productions under the left also served to further sexualize female bodies and to represent the nation or political projects. The left’s use of representative images of female bodies was part of a long historical tradition in Chile. See Figure 2, in which actress Malu Gatica posed in a bikini that said “Vote for Allende” in 1945. As Pieper Mooney notes, “Many cultural productions of the left reproduced the image of women as sex objects... In 1972, Communist magazine *Ramona* used a picture of a naked woman wrapped in the Chilean flag to promote what it called the ‘decisive year of the woman.’”¹⁷⁸ *Ramona*’s use of nudity is further discussed in the Exposure and Censorship chapter. A 1972 article in *Revista Paloma*, a magazine of Salvador Allende’s Unidad Popular party, provided covered of sexual performance artists, with pictures.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, Juan Giusti Cordero, in his chronicle of living in Santiago in July and August of 1973, recalled a leftist tabloid that contained weekly photos of seminude sexual performance artists, pin up style.¹⁸⁰

Instructions on exercises explicitly stated the purpose of exercise for female bodies. A 1968 *Revista Paula* issue included an exercise manual for women focused on maintaining or

¹⁷⁸ Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 119. See Exposure and Censorship chapter for more discussion of *Ramona*’s use of nudity.

¹⁷⁹ *Revista Paloma*, November 28, 1972.

¹⁸⁰ Juan Giusti Cordero, “La Vispera del Golpe: Un Puertorriqueño en Santiago de Chile, Julio-Agosto de 1973,” *80 Grados*, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.80grados.net/la-vispera-del-golpe-un-puertorriqueño-en-santiago-de-chile-julio-agosto-de-1973/>.

recuperating agility.¹⁸¹ Exercises were broken down into the specific parts of the body they should work: neck, shoulders and arms, chest, waist, hips, stomach, legs and ankles. The manual stressed that “All women, regardless of their age, have an obligation to exercise” because “an agile body always gives the impression of youth.” The magazine instructed all women to exercise for youthful appearance, rather than strength or health.

Such education in cultural production reinforced the importance of conforming to a specific mold of incarnate femininity, yet many cisgender women struggled to meet expectations for their bodies to conform to the prescribed beauty norms taught in mass mediated and commercial arenas. In 1966, a female reader wrote into *Revista Ritmo* to express her anguish about not having adequate breasts. The advice columnist, Maria Pilar, responded by telling her not to worry, that “men whistle at curvy blondes but can marry skinny brunettes.” She also reminded the reader of her prescribed role of passive sexuality, adding that “the man should look, persevere and conquer.”¹⁸² Another reader wrote into *Paula* in 1970 to ask for advice because, according to her, her bust was too large.¹⁸³ The magazine responded with fashion advice to make her bust appear smaller.

A 1970 *Revista Paula* article titled “All Women Should Have Their Legs in Shape” claimed that two out of three women were not happy with their legs.¹⁸⁴ The article offered tips in order to have shapely legs, including 5-10 minutes of daily exercises, avoiding working sitting down, and avoiding working standing up. Instructions suggesting that women avoid working reflected a certain class level for their target audience, as such instructions

¹⁸¹ “La Gimnasia,” *Revista Paula*, 1968 (Volume No. 14).

¹⁸² Maria Pilar, *Revista Ritmo*, January 1966.

¹⁸³ “Correo de la Moda,” *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

¹⁸⁴ “Todas las mujeres deben tener las piernas en forma,” *Revista Paula*, February 1970.

were unrealistic for many Chilean women. However, it is noteworthy that the instructions did not prohibit lying down for work.

Exercise instructions continued to focus on molding the body for aesthetics rather than strength or health. A 15 year old girl wrote to *Revista Paula* in 1970 to ask how to slim her thighs and round out her hips.¹⁸⁵ *Paula* responded with some exercises she could do for five minutes daily to improve her appearance. Mass mediated instructions on exercises for aesthetic purposes continued untouched under the dictatorship (and in the return to democracy). A May 1974 article in *Revista Ritmo* encouraged female readers to take care of themselves and be healthy “in order to seduce him.”¹⁸⁶ A summer 1977 *Revista Paula* piece titled “Stay in Shape,” provided a series of easy exercises for women to mold their bodies into proper form for the beach.¹⁸⁷

The Chilean beauty ideal seen in beauty contests, fashion magazines, and beauty advertisements clearly promoted a European ideal of women as a representation of the nation, ignoring, discriminating, and/or invisibilizing indigenous Chileans, Afro-Chileans, Jewish, Arab, and Asian Chileans. Elements of indigenous clothing were incorporated into mainstream Chilean fashion at crucial moments, while actual indigenous women were not incorporated into the ideal of beauty. Montalva describes fashion designer Marco Correa as a pillar in developing a “native” Chilean style in 1968; *Paula* magazine talked with him, noting that “Latin American designs are inspired by Latin American beauties and their cultures but in no way are we trying to dress women as Indians.”¹⁸⁸ Montalva argues that Chilean

¹⁸⁵ “Belleza,” *Revista Paula*, February 1970, 121.

¹⁸⁶ “Puntos de cuidado de tu cuerpo,” *Revista Ritmo*, May 28, 1974, 44-48. The article says “para conquistarlo.”

¹⁸⁷ “Mantégase en forma,” *Revista Paula*, Jan. 1977.

¹⁸⁸ Cited in Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 85-86.

fashion's distance from actual indigeneity was largely led by a concern with appearing more modern and thus European; it was a means of not offending phenotypically European Chileans rather than a concern with offending indigenous women.¹⁸⁹

Yet, Chilean indigeneity was also exoticized as a means of marketing the nation to the world. Elements of indigenous clothing were integrated into Chilean fashion in the early 1970s as part of a Campaign of Chilean fashion led by fashion designers in conjunction with the National Tourism Department.¹⁹⁰ The appropriation of imagined or real indigeneity for tourism purposes is also seen in CORFO's May 1972 celebration in the National Stadium.¹⁹¹ The show, "Chile Salutes the World," was offered as an homage to the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and included international delegates to UNCTAD in its audience. Wearing bikini tops and revealing grass skirts, a group of mostly blonde cisgender female Chileans performed "traditional dances from Easter Island."¹⁹² (See Figure 3) The event was covered in nude magazine *Novedades*. Shortly after, the Easter Island indigenous dance group Tararaima performed in the National Palace wearing string bikini tops and revealing feathered skirts.¹⁹³ In the front row of the audience sat President Allende, his wife, Hortensia Bussi de Allende, and General Prats, among others. After the performance, the president offered the dancers a cocktail. Photographers captured the moment when two of the dancers hugged and kissed Allende. (See Figures 4 and 5 in Appendix A)

¹⁸⁹ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 86.

¹⁹⁰ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 92.

¹⁹¹ CORFO is "Corporación de Fomento de la Producción" (Corporation for the Promotion of Production).

¹⁹² "El Clasico de la UNCTAD III," *Novedades*, May 1972. Personal collection of *Novedades*.

¹⁹³ "Por primera vez la Isla de Pascua llega a la moneda," *Novedades*, May 1972.

Montalva states that the official joining of Chilean fashion designers with the Tourism Department ended in September 1973.¹⁹⁴ However, the appropriation of imagined indigenous aspects for tourism purposes continued under the dictatorship, particularly in the national costumes of Miss Chile contestants. (See the beauty pageant section of this chapter). Regardless of previous attempts to coopt glorified indigenous elements into fashion, actual indigenous women were excluded from the fashion world until late 1977 when an unnamed indigenous model from Rapa Nui, or Easter Island, was featured in indigenous dress on the cover of *Revista Paula*.¹⁹⁵ However, beyond the cover photo, the fashion segment, “inspired” by indigenous dress from Rapa Nui, featured blonde models. A tourism article on Easter Island was also included in that edition.¹⁹⁶

Official Sexual Education In Beauty

Sex-differentiated stylings of the body propagated in magazines and mass media reflected long-standing historical norms of sex-differentiated bodily styling and exercising taught and enforced in public schools. State issued uniforms in Chilean public schools required specific styling of the body that clearly differentiated students by sex. Since the 1850s, Chilean public education served to teach students how to be girls and boys in a binary heterosexual gender system, including how to dress and style their bodies, how to exercise their bodies for specific goals for muscular development, and that female sexuality was intrinsically tied to reproduction. Chilean public schools were typically divided by sex, with separate schools for boys and girls, although some schools were mixed by 1891, such as the

¹⁹⁴ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 92.

¹⁹⁵ *Revista Paula*, 1977 (Volume no. 256).

¹⁹⁶ See “Coleccion 77-78 Primavera-Verano en Isla de Pascua” and “Rapa Nui: Isla en Desaislamiento” in *Revista Paula*, 1977 (Volume no. 256).

Mixed School N. 11 of Playa Ancha.¹⁹⁷ The topic of whether girls and boys should attend school together and how to regulate such mixed education was still being debated among pedagogical leaders in the 1950s and 1960s, as evidenced in a 1957 pedagogical manual for teachers on coeducation, donated to the Chilean department of Education in 1962.¹⁹⁸

Regardless of whether boys and girls attended separate schools, public school-issued uniforms furthered the binary gender distinction by focusing on specific sexed markers of styling the body with regard to clothing and hairstyles. An examination of the Chilean Museum of Education's photographic archive reveals both continuities and changes in state regulated gendered stylings of the body. While uniforms varied somewhat among schools throughout the country, all schools required girls to wear skirts, while boys wore trousers. The girls' uniform changed, while the boys' remained the same. For girls, the length of the skirt got shorter over time. Whereas an 1896 photograph of female students of the Escuela de Talca shows the girls wearing ankle length skirts,¹⁹⁹ photographs of young women at schools in 1954 and 1955 show them wearing skirts that hit just below the knee with matching jackets.²⁰⁰ Photographs from 1959 and 1965 show girls wearing skirts that hit right at the knee.²⁰¹ Another 1969 photograph taken in the Winter of male and female students at an unidentified school shows the boys wearing long pants and a jacket; the girls wore sweaters

¹⁹⁷ "Doña Dora Zuñiga, la Maestra Reliquia de Playa Ancha, Evoca Lo Que Hace 60 Años Era el Llamado 'San Juan del Puerto,'" *Revista Vea*, May 2, 1951.

¹⁹⁸ Gonzalo R. Lafora and Margarita Camas, *La Educacion Sexual y coeducacion de los sexos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, S.A., 1957). Donated 1962. Museum of Education Archive.

¹⁹⁹ "Escuela de Talca, 1896," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²⁰⁰ "Grupo de Alumnas, Escuela Normal N. 1 de Santiago, 1954," and "N. 1 B Humanidades, Escuela Consolidada de Buin, 1955," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²⁰¹ "Grupo de alumnas del Liceo de niñas N. 11, Juana de Ibarbourou, 1959, Cuarto Primaria," (2 photographs titled as such) and "Grupo de alumnas del Liceo de niñas N. 11, Juana de Ibarbourou, 1965," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

and skirts that hit above their knees.²⁰² The girls' uniformed skirts were not designed to keep them warm in the cold weather, but only to differentiate them from the boys. Despite some schools including girls' pants into their uniforms in 1971, many schools continued to require girls to wear skirts, well into the 1980s.²⁰³

Hairstyles were also fundamental to sex differentiated stylings of the body. While appropriate feminine hairstyles varied and changed over time, they were always differentiated from the boys, which always required above the ears haircuts. In the first half of the century and throughout the 1950s, girls' hair was cut short, generally below the ears but above the shoulders, or pulled back and tightly secured. Girls' hairstyles changed in the 1960s, allowing for a greater variety of styles. This change is seen clearly when comparing photographs of students at an all girls' school in 1959 with a photograph of girls at the same school in 1965.²⁰⁴ In 1959, all of the female students wore their hair short, below their ears but no longer than their shoulders. In 1965, the uniform was exactly the same but there is a noticeable difference in hairstyles. Three of the seven students in the photograph wore their hair loose and freely flowing longer than their shoulders, in line with emerging hippie fashion.

There is evidence that some students attempted to resist such gendered dress codes. Cecilia, a Chilean woman born in Chillan in 1965, recalled her youth attending a school run by nuns in the 1970s.²⁰⁵ She was required to wear a jumper (overall dress) but she wore a men's jacket instead of the jacket issued to her. She described her adaption of the uniform as

²⁰² "Escuela Basica, June 12, 1969," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²⁰³ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 114. See also "Alumnos en acto escolar, April 29, 1981, Liceo Comercial B-113," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²⁰⁴ "Grupo de alumnas del Liceo de niñas N. 11, Juana de Ibarbourou, 1959, Cuarto Primaria" (2 photographs titled as such) and "Grupo de alumnas del Liceo de niñas N. 11, Juana de Ibarbourou, 1965," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²⁰⁵ Anonymous oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

“revolutionary.” Lucia, a Chilean lesbian born in 1960, felt that wearing a skirt was a punishment as a child because it was so uncomfortable.²⁰⁶ Her grandmother made her blue shorts which she wore under her skirt. These small acts were everyday forms of resistance.²⁰⁷ While these acts did not disturb the status quo or hamper the girls’ ability to pass as girls, they allowed these girls to resist the gendered styling imposed on their bodies. Adopting shorts or a men’s jacket allowed them to feel more comfortable and, in Cecilia’s case, revolutionary.

Whereas magazines promoted exercises for the purpose of aesthetics, physical education in state schooling prepared female bodies for maternity. The teaching of physical education became a requirement towards the end of the 19th century.²⁰⁸ Different exercises and pedagogical goals were designed for boys and girls. The Chilean Museum of Education created a digital exhibit based on their archives that demonstrates how physical education was used to differentiate bodies for gendered roles. “Through exercise the formation of a strong masculine body was sought in order to work and fight, and the feminine body was prepared for maternity.”²⁰⁹ Such physical education designed to prepare girls for motherhood was in line with contemporary Chilean medical and public health measures that focused on supervising “unfit” mothers as a means of reducing infant mortality and increasing hygiene practices.²¹⁰

Yet, differentiated exercises also determined the possibilities of muscular development in childhood. These differences in the types of exercises practiced especially

²⁰⁶ Anonymous oral history, February 2014, Santiago, Chile.

²⁰⁷ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

²⁰⁸ “Cómo se enseñaba gimnasia en Chile,” Museum of Education, Permanent Digital Exhibit, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.museodelaeducacion.cl/648/w3-article-28882.html>.

²⁰⁹ “Gimnasia para diferenciar roles y cuerpos de niños y niñas,” Museum of Education, Permanent Digital Exhibit, Accessed 4/18/16.

²¹⁰ Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 19-29.

augmented around puberty, which was associated with procreation. However, such differential physical instruction was set up from childhood, as evidenced in Alejandro Lamas's *Childhood Physical Education Plan*; "We physically educate girls and women, so that they, once mothers, will know how to make their sons manly..."²¹¹ Young women were instructed in the practice of "easy exercises," sometimes accompanied by dance classes. The importance of physical education in schools was even greater for girls because, according to one manual Chilean educators consulted on physical education for girls, they did not have as many opportunities as boys for exercise and movement outside of school.²¹²

Differential physical education is also reflected in the Museum of Education's photographic archive. Photographs of girls' physical education classes reveal how girls' exercises focused on agility and lean muscle strength. A 1943 photograph shows female students walking around in circles kicking their legs up high and reaching for their lifted foot, and a 1957 photograph of female students in their physical education class shows them holding a dance pose with their arms raised and their left leg pointed out.²¹³ In addition to sex-differentiated exercises, the uniforms students wore for physical education classes were also styled according to sex difference. While girls' physical education uniforms varied throughout the country and across the years, they typically differed from boys' physical education uniforms, the latter consisting in some version of shorts and shirts. Photographs of girls' physical education classes in different parts of the country from 1939, 1943, and 1957

²¹¹ Alejandro Lamas, *Educación física e intelectual conexas: un plan de educación física infantil* (Montevideo: Talleres A. Barreiro y Ramos, 1912), Museum of Education, Digital Collection.

²¹² P. Ruiz Amado, *La Educación Feminina* (Barcelona, 1912), Museum of Education, Digital Collection.

²¹³ "Revista de Gimnasia, Liceo de Niñas de Antofagasta, 1943"; and "Clases de Gimnasia, Escuela Normal N. 1, 1957," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

show the students wearing skirts and tights or shorts and halter tops.²¹⁴ Like school uniforms, physical education uniforms differentiated girls by the very revelation of the body. The 1957 photograph shows female students wearing very short, thigh length skirts. For some girls, public schooling issued them uniformed miniskirts before they became fashionable in the 1960s.

Many Chileans received further instruction on dressing their bodies outside of school and mass media as well. The education of beauty culture was often exchanged through personal relationships with women, and frequently such exchanges occurred within the family structure. Cecilia, recalling her adolescence, noted that she began wearing make up at the age of 15 in 1980, largely due to the influence of her three older sisters.²¹⁵ She remembered them singing the song “Maquillaje (Make up)” to her. The song lyrics she began singing include messages such as “Don’t look at me; I have not put my make up on, and I am too ugly... My appearance is too normal for you to like... Put make up on, put make up on...now I have put my make up on... and you will want to kiss me...”²¹⁶

Such instruction often served as policing of the styling of the body, policing that often came from cisgender women within the family. The testimony of nun Francisca Morales, who entered the convent in 1958, demonstrates such sexual instruction within the family.²¹⁷ Morales recalled dressing her brother up like a girl when they were young children. Her mother told her that was not okay because he was a boy. Some cisgender women deliberately resisted conforming to prescribed beauty norms of the female body. Lucia, a lesbian born in

²¹⁴ “Educacion Fisica, Escuela Normal N. 1 de Niñas de Santiago, 1939”; “Educacion Fisica, Antofagasta, 1943; Clases de Gimnasia, Escuela Normal N. 1, 1957,” Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²¹⁵ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

²¹⁶ Mecano, “Maquillaje,” Song released June 21, 1982.

²¹⁷ Video Testimony of Francisca Morales, 2011, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

1960, said that her grandmother, her mother, and her aunts tried to convince her to wear make up when she was 16 or 17 years old.²¹⁸ She also fought with them over their desire for her to wear skirts. Cecilia, recalling her adolescence in the late 1970s and early 1980s, noted that she was embarrassed by her growing breasts and wore a tight top that pressed them down as a means of preventing men in the street from harassing her. She stated that in the street, men made remarks about every female body, calling young women “ugly, pretty, skinny, fat.” Such commentary made her very self-conscious about her body.²¹⁹

Claudia Rodriguez, a transvestite born in 1968, spoke of wearing make up as a child.²²⁰ She recounted how one of her brother’s girlfriends left her make-up bag at their house, and she took it and wore it to school. Her look did not go unnoticed or unpunished. Classmates insulted her with pejorative terms like “*colipato*” and “*maricón*.”²²¹ She said her continued use of make-up was painful for her family, and her mother did not want her to suffer. Rodriguez spoke of her childhood make-up as “moments of resistance.” Rodriguez also recounted her mother beating her as a child for draping rugs over her body to dress up as a woman, pretending they were capes, dresses, or long hair when draped over her head. She recalled that her family told her “you have to be a boy,” and that going to school was even harder because she had to wear a boy’s uniform.

The sphere of labor also served to police the styling of the body. Female teachers were required to wear sex specific uniforms that included skirts and high heels. A group of

²¹⁸ Oral history, February 2014, Santiago, Chile.

²¹⁹ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

²²⁰ Video Testimony of Claudia Rodriguez, 2011, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

²²¹ These are derogatory terms used in Chile to refer to homosexual men. They are roughly equivalent to “fag” in U.S. English.

female teachers are seen walking along a street in Talca in a photograph taken in 1966.²²² They all wore their hair short, just below the ears and were dressed in matching uniforms: white blouses, dark colored jackets, and matching skirts that hit mid calf. They were all walking in matching dark colored high heels, apparently part of their uniform. Three of these same teachers posed for another photograph taken by the beach that same month.²²³ It is important to note that, when not wearing their required uniform for work, the three women all wore pants and comfortable flat shoes. Not all teachers wore uniforms; some adhered to dress codes that still mandated skirts and high heels. A 1965 photograph of teachers in Santiago shows the teachers not in matching uniforms but all wearing knee length (or slightly longer) skirts and high heels with their hair was either cut short or secured in an up-do (one wore hers in a beehive).²²⁴

Several cisgender women I conducted anonymous oral histories with also spoke of having to dress in high heels and make up in order to work. For example, Cecilia, born in 1965, recalled having to wear make up and be “properly arranged” (bien arreglada) so as to conform to the “public attention” (atencion del publico) standards of employment.²²⁵ She stopped wearing make up when she stopping working. Alicia, born in 1957, also stated that she only wore make up when she worked.²²⁶ Katiya, a Russian woman who moved to Chile in the 1990s, noted that, whereas in Russia women wore comfortable clothes to work and dressed in high heels and make up after work to go out, “in Chile it was the opposite.” Chilean women wore high heels and make up to work, and then dressed comfortably after

²²² “Escuela Normal Rural de Talca, June 1966,” Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²²³ “Escuela Normal Rural de Talca, June 1966,” Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²²⁴ “Grupo de alumnas del Liceo de niñas N. 11, Juana de Ibarbourou, 1965,” Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

²²⁵ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

²²⁶ Oral history, April 2014, Santiago, Chile.

work.²²⁷ Even popular tv star and 1973 Miss Chile contestant Marisel noted that when she was not working she did not wear make up.²²⁸

Many young Chilean women also worked directly for beauty industries selling make up and beauty products, as Cecilia, born in 1965, did in the 1980s.²²⁹ Later in life, when Cecilia stopped wearing make up because she stopped working, again it was her sisters who criticized her natural appearance.

The Politics of Passing

Throughout the Cold War period, Chilean practices in body styling were designed to clearly and visibly allow for binary male/female categorization as a construction of heteronormativity. One performed as a man or as a woman. Marriage was restricted to male and female partners. Laws against homosexuality prohibited sodomy, leaving lesbians in a legal invisibility.²³⁰ Everyday ambiguity was dangerous. Passing as either male or female was necessary both to find work and to avoid police harassment and imprisonment.

Throughout the Cold War period, queer Chileans had to work through the politics of living a queer sexuality in a heteronormative society; heteronormative politics privileged those who could successfully perform as male or female. The importance of passing was not a phenomenon of the dictatorship, although it took on new meanings following the 1973 coup. Following the dictatorship, many Chileans also had to work through the politics of living a subversive political identity under a highly repressive regime. The importance of performing a beautiful femininity to pass as politically nonthreatening became a vital need for cisgender women as well as for queer and trans Chileans. Linda Schlossberg recognizes that:

²²⁷ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

²²⁸ Maria Y. Gonzalez, "Marisel: quiero ser yo!" *Revista Ritmo*, February 27, 1973, 14-17.

²²⁹ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

²³⁰ Article 365, *Código Penal, Edición Oficial*, 95.

the passing subject's ability to transcend or abandon his or her 'authentic' identity calls into question the very notion of authenticity itself. Passing, it seems, threatens to call attention to the performative and contingent nature of all seemingly 'natural' or 'obvious' identities."²³¹

Indeed, passing is a very conscious performativity that highlights the naturalized performativity of all identity, including heteronormativity.

Chileans that did not successfully pass binary sex, gender, and body norms were legally and culturally policed. Examining the case of a transgender persons and her partner, I demonstrate the perils of passing in 1950s Chile. Juan Cordoba de Lasalle was a transgender woman known as "Blanquita" and was happily married to Oscar Tortosa Filipone until the police intervened in 1953. *Revista Vea* reported the case in an article titled, "Degenerates or Physically Ill?"²³² (See Figure 6 in Appendix A) The couple met in Mendoza, and moved to Santiago to live in peace. When they asked to borrow money, one of the lenders wanted to verify their marriage and went to the police deputy, Don Carlos Gimenez. Gimenez went to their home with two other detectives, and discovered that Blanquita was a man when he touched her muscular arm.

According to the article, 19 year old Oscar Tortosa claimed that he did not know that she was a man. The article also reported that he said he "ignored that 'he' was not 'she.'" The article described how Blanquita used a corset to accentuate her waist and hips and oddly noted that her "underwear was of the best quality, almost all nylon." They reported that she was a perfect homemaker and was even sewing clothes because she was "expecting" a baby boy. The article presented them as living the life of a normal married couple, with her getting jealous when he went out.

²³¹ Schlossberg, "Introduction: Rites of Passing," 2.

²³² "Degenerados o enfermos?," *Revista Vea*, July 22, 1953.

However, they also described her as being physically unappealing. Blanquita claimed to have a glandular failure, which caused her to grow facial hair that she regularly shaved. She was described by the magazine as having a “feminine voice,” and using “gestures that provoked laughter and compassion.” The experts determined that she either had a psychological defect or a glandular disorder, which caused her to become “an oddity, a vile, despicable being.” The article referred to Blanquita as “she” with scare quotes and to Oscar as “he” with scare quotes, and referred to them both as perverts. It noted that once the police and medical authorities of Santiago became aware of the case, they asked for a court order to return them to Argentina.

The legal policing and mass mediated shaming of Blanquita and Oscar is seen in other media coverage as well. A 1953 *Revista Vea* article titled “Men or Women? Try to Identify Them” described multiple cases of transgender persons who were persecuted by the police and included their photographs in the magazine.²³³ Jorge Molina Sanchez was a transgender woman who married a pilot from the United States before being caught by the FBI. Jorge Simonson was a transvestite, described in the article as a proper family man, who was arrested upon being caught dressed as a woman in “a bar full of men.”

The article also reported cases of transgender female-to-males. Catalina Wing was arrested upon being caught dressing as a man while living with her female partner.²³⁴ A photograph of Wing shows him dressed in a suit and tie, with a cigarette dangling from his lips. (See Figure 7 in Appendix A) The article noted that readers could “appreciate her manly features and masculine clothing.” Francisca Richard Orlando was also presented in a photograph dressed as a man in an intimate embrace with a cisgender woman. Upon being

²³³ “Hombres o Mujeres? Trate de Identificarlos,” *Revista Vea*, July 22, 1953.

²³⁴ Ibid.

arrested, Richard told the police that she had realized it was easier to find a job while dressed as a man.²³⁵

The changing fashion of the 1960s blurred the traditional distinction of binary bodily styling. Men's hairstyles began to venture below their ears. Women increasingly began wearing pants. Fashion advice in a 1965 issue of popular magazine *Revista Ritmo* even suggested that women wear vests, "imitating men's clothes."²³⁶ The church was not the only sector opposed to changing fashion trends; Outside of the church, the loosening of strict gendered dress codes was not well received by all Chileans. Whereas the church historically protested the uncovering of women's bodies in fashion, opposition in popular culture criticized new fashions precisely because sexual difference was not as clearly visible.

Criticisms of changing fashion, found even in *Revista Paula*, reveal the importance of manipulating and dressing bodies in gender specific ways. One of Isabel Allende's 1969 humor pieces in *Revista Paula*, titled "The Costume" lamented that nothing was authentic anymore, that ugly women could dress up as interesting women, and that "in the eagerness to seem to be something other than one's self, the difference between the sexes is dissolving so much that everyone looks like a hermaphrodite."²³⁷ The magazine, while attempting to liberate women in line with their feminist stance, still emphasized the importance of performing as women and clearly delineating sex difference.

Queer and transgender Chileans looked to beauty industry models such as *Revista Paula* for instructions on effectively performing as women. The late Chilean chronicler Pedro Lemebel recounted a party from New Year's Eve 1972, in which both right-wing and

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ "Moda," *Revista Ritmo*, September 1965.

²³⁷ Isabel Allende, "El Disfraz," *Revista Paula*, December 1969.

leftist transvestites attended together.²³⁸ He described that la Palma, the *loca* who sold chickens in the market La Vega, threw the party because she was so happy with Allende.²³⁹ He described how some of the richer “*locas jai* that hated Allende” arrived in fur coats looking like Elizabeth Taylor, Marlene Dietrich, or “like models from *Paula*.”²⁴⁰ His comment reflects the importance of feminine models and beauty culture in teaching both cisgender and transgender women how to perform and pass as women.

Victor Hugo Robles’ recounting of the first organized Chilean homosexual demonstration in April 1973, based on the testimonies of some of those who participated, further illustrates the importance of passing to avoid police abuse. Robles cites the testimonies of a stylist named José Ortiz and of la Raquel, both of whom spoke of being tired of the police abuse they suffered. Raquel noted that “If the police realized that you were a *maricón*, they took you to jail, beat you, and cut your hair,” adding that “Under Allende, there was more political freedom, but there was no freedom for us. In those years, people were horrified and scandalized by us...”²⁴¹ Recall as well the discussion in the introduction of the hateful reactions in the press to this first queer demonstration in April 1973.

Criticisms of sexual ambiguity continued in the 1970s under Allende and during the dictatorship, appearing in magazines intended for male audiences and for *Revista Paula*’s female audience. A 1970 comic from a nude magazine shows two people walking together hand in hand, dressed in exactly the same clothes and with the exact same haircuts. The only difference between the two people is that one of them clearly has breasts. The caption (punch

²³⁸ Pedro Lemebel, *Loco Afan: Crónicas de Sidario* (Santiago: LOM: 1996), 11-16.

²³⁹ “Loca” is a term used in Chile, and in other places in Latin America, to refer to homosexual “effeminate” men or transvestites (*travestis*).

²⁴⁰ Lemebel, *Loco Afan*, 12.

²⁴¹ Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 11-13. *Maricón* is a Chilean term roughly equivalent to “fag” in English. It has been used as a derogatory comment to insult homosexuals, and it has also been used by queer Chileans to refer to themselves and their peers.

line) reads: “You are so feminine, my beauty.”²⁴² A January 1974 comic in *Revista Paula* shows a hippie holding a sign that reads, “I am a woman.”²⁴³ All of these commentaries criticize the blurring of sexual difference to bemoan changing fashion trends.

The changing fashions of the 1960s to some degree challenged the important Chilean practice of “passing” as male or female, but such fashions were continuously criticized specifically because they were sexually ambiguous. Women, like queer Chileans, were legally and culturally expected to style their body in accordance with male or female social regulations in order to pass as socially acceptable. As I have shown, ambiguity was dangerous, especially for queer people.

Indeed, nonnormative genders and sexualities occupied a marginalized but visible presence in Chilean societies in the 1960s, as they had in the 1950s. Chileans unable to successfully pass as male or female faced police repression in the 1960s, as they had in the 1950s. In 1968, responding to the widespread repression of nonnormative Chileans, prominent Chilean sexologist Dr. Quijada published a coauthored book arguing for sex changes as a cure to homosexuality.²⁴⁴ Dr. Quijada, who was involved in scientific and medical sexology studies as well as sexual education at both the university and primary school levels, was the founder and president of the Chilean Society of Anthropological Sexology in the 1960s and throughout Allende’s presidency and the dictatorship.²⁴⁵

Noting that the issue of sex change existed due to the high demand for it by individuals, Quijada discussed the case of a man who had been arrested in late 1967 for

²⁴² *Cosquillas* 1, October 14, 1970.

²⁴³ Comic “Soy Mujer,” *Revista Paula*, January 1974.

²⁴⁴ Osvaldo Quijada, et. al. *Cambio de Sexo: Puntos de vista antropologico, biologico, embriologico, genetico, clinic endocrinologico, psiquiatrico, religioso, catolico, y juridico: con un apendice sobre correcciones quirurgicas* (Buenos Aires: Joaquin Almendros: 1968), 9-10.

²⁴⁵ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 76-80.

dressing as a woman and working as a waitress.²⁴⁶ The accused explained that “his figure and mannerisms, including his voice” had prohibited him from finding work as a man. Quijada wondered whether such individuals, unable to change with medical assistance, could be provided with a medical certificate so as not to be bothered by the police.²⁴⁷

Quijada believed that “correcting” bodies to match the prescribed heterosexually constructed body binary was more feasible than “correcting” nonnormative sexuality to match the constructed sexed body. Dr. Quijada’s work, while still pathologizing nonbinary bodies and nonnormative sexuality, advocated on behalf of those seeking sex changes in the 1960s. He argued that scholarly discussions of sex changes were of utmost importance because doctors performing sex changes in Argentina had been prosecuted and imprisoned.²⁴⁸ He was keenly aware of the politics of passing, recognizing that:

a large proportion of individuals inevitably find themselves surviving only by hiding their true personality and appearing as another, with all of the weight that carries- reflected in vices, suicides, vengeful acts against society and a thousand other imbalances.”²⁴⁹

Quijada attributed the need to pass, or hide one’s true personality and appear as another, to an inconsistency in biological and social realities:

We have two undeniable truths: one is that these forms of inversion of sexual conduct are natural in a significant percentage of people, observable in all cultural levels and in the most isolated regions of the planet, and, the other, that on a basic level communities have had to find a social place for those with inverted personalities to live and work.²⁵⁰

Quijada’s recognition that nonbinary bodies are *natural* and must find their place in society was extremely insightful, yet his language of “inversion” simultaneously continued to

²⁴⁶ Quijada, *Cambio de Sexo*, 23.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 23.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 12.

²⁴⁹ Quijada, *Cambio de Sexo*, 19.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 21.

pathologize such individuals and insist on binary gender roles. Despite recognizing the problems resulting from the inconsistency between the reality of the natural body and society's prescribed sexed roles, Quijada was determined to fit the body (and its sexuality) into these prescribed roles. Quijada's recognition of biological sex diversity was tempered by his inability to deconstruct the binary gender categories constructed around sexed bodies.

Indeed, Dr. Quijada believed that the work of sexologists went beyond "correcting" genitalia and homosexuality. When discussing boys whose hormones would never allow them to "live the life of a man," he argued that, in addition to medical and surgical treatment, they must also have "*education in femininity*" so as to live (and pass) as women.²⁵¹ According to Dr. Quijada, femininity was taught, and bodies should be medically corrected and provided such education in femininity in order to properly fit into the (constructed) heterosexual gender binary.

Essentialized notions of femininity as a construct of sex differentiation were at the center of discussions of sexuality for both cisgender and transgender women in Chile. Sexual education cannot be understood outside of the queer context; the importance of binary gendered sex roles was at the heart of both projects. Sexual education, the teaching of binary sex difference as a construct of heteronormative sexuality, though not formally offered as a subject in schools before 1968, was taught through legal, cultural, and commercial constructions of gender and sexuality, the legal and cultural policing of nonnormative genders and sexualities, the sphere of labor, and familial and personal relationships. Chilean educator Tulio Lagos Valenzuela described such unofficial education as "informal sexual education," noting that "Regardless of the delay of educational institutions at all levels in

²⁵¹ Ibid, 22. My emphasis.

incorporating sexual education to their study plans and programs, it has always existed...”²⁵² Lagos cited personal experiences, prejudices, and pornography as elements of this informal sexual education.

Jadwiga Pieper Mooney has shown how Chilean physician-educators had attempted to promote sexual education in schools since the 1930s to address problems they viewed as stemming from widespread poverty and single motherhood, but that such efforts “were restricted by the widespread fear of immoral and dangerous consequences such instruction could have on female sexual behavior.”²⁵³ Pieper Mooney argues that such fruitless debates on sex education reflected “the strength of a religious-moral understanding of women’s sexuality, to be expressed only in marriage and inseparable from reproduction” which would persist for decades.²⁵⁴

The 1968 formalization of official sexual education and contemporary sexology studies reinforced constructions of heteronormative binary gender roles taught in such “informal sexual education.” In 1968, Chilean educators, medical doctors, and government officials joined together in the development of a national sexual education program. That year President Eduardo Frei approved a three year program on “Family Life and Sexual Education” (VIFES) in conjunction with the Chilean Ministry of Education and the United States Agency for International Development (AID).²⁵⁵ In the same year students and teachers at the University of Chile’s Education Department presented a plan for a Sexology Unit to the Director of Education Olga Poblete. The program focused on preparing educators

²⁵² Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 66.

²⁵³ Pieper Mooney, *The Politics of Motherhood*, 27.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 28.

²⁵⁵ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 78. Title of program in Spanish: “Vida Familiar y Educación Sexual.”

to teach sexual education centered on the “biological, psychological, and sociocultural aspects of sexuality that explain the complementary roles of men and women...”²⁵⁶

The “Family Life and Sexual Education” plan began to be implemented sporadically throughout the country in 1970. A 1970 *Revista Paula* article discussed the need for sexual education in schools. It noted that some schools had experimented with sexual education, but that this was the first year that they were implementing the national level sexual education plan.²⁵⁷ The article included an interview with Rodolfo Valdes Phillips, the director of the Ministry of Education’s “Family Life and Sexual Education” program. Valdes also clarified that the program’s intent was “not to take over the role of the family but to collaborate with it,” by clearly delineating “masculine and feminine roles” within the family.²⁵⁸ The program was not designed to teach Chileans about female sexual pleasure, or any other aspects of nonreproductive sexuality, but about prescribed gender roles and reproductive organs only, as demonstrated in an illustration of the male and female bodies showing reproductive organs only. The article noted that the program was the first of its kind in Latin America.²⁵⁹

Indeed, the Museum of Education library and archive held only one manual that instructed teachers on how to provide sexual education.²⁶⁰ The manual, published in 1970, also focused on the role of the male orgasm in the reproductive function of sexuality with no mention of the clitoris or of female orgasm. Again, only female reproductive sexual organs were taught. Public sexual education taught reproductive heterosexuality, while largely denying women both knowledge and legal agency of their bodies and sexuality.

²⁵⁶ Barón and Lagos, *Educación Sexual En Chile*, 80.

²⁵⁷ *Revista Paula*, February 1970, 76-78. See also Pieper Mooney’s discussion of contemporary Chilean and global concerns with demographic growth and poverty, *The Politics of Motherhood*.

²⁵⁸ “Anteproyecto del programa ‘Vida Familiar y Educación Sexual’ Para el Quinto y Sexto Grados de Educación Básica,” Reprinted in *Revista Paula*, February 1970, 76-78.

²⁵⁹ *Revista Paula*, February 1970, 76-78.

²⁶⁰ Eric W. Johnson, *Educación Sexual para Adolescentes* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Hormé: 1970).

In 1970, Isabel Allende wrote a humor piece titled “Sexual Education” for *Revista Paula*. Allende said that she had nothing against sexual education in schools, but that on the contrary, what she did not like was that it was taught so methodically and technically, without its mystery, tenderness, laughter, and love. She also lamented that “even with sexual education, no one tells children directly how much fun it is.”²⁶¹ Her comment highlights how state schooling denied all Chileans knowledge of female bodies and sexuality; sex was about male orgasms making babies in female bodies- not female pleasure.

Many women spoke of sexual education being inadequate or nonexistent. Alicia Caceres, born in 1938 and married at the age of 14, spoke of learning about pregnancy while 7 months pregnant.²⁶² She said that her mother had not taught her anything, not even about menstruation. She learned about her body from a family friend. In an oral history with Cecilia, a Chilean woman who was a sexually active teenager decades later in the early 1980s, she recalled birth control being very expensive.²⁶³ She only used it sporadically, and only following the birth of her child.

The centrality of reproduction (and the invisibilization of the clitoris) in both informal and limited official sexual education affected cisgender female desire and sexual pleasure. A 1970 *Revista Paula* article titled “The Sexual Conduct of Chileans,” discussed a study done by North American Dr. Françoise Hall on Chilean sexuality, offering insights into how constructions of Chilean sexuality affected sexual practices. According to the study, 61% of middle and upper class married Chilean men cheated on their wives, as well as 49% of lower class men and 25% of rural men. While 41 to 58% of men were in favor of abortion

²⁶¹ Isabel Allende, “La Educacion Sexual,” *Revista Paula*, April 1970.

²⁶² Video Testimony of Alicia Caceres, 2011, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

²⁶³ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

(depending on economic circumstances), the majority of men of all social classes were against providing information on contraceptives to women because it would “give too much freedom to women.” Indeed, contraceptive pills allowed cisgender heterosexual women to separate their sexual desire from its potential reproductive effects.

44% of all men reported that they cheated with different women, although the study failed to ask how many of these extramarital relations were with prostitutes (despite prostitution being legal and regulated by state sanitation inspectors). It also failed to address adultery rates among women. The study attributed these statistics on male infidelity to machismo, but noted that women were also responsible because they did not see themselves as sexual beings, believing that only bad women enjoyed sex.²⁶⁴ Here, the study was criticizing women for not assuming their sexual pleasure.

Yet, *Revista Paula* also published articles on women who did see themselves as sexual beings and the stigma they faced as such. A later 1970 article titled, “Does the female Don Juan exist?” argued that “Doñas Juanas” did exist and had always existed in Chile but that these women were discriminated in society and given a bad reputation. The author noted that although she found a surprising number of these women, few were willing to talk about it publicly because of the stigma attached to such a liberated female sexuality. The article argued that “we women also have the right to realize our sexuality.”²⁶⁵ Using historical examples of Doñas Juanas and interviews with anonymous women, the article described these women as being economically independent (but not prostitutes) and deliberately conquering men that they liked. According to the article, these women differed from their male counterparts in that they did not typically have multiple partners at a time, but one

²⁶⁴ “Soprendentes revelaciones sobre la Conducta Sexual de los Chilenos,” *Revista Paula*, April 1970.

²⁶⁵ Malu Sierra, “Existe la mujer Don Juan?” *Revista Paula*, October 1970.

partner after another. When they tired of a man, he became their friend because women were “more diplomatic than men” and avoided drama. Other early 1970s *Paula* articles also questioned the notion that women were not sexual beings, focusing on issues such as the ancient pastime of orgies and men as sexual objects, as well as anonymous cases of female infidelity.²⁶⁶

A series of articles on “The Erotic Life of Chilean Women” in *Revista Paula* focused on the sexuality of different groups of Chilean women. The article on single women noted that, while some still thought it best to wait for marriage, none of the 50 young women interviewed thought that premarital sex was inherently wrong, but many felt that it depended on whether the sex was based on love or lust. The article also described these women as being less sexually inhibited than their mothers and even their older sisters, and attributed this decreasing inhibition to foreign influences. Many of the young women interviewed rejected the importance of female virginity as an imposition of men.²⁶⁷

The article focusing on married women reported that most married women were sexually unsatisfied.²⁶⁸ Based on interviews with married Chilean women, the author attributed this lack of sexual satisfaction to inadequate sexual education, machismo, and the “myth” of the female orgasm. The use of the term “myth” in reference to the female orgasm recalls contemporary debates among English-speaking feminists, anthropologists, and evolutionary biologists on the existence of the female orgasm and its evolutionary function.²⁶⁹ It also implies Chilean women’s lack of knowledge of their own bodies. Most of

²⁶⁶ “La Orgia: un antiguo pasatiempo,” *Revista Paula*, Nov. 1970; “Hombres desnudos para la publicidad,” *Revista Paula*, Feb. 1971; “Casadas Infieles,” *Revista Paula*, October 1973.

²⁶⁷ “La vida erotica de la mujer chilena: la mujer soltera,” *Revista Paula*, June 1973.

²⁶⁸ Malu Sierra, “La Vida Erotica de la mujer chilena: la mujer casada,” *Revista Paula*, July 1973.

²⁶⁹ Bosley, “From Monkey Facts to Human Ideologies: Theorizing Female Orgasm.”

the women interviewed described years or even decades of learning about their sexuality while married, and many women noted that after a long learning period they discovered that sex could be pleasurable and some even reported eventually having orgasms. Another article in the series focused on the erotic life of “mature” *chilenas* featuring testimonies of older women, often grandmothers, who reported that they enjoyed sex more now that they had finally learned how. Some of these mature women also expressed the desire for more sex and an interest in younger men.²⁷⁰

Although in the 1960s and 1970s *Revista Paula* was dedicated to liberating women’s heterosexual desires and pleasures, they had a very different stance on female homosexual desire. An article from 1970 titled “Homosexuality: Terrible Enemy of our Children,” addressed the “problem” of homosexuality in Chile, quoting extensively from Dr. Quijada.²⁷¹ While the article mainly focused on men, it did at one point specify “homosexual men *and women*.” It noted that while homosexuals in Chile did not get as much media coverage as those in the US and other places, it was not because it did not exist. On the contrary, the article stated that homosexuals were “in every social class and every activity” in Chile.

This cultural policing of homosexuals is seen in other contemporary magazines as well, such as *Revista Ritmo*, a popular youth music magazine. A 1973 article on the age of Aquarius discussed the negative effects of the Free Love movement, arguing that men would become less manly, women would become more masculine, and homosexuality would become more widespread.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ “La Vida Erotica de la Mujer Chilena: la mujer madura,” *Revista Paula*, July 1973.

²⁷¹ Amanda Puz, “El Homosexualismo: Enemigo Terrible de Nuestros Hijos,” *Revista Paula*, April 1970.

²⁷² J. Belline, “Que nos depara la era de acuario?,” *Revista Ritmo*, September 11, 1973, 65.

Dr. Quijada played a fundamental role in both the VIFES program and the university Sexology unit. He connected the university's new Sexology Unit with the Medical School of Chile (Colegio Medico) and the Chilean Society of Anthropological Sexology, which he founded and presided over.²⁷³ The university's sexology unit officially began in 1971, as did the first course on Basic Sexology for docentes.²⁷⁴ Also in 1971 President Allende appointed Dr. Quijada to create and direct the Office of Sexological Research and Sexual Education within the Ministry of Education. The Office was to stay abreast of national and international sexology research and oversee the formation of professionals trained in sexology, including the first multiprofessional Sexual Education training intensive course offered in January 1972.²⁷⁵ Dr. Quijada was thus involved in scientific and medical sexology studies as well as sexual education at both the university and primary school levels. In 1971, Dr. Quijada led the Second Chilean Conference on Sexology, which was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the Chilean Society of Anthropological Sexology. The new president of the republic, Dr. Salvador Allende was in attendance.²⁷⁶ Indeed, Dr. Quijada was interested in much more than sexual education. He also was concerned with the complexity of human sexuality.

When the military took over power September 11, 1973, they put a quick end to both the VIFES Sexual Education plan and to the Ministry of Education's Office of Sexual Research and Education.²⁷⁷ In November 1973, Director of Secondary Education Irma Saavedra announced strict codes for students: boys' hair was to be short and styled neatly,

²⁷³ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 76-80.

²⁷⁴ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 87.

²⁷⁵ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 82-83.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 78.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 108

and make up, necklaces, and platform shoes were strictly prohibited.²⁷⁸ It should be noted that these student dress codes were in line with pre-1973 dress codes. The University of Chile's Sexology unit was shut down in 1974 and Dr. Quijada temporarily left the country soon after.²⁷⁹ They created their own plans and programs of study, led by Lautaro Arriagada, which included a new elective course on Sexual Education within the University of Chile's Education Department.²⁸⁰

However, the Chilean Society of Anthropological Sexology resumed its activities July 27, 1979 with Dr. Quijada remaining as president.²⁸¹ In that session, Dr. Omar Jara presented on Sex Changes, noting that he had personally operated on 30 people and that 40 other people had been operated in the Hospital Van Buren in Valparaiso where he worked. One of the first works of the rekindled Society was to present their "Correction of Birth Document Through Sex Change" to the head of the Civil Registration and Identification Office.²⁸² Citing Art. 102 of the Chilean Civil Code, which recognized that marriage was a contract between a man and a woman, intended for procreation, Dr. Quijada argued that:

The transsexual is only a social and moral problem as long as he is not treated and operated, therefore not allowing him to existentially locate himself according to his incurable psycho-behavioral nature. If it is accepted that homosexuality in terms of private behavior should be respected, even greater rights should be bestowed on all persons that require medical help in the adaptation of their personality to a social life that is their own, less false, and more in accordance with their profound reality.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ "Adios a los Zuecos y al Pelo Largo," *El Mercurio*, November 11, 1973, 44, quoted in Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*, 24.

²⁷⁹ Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 112 and 115.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 118.

²⁸¹ Sociedad Chilena de Sexologia Antropologica, "Segunda Etapa de Sesiones de Trabajo a la Sociedad," in Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 135-6.

²⁸² Sociedad Chilena de Sexologia Antropologica, "Rectificacion de Partidas por Cambio de Sexo," in Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 143-154.

²⁸³ *Ibid*.

By 1981, the Society stated that roughly 100 people had been operated on to change their sex.²⁸⁴ Thus, the medical-legal community was using essentialized notions of binary sex and gender roles to advocate on behalf of transsexual rights, but it continued to exclude cisgender nonreproductive sexuality from such discussions because of those very same essentialized notions.

Beauty and Passing Under the Dictatorship

Under the dictatorship, the direction of *Revista Paula* changed, with most of the original editorial team going into exile in the years following the coup. Isabel Allende, who worked in various forms of mass media at the time of the coup, described her personal experience with censorship. At the publishing house of feminist magazine *Revista Paula*:

Anyone who had actively participated in the Popular Unity was immediately dismissed; I remained, but under close observation. Delia Vergara (the magazine's editor), pale but firm, announced exactly what she had three years earlier: We shall go on working as usual. This time, nevertheless, was different. Several of her collaborators had disappeared, and the team's best journalist was running around half-crazed trying to hide her brother... The authorities called all the press representatives together to communicate the rules of strict censorship under which they were to operate; not only were some subjects forbidden, there were even dangerous words, such as *compañero*, which was expunged from the vocabulary, and others that were to be used with extreme caution... I lost my job as director (of a children's magazine), and soon would also lose my post on the women's magazine- as would the rest of the staff, because in the eyes of the military, feminism was as subversive as Marxism... Under the orders of a new director, the magazine made a sharp about-face and became an exact replica of dozens of other frivolous publications for women. The head of the firm returned to photographing his beautiful adolescent girls.²⁸⁵

The long, insightful quote from Allende criticized the military's systematic censorship for its political purging (including feminism as subversive) and reinvigorated focus on beautiful,

²⁸⁴ Sociedad Chilena de Sexologia Antropologica, Report, May 18, 1981, in Barón and Lagos, *Educacion Sexual En Chile*, 155.

²⁸⁵ Isabel Allende, *Paula: A Memoir*, trans. Margaret Sayers (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), 200-201. Allende also noted that after losing her position on both magazines, she was taping her television "program in a studio under the surveillance of a guard with a machine gun. Censorship was not all that affected my work; I became aware that it was to the liking of the dictatorship that a member of the Allende family had a light comedy program on television- what better proof of normality in the nation?" (221).

young female bodies. While beautiful adolescent girls were never absent from the magazine, the feminist leadership was purged.²⁸⁶ By 1976, Constanza Vergara, who also served as the military government's Secretary of State, would take over the leadership.²⁸⁷

Although the magazine continued a subtle feminist stance, they were increasingly more careful about the pieces they included and at times included explicitly anti-feminist pieces, such as a 1977 "humor" piece written by a male author titled, "Don't Call Your Woman Señora Anymore," that argued that women's access to contraceptives took away their status as a "lady."²⁸⁸ Yet the magazine still included evidence of female sexual dissatisfaction.²⁸⁹

Cultural production, censored and controlled by the dictatorship, promoted new fashions in line with the military's gendered dress codes.²⁹⁰ In December 1973 and early 1974 *Revista Paula* included only skirts and dresses in the magazine's fashion pieces.²⁹¹ In May 1974 their fashion piece proclaimed that "The Rebirth of the Skirt."²⁹² In the Winter of 1974, their fashion piece focused on long skirts rather than pants for cold weather.²⁹³ Women's magazine *Eva* described the Winter fashion of 1974, instructing readers that "Chilean women will have to leave aside their miniskirts this Winter in order to shine in

²⁸⁶ Montalva, *Morir un Poco*, 277.

²⁸⁷ Letter congratulating her for her service as Secretary of State published in *Revista Paula*, July 1977.

²⁸⁸ Santiago del Campo, "No Señoree Mas a su Yegua," *Revista Paula*, August 1977.

²⁸⁹ See for example, "Tension=Suffering," *Revista Paula*, September 1977, 117.

²⁹⁰ "Pelo Corto: Nueva Moda," *El Mercurio*, September 22, 1973, 25; "Frivolidades del hombre chileno," *Paula*, November 1973, 89.

²⁹¹ "La Moda," *Revista Paula*, December 1973; "La Moda," *Revista Paula*, December 1973; "La Moda," *Revista Paula*, January 1974.

²⁹² "La falda renace," *Revista Paula*, May 1974.

²⁹³ "La Moda," *Revista Paula*, July 1974.

ankle length skirts, cut their long hair into flirty hairdos like Marlene Dietrich's, and trade their high heels (suecos) for lower, better styled shoes....²⁹⁴

However, my examination of beauty advertisements in these same magazines shows a disconnect between "official fashion" and the fashions being sold in advertisements. The "official fashion" propagated in *Revista Paula's* fashion pieces was in line with the military's policing of physical appearance, yet like *Revista Ritmo*, *Revista Paula* never stopped advertising pants for women.²⁹⁵ The fact that such advertisements came from Chilean boutiques indicates that these advertisements were coming from Chilean businesses that were still selling and marketing pants. Furthermore, bikinis also continued to be featured in magazine advertisements and in articles, demonstrating that the military regime was not particularly concerned with the covering of the body.²⁹⁶ Rather, they were focused on reinforcing sexual difference, as Montalva argues.

Yet, Chileans experienced the dictatorship in disconnected ways. Geographical location, class status, and political persuasion were important factors in determining whether the military's sex-differentiated gendered dress code affected Chileans. Many Chileans' survival depended on their ability to pass as either male or female, aesthetically European, of a high class status, and as politically conforming; for many Chileans, nonnormative fashions were a dangerous option.²⁹⁷ Still, many Chileans also continued to dress as they had before. Alicia moved to the wealthy neighborhood Las Condes in Santiago in 1971 at the age of

²⁹⁴ In *Eva*, April 1974, quoted in Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 225.

²⁹⁵ See, for example, María Inés Matte jeans advertisement, *Revista Paula*, October 1973; Cachemiras Moramo boutique advertisement for pants, *Revista Paula*, December 1973; Fiorenza pants advertisement, *Revista Paula*, June 1974. Montalva describes "the disappearance of pants" from *Paula*, in *Morir un poco*, 259-260.

²⁹⁶ See Solbronx tanning cream advertisement featuring a blonde woman in a bikini, *Revista Paula*, December 1973; and Ronaldo Cardenas, "El Veraneo," *Revista Paula*, February 1974.

²⁹⁷ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 120.

14.²⁹⁸ She lived two blocks away from the soon to be dictator Pinochet and was friends with his son. She recalled wearing bellbottom pants, platform shoes, and loose, flowing hair throughout the 1970s.

Cecilia, born in Chillan in 1965, hardly remembers the coup. Her recounting of asking her father to buy her blue jeans as an adolescent in the mid 1970s further indicates that she did not experience the military's enforcement of gendered dress codes.²⁹⁹ For both Alicia and Cecilia, class status, racial aesthetics, family ties, geographical location, cisgender femininity, and lack of political affiliation or involvement afforded them more liberty in the styling of their bodies. Both of these women spoke of the importance of popular youth magazine *Revista Ritmo* in their adolescence. Indeed, this magazine explicitly encouraged women's use of pants, even in 1974. An early 1974 edition included an article titled "We live in the decade of 'Jeans-Appeal.'"³⁰⁰ The article noted that "jeans are the very symbol of sexuality for the decade of the 1970s." A June 1974 fashion segment in *Revista Ritmo* featured women wearing both knee length skirts and pants, but stressed that, "The most important thing is to look neat and orderly."³⁰¹

The territory of "official fashion" itself became murky as the dictatorship consolidated its rule and its neoliberal opening of the market. By the late 1970s, *Paula's* fashion pieces included lingerie and strapless dresses, yet a new section "Yes and No of Fashion," still instructed readers not to have long hair because it looked "unordered."³⁰² Readers were instructed to either properly style their hair in hairdos or to cut it. Despite

²⁹⁸ Oral history, April 2014, Santiago, Chile.

²⁹⁹ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

³⁰⁰ "Vivimos en la decada del 'Jeans-Appeal,'" *Revista Ritmo*, 1974 (Volume no. 439).

³⁰¹ "Buscando su estilo de 'todos los dias,'" *Revista Ritmo*, June 4, 1974, 54-58.

³⁰² "Sí y No de la Moda," *Revista Paula*, July 1977.

promoting sexier fashions by the late 1970s, the magazine continued to promote long skirts as well. An August 1977 edition advised readers not to let their legs show between dresses and high boots in its “Yes and No of Fashion” piece.³⁰³ Such contradictory fashion advice supports Montalva’s finding that the military’s strict dress codes were relaxed in the late 1970s, as alternative fashions became increasingly available and common.³⁰⁴

For some people, the importance of passing took on new meaning under the dictatorship. As Montalva argues, the early dictatorship’s fashion served to reinforce sexual difference.³⁰⁵ For Chileans living clandestinely for political reasons, physical appearance became fundamental to their survival.³⁰⁶ Such Chileans used the politics of beauty in order to “pass” as not being politically subversive. Some Chileans lived clandestinely because of their political affiliation or involvement. Some hid because they were actively opposing the dictatorship. Some of these people had already been imprisoned, and in some cases, tortured by the military. Many were attempting to avoid imprisonment. Montalva describes how people living clandestinely adopted “official fashion” in order to appear to be from a different social stratus and “pass” as someone that would not be targeted by the military police.³⁰⁷

For women, this involved changing one’s appearance by cutting and dying her hair, using wigs, getting a perm, wearing skirts and different colored clothing, and doing “tricks with make up.”³⁰⁸ One woman involved in the Communist party and living clandestinely during the dictatorship recalled wearing make up as a disguise, noting that even the color of

³⁰³ “Sí y No de la Moda,” *Revista Paula*, August 1977.

³⁰⁴ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 120.

³⁰⁵ Montalva, *Morir un poco*, 225.

³⁰⁶ Sagredo and Gazmuri, *Historia de la Vida Privada*, 257-277.

³⁰⁷ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 87-88 and 97.

³⁰⁸ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 94, 98, 112, and 114.

her eye shadow was fundamental to successfully passing in public.³⁰⁹ Young women living clandestinely tried to “pass” by dressing “ultra feminine,” wearing dresses and skirts and appearing more like contemporary older women.³¹⁰

For women held in detention centers, cutting their hair and not using make up was a tactic to desexualize their appearance in hopes of preventing sexual violence. Yet, this desexualization came with a price; it made them appear more like the masculinized political militant women that the military persecuted.³¹¹ Montalva’s accounting of testimonies of female political prisoners reveals that many women changed their strategies at different moments of their imprisonment, at times trying to appear more physically appealing and “feminine” with their hair and make up, and at others trying to be as “masculine” and “ugly” as possible, in order to attempt to moderate the sexual violence and other torture they faced.³¹²

In the oral histories I collected, multiple trans people discussed the vital importance of “passing” as either male or female under the dictatorship, noting that they faced the most problems when they appeared sexually ambiguous.³¹³ Chileans particularly had to perform as either male or female in order to work.³¹⁴ Transvestite Claudia Rodriguez spoke of her aesthetic ambiguity in the late 1980s. She described having long hair and dressing ambiguously. This allowed her to put on make up to go to the discotheque but still be able to “act as masculine as possible at work.” She began introducing herself as Claudia in real life, but remained Claudio at work.

³⁰⁹ Oral history, August 2013, Santiago, Chile.

³¹⁰ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 115.

³¹¹ Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 106-107.

³¹² Montalva, *Tejidos Blandos*, 109.

³¹³ Oral histories conducted in 2013 and 2014.

³¹⁴ Video Testimony of Claudia Rodriguez, 2011, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

Beauty Pageants: Female Bodies As Natural Resources

By the Cold War period, beauty contests had become a regular feature of Chilean society throughout the nation, further reinforcing to young women the importance of conforming their bodies to prevailing standards of beauty and then competing by virtue of their bodies for local or national recognition and perhaps even for the chance to represent the nation in the Miss Universe contest following its founding in 1952.

Beauty's function as a racialized sexing and gendering educational force and as a heteronormative construction of sexuality, sex, and gender performed by and on the body was also reinforced through beauty contests and their widespread coverage.³¹⁵ Such contests also used beautiful female bodies to represent provinces, regions, and the nation itself. Culturally, Chileans were taught through magazines and beauty contests (and later increasingly through television and films) that female bodies were representative of the nation. Images of Chilean women were integral to the country's image, both nationally and internationally, as were the very bodies of Chilean women.³¹⁶

Indeed, the ultimate incarnation of female bodies representing the nation was in beauty and pageantry contests, extremely common throughout the nation by the 1950s. A girls' school in Antofagasta elected a Queen of every class in 1943.³¹⁷ A 1951 edition of *Revista Vea* included coverage of the Queen of Carnival, Cristina Pinochet, in San Bernardo.³¹⁸ Ms. Pinochet was shown fully dressed in a fancy dress, riding on a float, surrounded by her court of honor, including men dressed in tuxedos. *Revista Vea* also

³¹⁵ See Gundle, *Bellisima*; Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl*; Marcia Ochoa, *Queen for a Day*.

³¹⁶ For comparative literature on beauty pageants and national identity, see the works of Gundle, Banet-Weiser, Ochoa, Fusco, Moskalenko.

³¹⁷ "Liceo de Niñas de Antofagasta, Reinas de Simpatía de Cada Curso, 1943," Photo Archive, Museum of Education.

³¹⁸ "Reina de Carnaval," *Revista Vea*, May 2, 1951.

provided coverage of the 1952 Queen of Las Termas de Puyehue, Monona Muñoz Soza, and of the Queen of the Cartagena Beaches, Maria Angelica Escala, as well as the Queen of the Harvest Festival in Collipulli, Irne Schell.³¹⁹

The testimony of the first Miss Chile, Esther Saavedra, who competed in the 1952 Miss Universe contest, provides insights into the function of the pageant.³²⁰ Saavedra, who was 24 years old at the time, recalled that the voting was done through the magazine *Vea*, and that her sisters started sending in votes for her. Representatives had been selected from each province, and Saavedra had been selected as Miss Santiago. After winning the crown of Miss Chile, Saavedra went to California to compete in the Miss Universe contest. She remarked that some of her friends and aunts gave her a hard time about walking around in a bathing suit. The contest itself made visible parts of the female body that many Chileans thought were meant to be covered, demonstrating yet another instance of the uncovering of the female body before the 1960s.

Throughout the 1960s, the pageant continued to rely on the mail-in voting system, although *Revista Paula* took over this role in 1967. Such a system served both to encourage Chileans to purchase the magazine and to attach a financial requirement to the voting process. Marcia Ochoa described a similar system with the Miss Venezuela contest.³²¹ Indeed, *Paula* continuously advertised for young women to send in their pictures to compete for various beauty contests, including Miss Chile. The magazine displayed photographs of all of the contestants, and each magazine came with a mail-in vote. Candidates were to register in person or through the mail at the *Paula* office in Santiago with photographs of their face

³¹⁹ “Vea en el Interior,” *Revista Vea*, March 3, 1952.

³²⁰ Video Testimony of Esther Saavedra, 2013, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

³²¹ Marcia Ochoa, *Queen for a Day*. The first beauty contests in the United States were also in the format of photographic contests in newspapers. See Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, *Beauty Queens*.

and their bodies in bathing suits, and finalists were selected through a combination of mail in votes and a jury selection.³²²

The mail-in voting system for beauty pageants was not unique to Miss Chile. *Revista Paula* also held Queen of Viña del Mar contests, in conjunction with the local government, the municipality of Viña del Mar, and Valparaiso's newspaper *La Estrella*.³²³ The contest had been resumed in 1969 "after years of interruption."³²⁴ A preselection committee of one man and one woman would decide on the initial candidates, whose photographs would then be published in *Paula* and *La Estrella* for readers to cast their votes. Each *Paula* magazine included a coupon worth 100 votes that readers could send in with their selection; Each copy of *La Estrella* included a coupon worth 10 votes.³²⁵ Coca-cola joined the contest as well, with each bottle cap worth 2 votes.³²⁶ Such required purchasing to vote excluded poorer sectors entirely.

The contest was judged by government officials and entertainment figures alike. The public voting would determine the 7 finalists, who would then be judged by the Official Jury, composed of a representative of the Municipality of Viña del Mar, a representative of the local Department of Tourism, representatives of *Paula*, *La Estrella*, and the promotional company Via, as well as representatives of the National Television channel and ARCHI. The organizing committee responsible for overseeing all aspects of the contest was composed of

³²² "Paula busca a Miss Chile 1970," *Revista Paula*, March 1970.

³²³ "Paula elegira tambien una reina para Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

³²⁴ "Termina el concurso para elegir una reina para Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, February 1970. President Allende's sister Laura Allende, a socialist senator, had been a Miss winner years before. Laura Allende is featured in an earlier article which states that she joined politics "without losing her femininity." See "Laura Allende, Diputado," *Revista Paula*, January 1970. Note the use of the masculine "diputado." Like the description of advertising manager Techy Edwards, such description of Allende further revealed that women could be hardworking and feminine, but it needed to be explicitly stated that they were both at the same time.

³²⁵ "Paula elegira tambien una reina para Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

³²⁶ "Termina el concurso para elegir una reina para Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, February 1970.

the director of *La Estrella*, the director of Viña del Mar's tourism department, a promotional manager from the company Via, and a representative of *Revista Paula*.³²⁷ The judging contest was held in the cabaret of the Viña del Mar Casino.³²⁸ Gloria Fanta, the sixteen year old blonde blue eyed 1970 Queen of Viña del Mar, earned herself the front cover of a March 1970 *Revista Paula* edition, in addition to other prizes.³²⁹

The Miss Chile contest, in conjunction with *Paula*, constantly focused on finding a representative who could successfully compete in the Miss Universe contest. In 1969, *Paula* did a cover article on Miss Chile 1969, Monica Larson.³³⁰ Applauding the blonde, light eyed Larson, *Paula* exclaimed that, "Finally a Miss Chile as she should be! Now we really have a chance at having a Miss Universe!" Then, in March 1970, the magazine started announcing the new search for "the prettiest woman in Chile to crown her Miss Chile and then Miss Universe."³³¹ The magazine explicitly stated "Our objective is a Miss Universe for Chile." The prizes offered to the 1970 Miss Chile winner included an all expenses paid trip to Japan and a trip to Miami to compete in the Miss Universe contest, along with a house, a car, a large sum of money, a new wardrobe, a refrigerator, a washing machine, a radio, and a record player.

In order to participate, contestants needed to be single, between the ages of 18 and 30, at least 1.65 meters tall, and with ideal bust, waist, and hip measurements of 90-60-90 centimeters. Such accounting of measurements recalled 19th century eugenics, which hierarchized bodily measurements in the construction of racial categories. Such

³²⁷ "Paula elegira tambien una reina para Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

³²⁸ "Paula eligio a la Reina de Viña del Mar," *Revista Paula*, March 1970.

³²⁹ *Revista Paula*, N. 57, March 1970.

³³⁰ "Monica Larson, la chilena mas linda de 1969," *Revista Paula*, July 1969.

³³¹ "Paula busca a Miss Chile 1970," *Revista Paula*, March 1970.

measurements in beauty contests established hierarchical notions of beautiful bodies in the construction of femininity as a natural resource worthy of competing on the international market. Contest participants were also required to have “some level of culture” and be “representative of our national beauty.”³³² National beauty, however, was defined by the contest as European aesthetics and excluded indigenous and Afro-Chilean women.

As seen in other communist and socialist regimes, beauty pageants’ fundamental role in representing the nation in international arenas continued under Allende’s socialist presidency. In October 1971, the Department of Tourism and Iberia Airlines cosponsored a beauty contest titled “Miss Tourism Ambassador of Chile.”³³³ The requirements for contestants included single women with an age limit of 25 years or younger “with good presence.” The winning “queen” would win a two month trip to Chilean embassies around the world, where she would represent the country alongside artisanal goods, photographs, and folklore.

Under Allende, the importance of finding a Miss Chile who could successfully represent the nation in the Miss Universe contest continued as well. Recall the 1972 Miss Chile contest discussed in the opening of the introduction to this dissertation; the traditional format of the contest changed in 1972 in order to allow for a uniquely Chilean twist. The semifinals were held in a nightclub called Eve in the posh Santiago neighborhood of Vitacura, and instead of parading in bathing suits and evening gowns, the 45 contestants competed “in flirty miniskirts, dancing to the beat of soul music in the style of the lolas from the popular show ‘Musica Libre.’”³³⁴ Miniskirts replaced bathing suits that year, but still

³³² “Paula busca a Miss Chile 1970,” *Revista Paula*, March 1970.

³³³ “Se necesita una reina,” *Que Pasa*, October 14, 1971, 1.

³³⁴ “Eligen Miss Chile a lo Musica Libre,” photographs by Julio Bustamante, *Novedades*, July 1973.

allowed judges to evaluate contestants' semi exposed bodies. (See Figure 1) Contestants were "obliged to present an impeccable figure," requiring Maricel to lose five kilos.³³⁵

Such contests were a fundamental form of competing on the international arena. A January 1973 issue of *Revista Ritmo* included a short piece titled "We did not do very well in Colombia."³³⁶ The article then went on to say "No, we are not talking about a soccer game, but about the annual beauty pageants of Cali and Manizales in which diverse Latin American countries compete."

Regardless of the dictatorship's uneven enforcement of sex-differentiated styling of the body, they continued to use representative images and performances of sexualized Chilean beauty and femininity. Stephen Gundle argues that images of familiar notions of womanhood can provide a reassuring sense of continuity during political changes and instability.³³⁷ Shortly after the coup, in November 1973, *Revista Paula* provided coverage of Miss Chile 1973, Wendy Robertson's, participation in the Miss Universe contest.³³⁸ Explicitly outlining the political importance of representative femininity, the article noted that contestants were model-ambassadors that "serve an important job in bringing together nations and that promote feminine values that go much further than the purely aesthetic." The article also made clear that sexuality was a fundamental factor in judging the contestants' femininity; one contestant's score was lowered because she lived with her boyfriend.

In 1970, *Revista Paula* had begun to elect a Miss Paula, who would serve as a fashion model for the magazine and to promote the *Paula* store.³³⁹ This, and other beauty contests,

³³⁵ "Lolas en clase de gymnasia," *Revista Ritmo*, July 17, 1973, 15.

³³⁶ "No nos fue muy bien en Colombia," *Revista Ritmo*, January 23, 1973, 6-7.

³³⁷ Gundle, *Bellisima*, xviii.

³³⁸ "Entretelones del concurso Miss Universo 1973," *Revista Paula*, November 1973.

³³⁹ "Miss Paula," *Revista Paula*, January 1970, 101.

continued under the dictatorship as well. Paulina Leighton, Miss Paula 1977, also represented Chile in the Miss Teenager pageant in Tokyo.³⁴⁰ A 1977 *Revista Paula* piece also covered the “Queen of the Beaches and Pools of Chile” contest in Arica, noting that it had become a South American contest with international contestants.³⁴¹ Just as with previous regimes’ use of representative femininity, Miss Chile and other beauty pageants were only one of the ways that the dictatorship used representative femininity to validate its rule. The dictatorship represented itself through other familiar structures of representative feminine beauty, like modeling. In 1975, one of Pinochet’s daughters was featured as the cover model for *Revista Paula*.³⁴²

The public mail-in voting (with purchase) process also continued under the dictatorship as a prominent feature in *Revista Paula*, which always noted the ultimate goal of finding a representative to win Miss Universe.³⁴³ In January 1977, *Paula* advertised the Miss Chile contest, again to search for a representative who could compete in the Miss Universe contest.³⁴⁴ By June, Priscila Brenner, Miss Chile of 1977, was featured in the magazine, which noted that she would be competing for Miss Universe.³⁴⁵ The article provided eugenics like data for the green-eyed beauty queen, listing her height, shoe and dress sizes, and her bust, waist and hip measurements. In the same issue, Brenner was featured in a multi-page article ironically titled, “A Step by Step Election.”³⁴⁶ While Chileans were unable to vote for their official political representatives, they were able to vote for their beautiful female national representative.

³⁴⁰ “Miss Paula,” *Revista Paula*, July 1977.

³⁴¹ “Reina Antofagastina,” *Revista Paula*, 1977, 43.

³⁴² *Revista Paula*, January 1975. See also October 1975.

³⁴³ List of Miss Chile voting prizes *Revista Paula*, July 1977.

³⁴⁴ *Revista Paula*, January 1977.

³⁴⁵ Untitled piece, *Revista Paula*, June 1977, 5.

³⁴⁶ Paulina Salman, “Una Eleccion Paso a Paso,” *Revista Paula*, June 1977.

Revista Paula's coverage of the 1977 Miss Universe pageant discussed how Janelle Penny Commissiong, a dark skinned woman from Trinidad and Tobago, won the pageant. The article noted that this was the first time a dark skinned woman had ever won the Miss Universe contest, but that, "For us, country of whites, all of this does not mean much."³⁴⁷ This commentary reveals how *Revista Paula*, in conjunction with the government, used beauty pageants and female representation to project an image of the nation as white, ignoring both its indigenous and African-descended populations. By this time, Constanza Vergara Vicuña, the director of *Revista Paula*, also served as Secretary of State. She received a letter from Ministry of Justice Monica Madariaga congratulating her for her service, distinguished by the President of the Republic.³⁴⁸ The racial commentary reveals racial construction as a transnational process.³⁴⁹

The Miss Chile contest has historically appropriated imagined elements of indigeneity into the styling of the contestants, yet selected contestants have always embodied European aesthetics. Since 1968, when fashion designers began incorporating imagined indigeneity into Chilean styles, several Miss Chile contestants have used indigenous inspired dress for the national costume segment of the Miss Universe pageant. Dánae Sala Sarradell, Miss Chile 1968, wore clothing from Easter Island as her national costume, as did Wendy Robertson Cleary and Rebeca González Ramírez, Miss Chile 1973 and 1974 respectively.³⁵⁰ Miss Chile 1977, Priscilla Brenner, was the first contestant to wear Mapuche inspired

³⁴⁷ Paulina Salman, "Miss Universo: Un Concurso por dentro y por fuera," *Revista Paula*, 1977, 29-31.

³⁴⁸ Letter published in *Revista Paula*, July 1977.

³⁴⁹ Rotter shows that gender is a transnational process. See Rotter, "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations," 521-22.

³⁵⁰ Ricardo Güiraldes, "Martha Vasconcellos: Una maestra de escuela brasilera es Miss Universo 1968," *Chilean Charm*, date unknown, Accessed 4/18/16, www.chileancharm.com; "Entretelones del concurso Miss Universo 1973," *Revista Paula*, November 1973, Archive of *Revista Paula*; and Official Miss Universe Chile webpage <http://www.missuniversochile.cl>.

clothing for her national costume in the Miss Universe pageant.³⁵¹ Miss Chile 1981, María Soledad Hurtado Arellano, also wore Mapuche inspired clothing for the national costume segment.³⁵²

Most notably, Cecilia Bococco, Miss Chile 1987, also wore Mapuche inspired dress and was the first Chilean to win the title of Miss Universe.³⁵³ Historian Brenda Elsey demonstrates how the contest served as a means of validating the dictatorship. Elsey describes Bolocco's use of Mapuche fashion elements:

Bolocco's dress was exaggerated in every sense, accompanied by a large headdress that emphasized the supposed exoticism of Mapuche. In reality, the Mapuche head pieces bore little resemblance to Bolocco's version. In addition, Bolocco's dress departed from Mapuche tradition in that it featured a full-leg slit to the hip and bare shoulders. The use of a Mapuche-inspired outfit would seem at odds with both the pageant and Pinochet's embrace of Western culture. Yet, it was in-step with the government tourist board's marketing of "exotic" Easter Island and the "authentic" southern Indians. The Pinochet regime pursued opportunities to exploit indigenous culture to attract tourism...³⁵⁴

Indeed, beauty pageant contestants coopted elements of indigenous dress as a tourism tactic, simultaneously exoticizing indigenous communities while invisibilizing actual indigenous women. However, it is crucial to recognize that the dictatorship was not the first Chilean regime to exploit elements of imagined, exoticized indigenous culture for tourism purposes, nor was Bolocco the first Miss Chile to do so. This tactic was a continuation of such exploitation under Allende's Unidad Popular government.

While beauty pageants served to project a racially specific image of the nation both nationally and internationally, they also served as a form of sexual education. Like broader beauty culture, beauty pageants served as a form of sexual education for both cisgender and

³⁵¹ Elsey, "I Have United All Chileans," 18.

³⁵² Official Miss Universe Chile webpage, <http://www.missuniversochile.cl>.

³⁵³ Elsey, "I Have United All Chileans," 18.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, 18.

transgender women. Lila, a transgender Chilean woman born in 1975, spoke of fashion models and beauty pageant contestants influencing her idea of beauty and femininity.³⁵⁵ She was twelve years old when Cecilia Bococco won the Miss Universe pageant in 1987, and she remarked that it was a triumph for her at the time because very few Latin American women were able to win the pageant.

Lila's testimony reflects the importance of Bococco's win in validating her own identity as a Latin American woman. Bococco not only provided Lila sexual education on how to perform as a woman but also demonstrated that Latin American women could successfully compete on the global stage of international competitive femininity. While the contest served as a means of validating the dictatorship as Elsey argues and as a means of reinforcing European racial aesthetics and the exoticization of indigenous appropriations, it also served to validate Chilean femininity and to inspire both cisgender and transgender Chilean women.

Conclusion

Throughout the Cold War period (and indeed throughout the twentieth century) beauty industries served in the construction of a sexed, gendered, sexualized, and racialized model of the ideal physical qualities of Chilean national identity. Such industries sold products and services intended to fabricate specific ideals of incarnate femininity, as well as advice on how to perform as women. These industries built on markers of femininity established in state schooling and elsewhere. Because the styling and performance of the body was so important to constructing femininity (or masculinity), cisgender and transgender women alike adopted and/or resisted stylized markers of femininity in the expression of their

³⁵⁵ Oral history, September 2013, Santiago, Chile.

gender identity, demonstrating that everything is drag. Chilean beauty culture also used pageants to reinforce models of ideal femininity at the regional and national levels. These models served all Cold War Chilean governments in representing racialized national identity for business and tourism purposes.

Pageantry and modeling were not the only ways that female bodies were constructed as representative natural resources. The actress Margarita Alarcon was described in 1952 as “Chilenisima,” and as representing the country well.³⁵⁶ This construction was also reflected and reinforced through language. In 1971, nude magazine *Novedades* included an article titled “Thailand exports beautiful masseuses.”³⁵⁷ The article refers to the women as “imported” and “like fresh fruit.” Similarly, in nude magazine *Cosquillas*, reporter Jose Arnero described Paula Dennis’ striptease tour in Peru, Ecuador, Panama, and Guatemala as displaying, “the curves of exportation we have and that are our base for creating our good image in the Andean Market.”³⁵⁸ Other comments in nude magazines also referred to women as products of exportation or international competition, such as the *Cosquillas* commentary on caaret and striptease artist Gina Leclerc being “hard competition for the imported figures.”³⁵⁹

Representative female beauty had real economic implications for the country as well. A 1977 *Revista Paula* article on Miss Universe noted that winning these pageants “brings tourism to the country,” reflecting the national economic benefits of winning as well.³⁶⁰ In 1983, the newspaper *Diario Austral* printed an article on Miss World titled “Beauty is a good

³⁵⁶ “Chilenisima,” *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952.

³⁵⁷ “Tailandia exporta bellas masajistas,” *Novedades*, December 1971.

³⁵⁸ Jose Arnero, “Paola Dennis, La del Strip-tease Porno,” *Cosquillas*, January 13, 1971.

³⁵⁹ “Gina Leclerc, La Lola del Strip-tease,” *Cosquillas*, February 24, 1971.

³⁶⁰ Paulina Salman, “Miss Universo: Un Concurso por dentro y por fuera,” *Revista Paula*, 1977 (no. 251), 29-31.

business.”³⁶¹ “Official beauty,” like cabaret acts and nude magazines, was assimilated into the language of nationalism and economic markets used by the dictatorship, just as with previous regimes. Indeed, beauty does matter to politics.

³⁶¹ “La belleza es un buen negocio,” *Diario Austral*, January 2, 1983.

Chapter 3 Striptease: Performing Sex, Gender, and Race in Cold War Chilean

Cabarets

“Ignited by 200 pairs of legs that from night to night form picaresque silhouettes and wink at eyes thirsty for beauty, Santiago strips down at midnight to work...”

—*Revista Vea* article, “Santiago takes it down at night,” October 29, 1952

“In the dark, gentlemen prefer women of any color.”

—Striptease artist and nude magazine model Macarena Lujan, “Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Chorro del Desnudo Nacional,” interviewed by Jose Arnero and photographed by Rolando Bustos, *Cosquillas*, Year 1, N. 2, October 28, 1970.

It’s funny because the cabaret was very famous back in those days, and put on fairly elegant shows. After the coup, it became sort of seedy and run-down. We met with some of the women who were there, and some of them came from left-wing families who felt ideologically compromised by their line of work: dancing almost naked to be ogled by an audience of men who represented the bourgeoisie, the patriarchy. Everything that these women did was completely antithetical to socialism, so it would cause shame for their families.

—Interview with Chilean cinematographer Pablo Larraín discussing his film *Post Mortem* in Violet Lucca, “Projecting and Excavating the Past: An Interview with Pablo Larraín,” *Film Comment*, April 19, 2012.

Santiago, like other urban Chilean areas, did strip down at midnight to work, as the 1952 opening quote so elegantly describes.³⁶² Yet, the above quote by Chilean cinematographer Pablo Larraín reveals a tendency among many Chileans of the left to equate sexual performance with the right and/or the dictatorship. His statement is not an accurate historical description of Chilean sexual performance industries in two important ways. First, the sexual performance industries transcended state and regime politics in Chile, belonging just as much to the democratic right and democratic socialist left as it did to the dictatorship. The Chilean sexual performance industry served all Chilean Cold War governments in multiple ways, as entertainment, as a gendered, racialized, and sexualized marketing product

³⁶² “Santiago se desarma de noche,” quoted in Hugo Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias, cabarets y trasnochadas: los clubes nocturnos de Santiago centro (c.1950-1960),” *Revista de Estudios de Historia de la Cultura, Mentalidades, Económica y Social*, no. 1 (2012): 87-110, 89.

of the nation that provided the country another means of competing on the international Cold War playing field, and thus as an integral part of national and international business. Second, while sexual performance was historically increasingly constructed as shameful during the Cold War period, Chilean Cold War sexual performance is best understood as embodying a versatility of respectability. The sexual performance industry historically provided many Chilean women with gainful employment, independence, fame, the ability to travel, and a means of claiming their nonreproductive sexuality and rewriting their own narratives of the politics of respectability. Likewise, Chilean LGBT individuals used this industry to carve out economic niches for survival and to freely express their identities long before the LGBT and broader sexual liberation movements became a site for the struggle for visibility and rights.

Enter the vedette, a beautiful, sexy cisgender female, queer, or transgender performance artist who dances, acts, and/or sings while dressed and undressed in a manner meant to enhance, reveal and/or imply bodily attributes and sexuality.³⁶³ This chapter focuses largely on the vedette figure within the Chilean sexual performance industry, thus offering new insights into what sexual performance meant to female, queer, and transgender artists as well as to broader heteronormative Chilean society.

Sexual performance artists appropriated, resisted, and inverted society's prescribed racial and sexual boundaries of bodies and desires. Chilean actor Rafael Frontaura wrote in 1957 of “the versatility of respectability” of the bohemian theater lifestyle.³⁶⁴ His words capture the essence of sexual performance in Chile- versatile in the way artists manipulated

³⁶³ My definition. I found very few instances of cisgender men who performed as men being referred to as vedettes and these referred to performances before the 1950s. Generally however, and certainly in more recent decades, the term has been reserved for female, transgender, transsexual and/or sexually ambiguous performance artists.

³⁶⁴ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 105.

society's constructions of respectability and shame, rewriting, adapting, and negotiating these constructions and their inherent power relations; versatile in the flexibility of prescribed sexual boundaries of bodies and desires; and versatile in the resourcefulness of the artists that carved out their economic niches while expressing their gender identities.

Examining cabaret revue show books, photographs, business advertisements, press coverage, and televised performances, alongside senate records, laws regulating such businesses, and personal accounts of photographers, artists, business owners, and clients, this chapter exposes the booming Latin American cabaret industry of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.³⁶⁵ This world of topless dancers, queer choreographers, a transvestite dance company, and artists that appropriated racial stereotypes to market themselves forces us to rethink Cold War Latin America, both culturally and politically. The Chilean cabaret industry was intrinsically transnational, and therefore must be understood within this context. Like beauty pageants, the international cabaret industry reveals both race and gender as transnational processes. The history of Chilean sexual performance, thriving under both socialist democracy and neoliberal dictatorship, contributes as much to the global scholarship on the politics of Cold War cabarets as it does to the Latin American cultural and political historiography.

By sexual performance, I refer to performance of the body intended to be erotic or seductive in nature. I describe this performance as sexual instead of erotic to also imply the performance of sex and/or gender difference. My framing of sexual performance as both erotic and gendered borrows from feminist philosopher Judith Butler's idea of

³⁶⁵ While I use nude magazines as a primary source base in this study, I address the performance of gender and sexuality in these magazines as a separate category of performance in Chapter Four, "Exposure and Censorship: Nude Bodies in Magazines and Films under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship."

“performativity,” where gender and sexual identities are produced “through a *stylized* repetition of acts” and regulations in socialization.³⁶⁶ Therefore, gender is not fixed; it is a continuous performance in which one person may play many parts.

While it is crucial to recognize that we may perform racialized genders, bodies, and, sexualities always and everywhere and that we may indeed play many parts, it is also fundamental to study what is typically bracketed as performance.³⁶⁷ I consider on-stage sexual performance both as staged performance and as gender performative. Performance theorist Diana Taylor shows us that using performance as a methodology makes a broad spectrum of attitudes and values visible.³⁶⁸

Because performing as performance opens a space where we are encouraged to play with societal and political norms, to reimagine our reality, and to cross lines we might not otherwise dare to cross this chapter serves to complicate our historical understanding of norms and normativity, revealing the role of on-stage sexual performance in constructing alternative norms for bodies, genders, and sexualities, including the ways that transgender sexual performance artists used the “de-realized” safe queer space of performance to realize their sex and/or gender identity.³⁶⁹

The Case of Chilean Sexual Performance

By the 1950s, there was a successful sexual performance industry operating up and down the country, with many cabaret theatres in the capital such as the Burlesque, Humoresque, Picaresque, and the Teatro Pacifico, and a collection of bars, hotels, and

³⁶⁶ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts,” 270. Italics in original.

³⁶⁷ See Diana Taylor’s discussion of this in *The Archive and the Repertoire*.

³⁶⁸ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 49.

³⁶⁹ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts,” 278.

nightclubs in cities throughout the country.³⁷⁰ Businesses known as cabarets or *boîtes* (nightclubs with sexual performance shows) offered entertainment in the form of beautiful, scantily clad female and transgender dancers, or *vedettes*. Such theaters were advertised in mainstream newspapers, with pictures or drawings of sexy and scantily clad women. Nighttime shows, called *revistas*, featured dancing vedettes, stripteases and comedians. Revistas were offered 7 days a week and multiple times a night in competing businesses. The urban Chilean cabaret and sexual performance nightlife was a lively and lucrative business throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. However, very little attention has been given to urban Chile's booming sexual performance market.

Chilean historian Hugo Ramos Tapia wrote an article analyzing nighttime clubs in Santiago from 1950 to 1960.³⁷¹ His work is important as one of few published histories looking at striptease and Santiago nightlife, although it is limited to a ten-year period. Ramos Tapia argues that cabaret type shows were imported from the French Can-Can and North American Music Hall at the end of the 19th century and even more so in the early decades of the twentieth century, becoming known as Teatros de Variedades y Teatros de Revista (Variety Theaters and Revue Theaters).³⁷² He notes that, “while from the Can-Can came the importance of the roles and the feminine body put on stage, from Music Hall, it picked up the importance of an exuberant, colorful wardrobe and the meaning or structure of the show that was offered to the public.”³⁷³ The industry was intrinsically transnational and must be understood in this context.

³⁷⁰ “Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy,” *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958, FFCC del Estado; Oreste Plath, *El Santiago que se fue: Apuntes de la memoria, Fifth Edition*, (Santiago: Editorial Grijalbo, 1999).

³⁷¹ Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 87-110.

³⁷² *Ibid*, 91.

³⁷³ *Ibid*, 91.

While Ramos Tapia notes that its roots trace back to the late 1900s, my own research traces the development of Chilean sexual performance and topless culture from the 1920s. Revealing the integral role of Chilean cabaret culture to national and international business and tourism, a 1958 tourism magazine published by the state boasted urban Chile's history of cabarets and nightclubs dating back to 1926 in Santiago and included sexy pictures.³⁷⁴ Such businesses were then known as *bataclán*, and later reinvented as *revisteril*. According to Ramos Tapia, the term *bataclán* comes from a French Can-Can group that visited Santiago in the late 1800s.³⁷⁵ The first cabaret style theaters in Santiago included the Coliseo, Comedia and Politeama.³⁷⁶

The 1958 tourism article also boasted that Josephine Baker had toured Chile in October 1929.³⁷⁷ Baker toured the country with official police security, performing sold out shows to audiences of 15 years and up in various theaters in Santiago, as well as in Valparaíso, Iquique and Huara, though a women's association organized a protest preventing her from performing in Curico.³⁷⁸ These women made press declarations against the woman, "whose only glory has been to go around the world sinning and scandalizing nations."³⁷⁹ Other press accounts noted that protests in Chile were minimal and paled in comparison to the scandal that her visit to Buenos Aires caused.³⁸⁰ Oreste Plath described Josephine Baker staying in the Hotel Victoria in October 1929 while performing in the Victoria Theater "with

³⁷⁴ "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958; Carlos Fernando Olivares, "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," December 13, 2009, *Los Tiempos de la Radiolin*, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://lostitiempodelaradiolina.bligoo.com/candilejas-santiaguinas-ayer-y-hoy>.

³⁷⁵ Ramos Tapia, "De bohemias," 92.

³⁷⁶ "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ Gonzalo Peralta, "Josephine Baker, Bailarina Exotica: La diosa de Ebano que conquisto Chile," *The Clinic*, June, 2, 2014.

³⁷⁹ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 302.

³⁸⁰ Olivares, "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958; Peralta, "Josephine Baker."

her troupe of black Cubans.” Days before her performance, in the Imperio theater, they had played her movie *La Sirena de los Tropicos*.³⁸¹

Clearly Josephine Baker was an integral, if controversial, figure of early to mid twentieth century urban Chilean cabaret culture and mid century tourism marketing. Baker’s race was central to the way Chileans consumed and/or opposed her bodily performances. In 1928, the famous Chilean writer Gabriela Mistral published an article in *El Mercurio* comparing Josephine Baker to the recently deceased Argentine dancer Isadora Duncan.³⁸² Mistral lamented that Duncan’s death coincided with the decadence of dance, a decadence reflected in the growing appreciation of black dancers. Associating everything pure and beautiful about dance with Duncan, Mistral represents Baker as the personification of this decadence, describing her in the foulest of terms. Explicitly condemning the popularity of black dancers in the U.S. and France, Mistral repeatedly referred to Baker as an animal- a cat, a monkey, a beast- who emerged from “the smelly basement of black people.”

In what was likely a response to Mistral’s earlier piece, Chilean reporter Daniel de la Vega defended Baker in 1929, by positioning her as “the standard” of decadence and emphasizing Baker’s importance to Chilean cabaret culture:

Josephine Baker is nothing less than the standard of our aesthetic decadence. Why protest against her when practically everyone has incorporated her into their beings (si casi todo el publico de hoy la lleva dentro)? This idolatrous respect for physical effort...this exaggerated importance that the pleased masses put on her, are millions of black dancers (female) that dance in our conversations, that take us to the theater, that pick out readings for us, and impose themselves on our decisions.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 59-60.

³⁸² Gabriela Mistral, “Primer Recuerdo de Isadora Duncan,” *El Mercurio*, February 12, 1928, 5.

³⁸³ Daniel de la Vega, “El Arte Negro,” *El Mercurio*, October 14, 1929, quoted in Fernando Purcell, *Ampliando Miradas: Chile y su Historia en un Tiempo Global* (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2012), 175-176.

De la Vega's pseudo-defense of Baker noted both the hypocrisy of the protesters and the importance of black culture to Chilean nightlife entertainment.

Indeed, by the 1920s, Baker had secured her position representing the height of the famous, sexy French cabaret world. Chile's complex fascination with Baker reflected a broader Chilean fascination with French cabaret culture, which is hard to overstate. Chilean businesses were publicized as being modeled after French cabarets, and *bataclán* was not the only French word used in the Chilean industry. Other borrowed French words were adopted by the Chilean nightlife industry, so much so that they became part of Chilean Spanish. In Chile, the French word *boîte* refers to Chilean nightclubs with sexual performance and the French word *vedette* indicates a sexy female, queer, and/or transgender performance artist. The Teatro Balmaceda was one successful early twentieth century business that imitated French cabarets, operating from 1935 to 1941.³⁸⁴ Ramos Tapia argues that since the 1940s, nightclubs and theaters began *consciously* imitating both Parisian cabarets and nightclubs of Hollywood and New York.³⁸⁵

The Chilean fascination with French nightlife can also be seen in coverage of Paris's rich nightlife and cabarets in Chilean magazines and newspapers from the 1950s through the 1980s. *Revista Vea*'s March 26, 1952 edition featured a cover article of Paris's cabaret Folies Bergère titled "'Vea' in the Heart of Paris."³⁸⁶ The cover included two large photographs of French vedettes Marikka de Rico and Ivonne Menard, the former appearing semi nude with a "Vea" flag covering her otherwise naked bosom. (See Figure 8 in Appendix A) A commentary below the photograph noted that the magazine had to make her this breast-

³⁸⁴ "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958; Carlos Fernando Olivares, "Bim Bam Bum: Una explosión de sensaciones," *Los Tiempos de la Radiolina*, 12/6/2008.

³⁸⁵ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 87.

³⁸⁶ "'Vea' en el Corazón de París," *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952, Santiago, Chile.

covering flag as she usually danced naked. The French cabaret photographs and commentary occupy the majority of the large cover page (printed in newspaper format), leaving little space on the cover for a small photograph of President Ibañez with the title “Ibañez condemns the Communist Directive.”³⁸⁷ The newspaper prioritized the “frivolous” world of the cabaret over the official “political” situation, indicating that their target audience was more interested in consuming sexy female bodies than keeping abreast of the latest developments in Cold War politics.

The full French cabaret article occupies two additional full size newspaper pages, complete with five additional photographs, one of which features the exposed breasts of two topless women dressed as mermaids. The article details every aspect of the theater, including how many spinning stages and lamps there were as well as the names of the owners, directors, and famous dancers, the numbers of dancers, how long they practice, and how many of the dancers were black (*negros*). The article mentions that the black (*la negra*) Ruby Richards was filling in for Josephine Baker. The magazine assumed its audience knew who Josephine Baker was, as it offered no description of her. And Ruby Richards was considered an appropriate artist to fill in Baker precisely because of her dark skin. The article’s focus on racially categorizing the dancers reflects the fundamental role of race in exoticizing and sexualizing performers. The piece also noted that the women were accustomed to showing their bodies, and portrayed the French cabaret in a very positive light, with one comment even noting that the logic of spending so much time preparing costumes only to then end up naked was pleasing.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷ “Ibañez Enjuicia a la Directiva Comunista,” *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952, Santiago, Chile.

³⁸⁸ “‘Vea’ en el Corazon de Paris,” *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952, Santiago, Chile.

The article notably did not comment on where Baker was, nor on her being “caught in the cross fire of the Cold War in Latin America in the early 1950s” by campaigning for racial tolerance.³⁸⁹ In highlighting U.S. civil rights and race relations issues, Baker provided an opportunity for the Soviets to challenge the U.S.’s rhetoric of equality. As Dudziak notes, “Baker used seduction as a political tool.”³⁹⁰ Because of this, “Baker found it increasingly difficult to perform in Latin American countries” in the 1950s, she was held for questioning in Cuba by the U.S. State Department in 1952, and her December 1952 performances in Peru and Colombia were canceled.³⁹¹ Yet, on November 6, 1952, she spoke on “Why non-discriminatory countries should unite to liberate humanity” at the Teatro Comico in Buenos Aires, Argentina.³⁹² Still, in December, she was welcomed back to Chile for a five-day performance tour.³⁹³ Perhaps constructed imaginaries of Chilean and Argentine whiteness made Baker’s rhetoric of equality seemingly less dangerous in those countries. Regardless, the demand for her performances proved more powerful than her potential political danger.

Clearly, Chile is not the only Latin American nation with a rich cabaret history. In Argentina, the creation of the Teatro de Revistas in the Teatro Maipo in 1924 brought vedettes to the Argentine stage. Cuba also had a well-known cabaret industry throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Josephine Baker was certainly not the only vedette to tour Latin America. In the 1950s, two Cuban vedettes, Blanquita Amaro and Amelita Vargas, found success touring sexual performance industries internationally, including in Chile and

³⁸⁹ Dudziak, “Josephine Baker,” 543.

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 555.

³⁹¹ Ibid, 560

³⁹² Josephine Baker, “Por que los paises no discriminantes deberian unirse a la cruzada por la libertad de humanidad,” Conference dictated at the Teatro Comico in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Nov. 6, 1952, Chilean National Library.

³⁹³ “Josefina Baker en Chile,” *Revista Ecran*, Dec. 23, 1952, 14.

Argentina, joining such Argentine stars as Névida Roca.³⁹⁴ Argentine vedettes had a constant presence in the Chilean cabaret industry, even under both countries' dictatorships. A long 1977 *Revista Paula* article covered Argentina's nightlife, including cabarets, striptease, and transvestites in the streets.³⁹⁵

Mexico also had a well developed vedette performance tradition throughout the first half of the twentieth century, some of whom traveled to perform in Chile, such as the Arozamena sisters who performed in Chile in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1960, Mexican Fernando Cortés directed a movie featuring vedettes titled *Variedades de Medianoche (El Espectro de Televisión) (Midnight Variety Show: The Spectrum of Televisión)*, starring Mapita Cortés and Germán Valdés.³⁹⁶ By 1977, a Mexican television program by the same name, *Variedades de Medianoche (Midnight Variety Show)*, featured televised vedettes.³⁹⁷

The international nature of the early twentieth century Chilean sexual performance industry is further revealed in the 1958 cabaret article in the state's tourism magazine. In addition to Josephine Baker's performances, it notes that the Mexican Arozamena sisters, Carmen, Luisa, Lupe and Amparo, had a cult following in the Santiago theater.³⁹⁸ Amparo Arozamena, who became a famous actress in Mexico, referred to Chile as her second home. She filmed her first film there in 1929, *La Calle del Ensueño*, and then stayed for six years because, according to her, she was so well received.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Lorena Andrea Araya Riveros, "La Nueva Noche: El imaginario de la bohemia, género revisteril y vedettes (Santiago, 1950-1973)," (Undergraduate Thesis, University of Chile, Dec. 2007), 6. I was only able to access Chapter IV of her thesis.

³⁹⁵ Elga Perez-Laborde, "Porteno Nights" *Revista Paula*, June 1977.

³⁹⁶ Fernando Cortés, director, *Variedades de Medianoche (El Espectro de Televisión)*, Mexico, Independent Producer, 1960.

³⁹⁷ Araya, "La Nueva Noche," 6.

³⁹⁸ "Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy," *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958.

³⁹⁹ "Amparito Arozamena enfrenta sus temores," *El Siglo del Torreon*, July 9, 2003. See also Chapter, "Lara y El Teatro, 1930-1935," in Guadalupe Loaeza and Pável Granados, *Mi Novia, La Tristeza: El Recuento*

By the 1950s Chilean press coverage of the industry commonly used the terms “bohemia” and “trasmochada,” referencing the importance of the night as a space of entertainment.⁴⁰⁰ 1950s press coverage also made use of the English words *topless* and *striptease*. The 1958 tourism magazine article already used the English word “strip-tease” and mentioned the naughty spirit of Chileans (*espíritu travieso nuestro*). Such borrowed words reveal a process of transculturation. “Transculturation denotes the transformative process undergone by all societies as they come in contact with and acquire foreign cultural material, whether willingly or unwillingly.”⁴⁰¹ Having traveled the world, it is certainly not surprising that in his 1957 chronicle of Santiago nightlife, Rafael Frontaura used the words “sex appeal” in English, words that had already been absorbed into the Chilean sexual performance culture as well.⁴⁰²

Indeed, the entire Chilean sexual performance industry can be characterized by its appropriation of international aesthetics, primarily imitating French and North American businesses, a process of transculturation but with deliberate marketing goals. In addition to borrowing French and English words, many businesses named their locales with French names, like “Mon Bijoux,” or names referencing U.S. cities like “Hollywood.” In 1954, the newspaper *El Clarín* described the *boite* the Tap Room as “real Paris nights.”⁴⁰³ The music most commonly used in the shows also reflected a deliberate transculturation or appropriation of foreignness as exotic. Afrocuban, North American, and tropical rhythms were

Biográfico Más Completo, Informado y Original Que Se Haya Escrito Sobre Agustín Lara (Mexico City: Oceano de Mexico, 2008).

⁴⁰⁰ Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias,” 89.

⁴⁰¹ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 10.

⁴⁰² Frontaura, *Trasmochadas*, 149.

⁴⁰³ *El Clarín*, December 14, 1954, quoted in Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias,” 101.

the most used and requested, although Mexican music was also popular, especially the ranchera genre.⁴⁰⁴

The Chilean Sexual Performance State

Clearly, the state's promotion of the sexual performance industry in their tourism magazine indicates the importance of the industry to national and international business and tourism. Further examination of connections between official politics and sexual performance shows that the sexual performance industry transcended state and regime politics in Chile, belonging just as much to the democratic right and democratic socialist left as it did to the dictatorship. One of Rafael Frontaura's artist friends, Santiago del Campo, noted that they both belonged to "the political party... (of) the night."⁴⁰⁵ This quote implies that the nightlife transcended official Chilean political parties, encompassing its own political party.

Indeed, the industry served all Cold War governments in multiple ways, as it had served earlier governments as well. Chilean regimes actually made space for -- and their officials often enjoyed -- the entertainment of sexual performance artists. In his chronicle of Santiago nightlife, Oreste Plath notes that the boite Embassy opened from 1933 to 1935 "with the help of President Arturo Alessandri."⁴⁰⁶ Plath also discusses the Hotel Carrera, opened in 1940, which housed luxury suites, conference rooms, a bar, and a boite, among other amenities. Its guests included Nelson Rockefeller, Clark Gable, Libertad Lamarque, Ava Gardner, Cantinflas, Robert Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Indira Gandhi,

⁴⁰⁴ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 95.

⁴⁰⁵ Letter to Rafael Frontaura from Santiago del Campo, in Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 13-14.

⁴⁰⁶ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 110-111.

Orson Welles, and Queen Isabel and Prince Phillip.⁴⁰⁷ In 1945, when Rafael Frontaura returned to Chile after five years abroad, his friends threw him a huge welcome back party that began at 9pm and ended at 10am. He noted that guests included Ministers of the State, parliamentarians, journalists, artists of every kind, boxers, soccer players, doctors, and “women of dubious pasts and others without a doubt.”⁴⁰⁸

Furthermore, testimonies of vedettes, make up artists, and photographers all attest to the substantial representation of political authorities in the clientele throughout changing regimes. Socialist vedette Peggy Cordero recounted meeting President Allende in the National Palace. She said she was wearing a miniskirt, he was looking at her legs, and he said to her “Compañera, what good people we have now in the party.” By Cordero’s account, Socialist President Allende was familiar with her work and respected it.⁴⁰⁹ Maggie Lay, famous vedette of the 1970s and 1980s, spoke about working for the military under the dictatorship. She was contracted to work in special shows, including a private military show in the Hotel Antofagasta in which Pinochet specifically asked for her performance, and after she danced and tickled his face with her feather boa, Pinochet said to her, “You are very good. You sing and dance well. Good for you.”⁴¹⁰

High profile authorities were not the only state officials intimately involved in the urban nightlife scene. Such businesses were regulated by the government and taxed under alcohol laws, which required patents on types of businesses. Cabaret patents required those

⁴⁰⁷ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 186.

⁴⁰⁸ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 80.

⁴⁰⁹ Peggy Cordero, June 13th, 2013, Interview, *24 Horas*, TVN, Chile, Accessed 4/18/16, www.youtube.com/watch?v=_rBaTSgJ70s.

⁴¹⁰ Maggie Lay, 2013, Interview, *Mas Vale Tarde* show, Mega, Chile, published online October 7, 2013, Accessed 4/18/16, www.youtube.com/watch?v=YoBchsxQb28.

businesses to pay some of the highest alcohol taxes.⁴¹¹ The only businesses that paid higher alcohol taxes were hotels and restaurants designated specifically for tourism. Cabarets paid more than double the taxes of bars and nightclubs. Alcohol laws also guaranteed “free access” to any establishments that serve alcohol for police, internal tax service and agriculture and livestock inspectors and city inspectors, essentially granting them free entry to sexual performance businesses.⁴¹²

Famous Chilean cabaret playwright Luis Rivano worked as a police officer from 1954 to 1965, when he was fired. In a September 2015 conversation with him, he spoke of getting to know the cabaret and nightlife world through both his own interest and his work as a police officer.⁴¹³ He described how officers made “nighttime rounds” (*rondas nocturnas*), which sometimes included having a drink. Rivano noted that business owners sometimes also offered them a sandwich as well because it was in their best interest to have police officers around in case anything scandalous happened.

Advertised and provided coverage in newspapers and state produced tourism magazines at least since the 1950s, the sexual performance industry was intimately involved in both national and international business and tourism. Like beauty pageants in this regard, the sexual performance industries served a more quotidian role in promoting national and international business and tourism. One ex vedette from the 1960s and 1970s described businessmen coming in on charter planes from Antofagasta to Santiago to see shows at the

⁴¹¹ *Codigo Penal, Edicion Oficial.*

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ Conversation with Luis Rivano, September, 2015, Santiago, Chile.

Bim Bam Bum cabaret, then hitting the topless locales afterwards. She also mentioned Arab, Turkish and other foreign clients.⁴¹⁴

José Aravena was known as the godfather of Santiago nightlife, owning many businesses, including multiple sexual performance businesses. He stayed in the nightlife business until his death in 2008.⁴¹⁵ Following his death, the Chilean Senate included a homage to his life and his four decades of contributions to Santiago's nightlife in one of their sessions, noting that the governments of Frei, Allende, Pinochet and the post dictatorship return to democracy had all "found in his businesses the space to liberate their captive energies."⁴¹⁶ They also mentioned the influence of his trip to Paris on the operation of his businesses, and the importance of his businesses in attracting international stars to the city.

Aravena closed his nightclub La Sirena in 1978 because of the curfew and focused on daytime cafes with shows. However, in 1979 he also opened new nighttime sexual performance businesses, including Casino Las Vegas (later Teatro Teleton) and the Disco Hollywood. Following the return to democracy, he opened 10 clubs. In his government homage, the Senate spoke of him providing entertainment for the richest ten percent of the population and providing places for investors to invest in a less restricted definition of "natural resources."⁴¹⁷ The Senate homage to Aravena reveals profound connections among the sexual performance industry and changing Cold War political regimes. Indeed, it seems that like Frontaura, there were members of all Cold War Chilean political parties that belonged to the (unifying) political party of the night.

⁴¹⁴ Peggy Cordero, June 13th, 2013, Interview, *24 Horas*.

⁴¹⁵ Sebastián Albuquerque and Melissa Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne: La Fracasada Historia del Porno Chileno* (Santiago: Catalonia Ltda, 2013), 46.

⁴¹⁶ Diario de Sesiones del Senado, Publicacion Oficial, Legislatura 356a, Sesion 16a, April 30, 2008, National Archive, 87.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 92.

Race and the Exoticization of Diversity

Like Chilean beauty industries, the long Chilean historical tradition of sexual performance's commodification of feminine bodies constructed gendered, racialized, and sexualized representatives of the nation. The sexual performance industry reinforced Eurocentric aesthetics while simultaneously exoticizing diversity. Commodifying the sexualized embodiment of regional and national representation, sexual entertainment business owners applied the "Miss" structure of beauty pageants to their industry, creating countless superlative contests along the lines of "Miss Noche," such as Gladys Lorenz, Miss Noche 1971 in the boite Mon Bijoux's annual contest.⁴¹⁸ The similarities between beauty pageants and striptease contests abound. Both served as sexual education, styling cisgender female bodies with specific markers of Chilean feminine beauty or sex appeal. However, the commodification of female bodies in the sexual performance industry went further than beauty pageants in exoticizing diversity, while also being more "racially" inclusive. As the chapter's opening quote by striptease artist and nude model Macarena Lujan noted, "In the dark, gentlemen prefer women of any color."⁴¹⁹ Lujan was described as "*morena*" (brunette/brown) and "*chilenaza*" (referring to the "Chilean race). She had straight, brown hair, brown eyes, and brown skin, although with European features.

Striptease artist Vaya Tiare, the daughter of a Chilean woman and a Tahitian man, found success as an exotic "Asian" sexual performance artist. Referred to in the nude magazine *Cosquillas* as a representative of the "yellow threat," she began her career dancing in a Tahitian dance group at age 10. She found success touring as a dancer in Paris, and soon

⁴¹⁸ "Gladys Lorenz, Miss Noche 1971," *Novedades*, December 1971.

⁴¹⁹ "Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Churro del Desnudo Nacional," interviewed by Jose Arnero and photographed by Rolando Bustos, *Cosquillas* 1, October 28, 1970.

after began performing her complete striptease.⁴²⁰ Tiare capitalized on her “exotic” ethnicity in order to achieve international success.

Chilean vedettes often renamed themselves to reinforce European aesthetics or to exoticize diversity, both marketing methods that allowed them to better compete in the national and international cabaret industry. They often employed European, and particularly, French names, reflecting the industry’s strong French influences. For example, Ema Molina Molina renamed herself Joselyn Daudet.⁴²¹ Such renaming served to Europeanize Chilean women in the appropriation of an imagined ethnicity. These artists touted European aesthetics in order to compete with famous European cabaret artists.

Chilean vedettes also appropriated and exoticized blackness, appropriating racial stereotypes in order to compete with racially and ethnically diverse stars of the international cabaret industry, like African-American Josephine Baker, who had returned to Chile to perform in December of 1952, although for a shorter tour of only 5 days and Brazilian Martha Gularte.⁴²² A 1950s Chilean vedette photographed by Alfredo Molina Lahitte was known as Cleopatra. One photograph shows her in an extensively feathered bikini, her black hair big, loose and wild, with a large net behind her, suggesting an imagined African animal nature in need of taming.⁴²³ (See Figure 10 in Appendix A)

Another 1950s Chilean vedette marketed herself as Caribbean and was known as La Antillana (Antillian). Originally from Valparaiso, Chile, Emma Alicia Zepeda Saavedra, La Antillana, found success through her revolutionary dance technique and its accompanying

⁴²⁰ “Vaya Tiare,” *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁴²¹ Ema Molina Molina, *Revista Can-Can*, Nov. 18, 1957, 20, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 11.

⁴²² “Josefina Baker en Chile,” *Revista Ecran*, Dec. 23, 1952, 14, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 5.

⁴²³ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, “Cleopatra,” photographs published in 1950s, National Library of Chile Digital Collection.

exoticization.⁴²⁴ She was photographed by Molina Lahitte with bongo drums and large leaf plants that recall a vague tropical exoticism. In these photographs, she also wore ballet and pointe shoes, suggesting her classical dance training.⁴²⁵ In 1956, *Revista Ecran* featured a photograph of her, noting that she “revolutionized the technique of mambo and Afrocuban rhythms, dancing them on pointe.” The same commentary describes that she performed for a year in theaters in Buenos Aires and was contracted to perform with Lima, Peru’s “Cha-Cha-Cha” Company.⁴²⁶ Such exoticization in the marketing of Chilean vedettes was a means of competing with international cabaret celebrities like Josephine Baker, but appropriations of “ethnic exoticness” also served to reinforce notions of Chileanness as European. For la Antillana, her constructed Caribbean exoticness helped her find success as an artist touring and performing internationally.

The Picaresque, the Burlesque, and the Humoresque

In the early 1950s, three Santiago cabarets stood out as the most popular: the Picaresque, the Burlesque, and the Humoresque. According to Ramos Tapia, they were known for their comedians’ strong use of double meaning and for their striptease contests.⁴²⁷ These three cabarets offered monthly revue shows, offered twice a night seven days a week. Shows began at varying times, starting sometime between 7pm and 10:30pm. At the end of each show, the building was emptied, as a ticket bought attendance for only one show. This

⁴²⁴ La Antillana en *Revista Can-Can*, September 25, 1957, 27, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 12.

⁴²⁵ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, “La Antillana,” photographs published in 1950s, National Library of Chile Digital Collection.

⁴²⁶ *Revista Ecran*, 1956 (no. 1321), 14, National Library of Chile. Also quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 12.

⁴²⁷ Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 92.

structure was different from boites where clients generally did not pay to enter, but were obligated to drink while watching shows that continued past 4am.⁴²⁸

The cabaret Picaresque, located in the comuna of Recoleta and owned by Ernesto Sottolichio, offered daring comedy performances by women who left little to the imagination. Yet, Sottolichio described vedettes as very professional, “Vedettes were total artists, professionals in every sense of the word, women who studied dance, voice, acting, and also cared for their bodies.”⁴²⁹ Sottolichio started a Latin American striptease contest and brought in women from Panama, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia.⁴³⁰ (See Figure 11 in Appendix A) Business was good. With the money he made from the Picaresque, Sottolichio was able to travel to Europe and to buy a Mercedes Benz.⁴³¹ Salim and Miguel Zacur owned the Humoresque, located on Calle San Ignacio, which competed with the Picaresque and the Burlesque.⁴³² The competition would change in 1953, with the opening of the Bim Bam Bum company.

Buddy Day and Bim Bam Bum

Considered the most respectable and high class among entertainment venues with vedettes by all accounts after its 1953 opening, the famous Bim Bam Bum company was owned by Uruguayan businessman Antonio Felis Peña, who went by his artistic name, Buddy Day. With previous experience performing as a dancer in Montevideo, Uruguay,

⁴²⁸ Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 94 and 100.

⁴²⁹ Francisco Mouat, *Chilenos de Raza* (Santiago: El Mercurio, 2004), 188, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 12.

⁴³⁰ “El ‘Pica’ Elige a las Reinas del Strip,” *Novedades*, August 18, 1972.

⁴³¹ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 43.

⁴³² “Santiago de los 50; Eterno Carnival,” *La Cuarta*, Accessed 8/20/14, www.lacuarta.com/sitios/santiago_50/.

Buddy Day debuted as a vedette⁴³³ singing in Buenos Aires, where he adopted his artistic name. While continuing to sing, he became the director of an orchestra in Buenos Aires. He first came to Chile in 1935 to open the boite Africa in the center of Santiago.⁴³⁴ In 1946 he opened the boite El Casanova in Santiago, in the same location where he would later reopen the Teatro Opera, which would eventually become the famous site of his Bim Bam Bum company. He acquired this building in a prime location, 837 Calle Huérfanos, in the center of government and financial buildings, after it was confiscated from the German South American Bank during World War II.⁴³⁵

According to Chilean chronicler Silvia Silva Robles, El Casanova was considered by many to be the most elegant boite of the late 1940s, with its large stage, orchestra and elegant decorations. Many famous people performed there, including singer Violeta Parra.⁴³⁶ El Casanova was forced to close following the death of a young girl who wandered in during remodeling and accidentally fell to her death.⁴³⁷

Buddy Day then reopened the building as the Teatro Opera. When Josephine Baker returned to Chile to perform in December of 1952, although for a shorter tour of only 5 days, she performed in three performances in the Teatro Opera and in the Radio Minería. *Revista Ecran* noted that, "Like other times, Josephine Baker has brought a renovated repertoire and new outfits (trajes) that 'undress' her very well. Seeing Josephine Baker is a happy way to

⁴³³ The only instances where I have seen cisgender men performing as men referred to as vedettes were in a description of Buddy Day's 1930s performances in an article featuring an interview with him and in Rafael Frontaura's 1957 chronicle. By the late 1950s, only cisgender women and trans* persons were referred to as vedettes. See Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, "Los locos años del Bim Bam Bum," *El Mercurio*, July 29, 2006.

⁴³⁴ Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, "Los locos años."

⁴³⁵ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 96; Silvia Silva Robles, "Bailando en el Casanova," Accessed 4/18/16, <http://antiguabohemiasantiaguina.blogspot.com/2009/10/bailando-en-el-casanova.html>.

⁴³⁶ Silvia Silva Robles, "Bailando en el Casanova."

⁴³⁷ Silvia Silva Robles, "Bailando en el Casanova."

end 1952.”⁴³⁸ It is notable that, in contrast to her 1929 tour, there were no significant protests to Baker’s performances nor to her skin color.

The famous Bim Bam Bum cabaret joined the well-established sexy Santiago nightlife when it opened its doors with its first show, “Que Churros en Bikini,” on January 23, 1953.⁴³⁹ The name Bim Bam Bum was a reference to a famous song by Xavier Cugat. By August 1954, *Revista Bim Bam Boom* boasted that since it opened more than a million people had been to the Teatro Opera, the famous site of the Bim Bam Boom shows.⁴⁴⁰

Despite being modeled after the elegant cabarets of Europe, Bim Bam Bum was an important part of Santiago culture, and shows often made humor out of national events. Buddy Day recognized that the audience appreciated this, and for this reason the comedians were always Chilean, such as Eugenio Retes and Iris de Valle.⁴⁴¹ In 1954, the company performed a show called “*Polleras al Congreso*,” referring to Maria de la Cruz, the first Chilean woman to join Congress.⁴⁴² In 1956, when Arica became a free port, they did a show about it titled “*La Gallina de los huevos de nylon* (The Chicken with Nylon Eggs).” When Ibañez left office in 1958, the show was called “*Los que nos dejó el viejito* (The ones the little old man left behind).”

Making humor out of national events continued to be a defining feature of the Bim Bam Bum company in decades to follow, as was the naturalization of sexualizing vedettes. In 1962, during the World Cup, Bim Bam Bum did a show called, “Score a Goal on Your

⁴³⁸ “Josefina Baker en Chile,” *Revista Ecran*, Dec. 23, 1952, 14, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 5.

⁴³⁹ Collection of *Revistas Bim Bam Boom*, National Library, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁴⁰ “Reseña Histórica del Bim-Bam-Bum,” *Revista Bim Bam Boom*, August 12, 1954.

⁴⁴¹ Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, “Los locos años.”

⁴⁴² Collection of *Revistas Bim Bam Boom*, National Library, Santiago, Chile.

Vedette/Get the Ball Into Your Vedette.”⁴⁴³ Following the 1962 World Cup in Chile, the show was titled “Aqui no nos pasan goles (No goals get through us here).”⁴⁴⁴ In 1978, Raul Alarcon Rojas, who went by his feminine artistic name Florcita Motuda, performed his song, “Poor Mortal, If you want to watch less television, you will discover how bored you will be in the evenings,” in the 1978 International Festival of the OTI, the first official Chilean television transmission in color. Following this performance by Alarcon, one of many queer and transgender Chilean performers under the dictatorship, the Bim Bam Bum company performed the show “Pobrecito Mortal,” referencing the song he performed.⁴⁴⁵

Buddy Day’s brother, Eduardo, was left in charge of the theater when Day returned to Buenos Aires in the late 1960s to reopen a theater there. The family was thus an integral part of an international cabaret network that sought talents in nightclubs throughout Chile. Famous comedian Coco Legrand, who first performed in Arica in the North of Chile, was discovered by Buddy Day’s brother Eduardo in the Casino de Viña. Eduardo brought Legrand to Santiago to perform in Bim Bam Bum, and Buddy Day later said that Legrand was just as successful in Argentina as he was in Chile.⁴⁴⁶

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Bim Bam Boom company printed revue show books that featured photographs of the women, information on the operation of the business, credits of make up artists, hairdressers, choreographers, musicians, and advertisements for similar businesses. An August 1954 advertisement for the King’s Club offered shows at 1:30 and 3am for guests to continue the fun well into the early morning hours with many of the same

⁴⁴³ Toño Freire, *Rakatán: ¡Hay Ambiente en el Bim Bam Bum!* (Chile: Ediciones EACE, 2005), 93. My translation of the show title “Mete un Gol a su Vedette.”

⁴⁴⁴ Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, “Los locos años.”

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

artists that performed in the Teatro Opera. There is no evidence that the company continued printing these show books after 1962. Advertisements for shows and photographs of the women appear to have been printed solely in other magazines and newspapers from then on.⁴⁴⁷ Like other boites and cabarets before it, Bim Bam Bum was advertised in mainstream newspapers as well as in the tourist magazine *Revista En Viaje* throughout the 1950s, and it continued to be advertised in various mainstream magazines and newspapers throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Such advertisements featured drawings and/or photographs of scantily clad, sexy vedettes.⁴⁴⁸

In contrast from the national comedians, Buddy Day brought in vedette talents from Europe and Argentina. In 1956, French vedette Xenia Monty came to Bim Bam Bum from Paris' Folies Bergere to perform the first complete striptease in the theater, and her performance was so successful that Buddy Day helped extend her tour throughout the country as well as into Peru and Ecuador.⁴⁴⁹ In his chronicle, Oreste Plath also discusses the performances of French vedette Xenia Monty, noting that more than a thousand people were lined up outside the Teatro Opera to see the first vedette to perform topless in Bim Bam Bum.⁴⁵⁰ Plath describes how later in the restaurant/boite Il Bosco, two employees picked up a drunk Monty off the women's bathroom floor; "Inebriated, her breasts were out for everyone

⁴⁴⁷ Collection of *Revistas Bim Bam Boom*, National Library, Santiago, Chile. For more discussion of this, please see Chapter Four, "Exposure and Censorship: Nude Magazines and Films Under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship."

⁴⁴⁸ Advertisement "Los locos no pagan impuestos," for Cia Bim Bam Bum in *Diario El Clarín*, October, 1954. Advertisement "Aqui las lineas son curvas," for Cia Bim Bam Bum, *Revista En Viaje*, June, 1955. Advertisements for various boites, *Revista En Viaje*, September 1953. All reproduced in Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 109-110.

⁴⁴⁹ Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, "Los locos años."

⁴⁵⁰ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, Photograph of Xenia Monty topless with a man dressed in exotic drag, circa 1955, Collection National Library of Chile.

to see.”⁴⁵¹ Plath does not discuss what happened to the drunk, topless Monty once in the care of Il Bosco employees. This anecdote reveals the important role of alcohol in the nightlife as well as the naturalization of men’s access to women’s bodies. Monty’s fate that inebriated night is not worthy of inclusion in the story. Plath’s recounting of this story unapologetically as a laughable moment is very revealing of the naturalization of sexualizing women’s bodies, even when unconscious.

Despite the popularity of foreign vedettes, Chileans were also encouraged to try out to be vedettes, although they were also cast as first, second, third or fourth line dancers.⁴⁵² Dancing in Bim Bam Bum offered vedettes the chance to be seen by an international clientele. And, at least on one occasion, Buddy Day took his company on an international tour around South America. It was on this tour in Ecuador that Chilean vedette Elba Ubilla first met the millionaire that flew around in his private jet to see her until they were married.⁴⁵³

One 1969 advertisement for Bim Bam Bum printed in the newspapers read "Do you want to be an artist? Get started in Bim Bam Bum. Requirements: Minimum height, 1.70 m. Pretty. Good salary, private employee. Try out as soon as possible, From 6 to 8 P.M. Huérfanos Number 837."⁴⁵⁴ 1.7 meters is close to 5’6. The height requirement reflected a European aesthetic and largely excluded the vast majority of Chileans and specifically indigenous women. The dancers aspired to be vedettes, rather than first, second, third or fourth line dancers. As Ramos Tapia notes, the artists’ employment status was relatively

⁴⁵¹ Plath, Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 27.

⁴⁵² Julio Bustamante, Interview by Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 44.

⁴⁵³ Jose Arnero, “Elizabeth Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas,” *Cosquillas*, October 1970.

⁴⁵⁴ Advertisement quoted in Verónica Marinao, “Obra rescata las plumas del Bim Bam Bum,” *La Tercera*, May 1, 2009.

precarious, and often without social provisions, which is one of the reasons so many artists had to work in multiple businesses in order to gain a decent living.⁴⁵⁵

While Bim Bam Bum was the most elegant and respected of all the nightlife businesses after 1953, there were still many other locales where people could go to see erotic semi or fully nude dancers. The Humoresque and the Picaresque continued to be highly successful. José Aravena, known as the godfather of Santiago nightlife, owned La Sirena, Casino Las Vegas (another reference to a glamorous US city), and later the night club Pasapoga in Providencia.⁴⁵⁶ According to Ramos Tapia, Bim Bam Bum stood out from its competitors in several ways: its shows were offered at regular times (with no schedule changes from 1953 to 1960), it included the constant performance of foreign artists, principally from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Paris, and the show followed a strict structure regarding the layout of its acts.⁴⁵⁷

According to the personal accounts of artists, photographers, journalists, employees, and even Buddy Day himself, the Bim Bam Bum audience was one of mixed clientele, including both men and women. The audience also included significant representation of state authorities and officials. Photographer Julio Bustamante described the Bim Bam Bum as very tasteful and open to a mixed clientele:

People could go with their wives, and the jokes were very tasteful and appropriate, without offensive remarks. Because the owner was very careful to not scare off the clientele. Men went with their wives or girlfriends and they could very easily go several times to the same show because it was entertaining. It was made to see more than once.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁵ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 104.

⁴⁵⁶ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 46.

⁴⁵⁷ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 97.

⁴⁵⁸ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 44.

Buddy Day himself recognized that his business was set apart as a “family friendly” business.⁴⁵⁹ Beauty shop owner Juan Carlos Avatte testified to the clientele and to the elegance of the Bim Bam Bum, “High class people went to the Bim Bam Bum. With ties, clean shoes and very formal women. They would go out for a drink and then to a restaurant, to a tavern, to see a show with dinner.” Remembering the Bim Bam Bum inauguration, he said, “All the authorities went.”⁴⁶⁰ The fact that these businesses catered to female clientele stands in stark contrast to their 1980s counterparts, which catered only to men.⁴⁶¹

Boites and Other Businesses with Vedette Performances

In Santiago, the *boîte* Tap Room was popular since the 1940s. Like other nightlife clubs, it was advertised and commented on positively (as were its shows) in magazines and newspapers like *El Mercurio*.⁴⁶² Despite changing locations 7 times, it maintained a constant, loyal clientele.⁴⁶³ Bim Bam Bum owner Buddy Day was good friends with Humberto Tobar, known as “El Negro Tobar,” who owned the boîte Tap Room.⁴⁶⁴ Frontaura also discusses El Negro Tobar in his chronicle as the owner of the “elegant” Tap Room, “the most important nighttime site.” Frontaura says Tobar “has been, without a doubt, one of the sustainers of ... The Santiago Night.”⁴⁶⁵ Oreste Plath also described the Tap Room of the Ritz as “the most elegant boîte of South America.”⁴⁶⁶ Freire notes in his chronicle that Tobar liked cocaine, although it should be noted that the use of cocaine by various people is

⁴⁵⁹ My translation of “Familiar” in Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, “Los locos años.”

⁴⁶⁰ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 44-45.

⁴⁶¹ Various oral histories, Santiago, 2013-2015.

⁴⁶² See “En el Burlesque” article in *Revista Vea*, July 22, 1953, Santiago, Chile, covering the latest happenings in this cabaret with photographs of vedette Madel Wic; Also Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias,” 89.

⁴⁶³ Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias,” 89.

⁴⁶⁴ Freire, *Rakatán*, 71.

⁴⁶⁵ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 73 and 97.

⁴⁶⁶ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 67.

mentioned throughout Freire's chronicle, as a fundamental part of the nightlife.⁴⁶⁷ It was, notably, never mentioned in Frontaura's 1957 novel.

Many restaurants and coffeeshops also featured vedette entertainment or topless service. The aforementioned restaurant Il Bosco featured vedette shows and was extremely popular since it opened in October of 1947 near the corner of Alameda and Estado in the business and government center of Santiago.⁴⁶⁸ Salvador Solomón owned El Pollo Dorado, opened in 1950 on the corner of Estado and Moneda. It included Robert Kennedy among its clientele.⁴⁶⁹ Bim Bam Bum owner Buddy Day was also good friends with Salvador Salomon.⁴⁷⁰ As a restaurant, El Pollo Dorado paid women less money but offered them a chance to show their talents to the audience, including the nightlife network of artists and business owners. According to nightlife photographer Julio Bustamante, all of the artists aspired to dance in the Bim Bam Bum.⁴⁷¹

Bim Bam Bum show books, while in print, advertised some of these other businesses. A 1954 advertisement for a coffee shop, Jamaica Cofee, featured a drawing of a woman in a bikini top relaxing on an island next to a palm tree.⁴⁷² Further, countless jokes in nude magazines from the early 1970s referred to men not being able to control their appetites in topless restaurants.⁴⁷³ There was also mention of Café Haiti in the early 1970s, one of the famous cafés con piernas that flourished in the 1980s.⁴⁷⁴ A woman with whom I did an oral history said as a young girl her father used to take her to Café Haiti in the late 1960s. She

⁴⁶⁷ Freire, *Rakatán*, 72-73. See also 58, 61, 134, 137, and 147.

⁴⁶⁸ Plath, *El Santiago Que Se Fue*.

⁴⁶⁹ Plath, *El Santiago Que Se Fue*, 64-66.

⁴⁷⁰ Freire, *Rakatán*, 71.

⁴⁷¹ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 46-47.

⁴⁷² Collection of *Revistas Bim Bam Boom*, August 1954, National Library, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁷³ *Viejo Verde* collection, *Cosquillas* collection, National Library of Chile.

⁴⁷⁴ *Viejo Verde* collection, National Library of Chile.

said the clientele was generally male, the women were beautiful, and they wore more clothes than women who worked in later cafes con piernas.⁴⁷⁵

In contrast to cabarets like Bim Bam Bum however, the clientele at boites was predominantly masculine. Yet, boites also differed from cabaret theaters in that the master of ceremonies could be male or female.⁴⁷⁶ In 1956, the master of ceremonies of the popular boite Tap Room was Susy Montrey. The newspaper *El Clarin* described her as elegant, noting her ability to recite Pablo Neruda's poetry.⁴⁷⁷

The operation of boites and many other sexual performance businesses was centered around the sale of alcohol. Some women worked in boites as "copetineras," with the sole purpose of getting clients to consume more alcohol. These women earned a percentage of what they encouraged clients to consume, 10 percent according to a 1972 copetinera.⁴⁷⁸ Many sexual performance artists did not work in boites because of the obligation to drink with clients. In 1970, Bim Bam Bum dancer Ruth Keller, who also worked in an unnamed boite said women were organizing to fight this and even had a lawyer. Her dream was to go to Mexico, where she could work in a boite without having to be a copetinera. She added that they should not have to be drunks just to gain a living.⁴⁷⁹ Elizabeth Ubilla, also a Bim Bam Bum dancer, said she did not like to work in boites because she was not good at drinking a lot.⁴⁸⁰ A 1972 commentary in a nude magazines said that buenas señoras did not work in boites, due to its implications with drinking and, "to a lesser degree," prostitution.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁵ Oral history, March 2014, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁷⁶ Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 100.

⁴⁷⁷ "En la esquina de los artistas," *El Clarin*, February 3, 1956, quoted in Ramos Tapia, "De bohémias," 100.

⁴⁷⁸ "Santiago de Noche," *Revista Ritmo*, October 1972.

⁴⁷⁹ "Ruth Keller Va Camino al Estrellato," *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁴⁸⁰ Jose Arnero, "Elizabeth Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas," *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁴⁸¹ "Giorgia Sol, Dama, Señora y Bailarina," *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

However, many such businesses were generally considered to be respectable, although some were considered more elegant than others, and many catered to the economic, political, and entertainment elite.⁴⁸² Rafael Frontaura describes the bar Fancy, that he notes was similar to a *boite*, as “a dignified environment.”⁴⁸³ Indeed, Frontaura’s portrayal of the nightlife is one of respectability, of bohemian intellectuals and artists who enjoyed talking, dancing, drinking and smoking.

Not all nighttime entertainment featured *vedettes*. Upper and middle class urban Chileans had a wide variety of entertainment options, including operas, theaters, family friendly circuses, movie theaters, *quintas de recreo*, and *peñas*, the latter two operating on the outskirts of Santiago and being more common for the political left and/or the working classes.⁴⁸⁴ Yet, in an oral history with a Chilean man who was a young adult in the 1960s, he discussed the *quintas de recreo*, such as the “famous *Quinta Cuatro*,” noting that gays, prostitutes, and *vedettes* all had a space there even though they were family oriented as well. He recalled seeing the transvestite dance group, the Blue Ballet, perform in the *Quinta Cuatro*, and stated that the *quintas del recreo* were the birthplace of transvestite circuses.⁴⁸⁵

Yet, not all circuses were “family friendly,” such as *El Circo Timoteo*, which featured transvestite entertainment considered suitable only for adults. In one oral history, a cisgender Chilean man recalled the *Circo Timoteo* being in town when he was at the beach with his

⁴⁸² Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 42-44.

⁴⁸³ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 41.

⁴⁸⁴ Ramos Tapia, “De bohémias,” 88; Various oral histories, Santiago, 2013-2015.

⁴⁸⁵ Oral history, January 2015, Santiago, Chile.

family in the early to mid 1980s, noting that they did not attend because his parents knew it was not appropriate for children.⁴⁸⁶

Some tearooms and cafes functioned as such by day, and then resembled boites more at night with the shows they offered, such as the confiteria Goyescas.⁴⁸⁷ Ramos Tapia describes the difficulty in distinguishing businesses with vedette entertainment because as early as the 1940s businesses could seek out a “Cabaret Patent” based on their hours of operation, the sale of alcohol, and the inclusion of musical numbers, without distinguishing what type of musical shows they offered.⁴⁸⁸ Brothels, legal and regulated, were also a site of nighttime socializing. In 1957, Rafael Frontaura mentioned casually that part of the nightlife included the brothels.⁴⁸⁹ In an oral history, a Chilean man described how his communist uncle played guitar in a brothel in the 1960s, which he said functioned as a space of entertainment for drinking and dancing as well as a locale of sexual commerce.⁴⁹⁰ Luis Rivano, ex-police officer turned playwright, described countryside brothels (*casas de remolienda*) in the 1950s and 1960s as “a place where men could go and drink in peace and be with women. It was a place of entertainment, not just for sex.”⁴⁹¹

Yet, in his study of 1950s Santiago nightlife, Ramos Tapia asserts that nightclubs and theaters with vedette shows were the most popular night time entertainment spaces in Santiago, being well accepted by 1950s Santiago society.⁴⁹² He cites the strong clientele base, businessmen who specialized in these businesses, the extensive print media coverage,

⁴⁸⁶ Oral history, March 2014, Santiago, Chile. See also “El Gran Circo Pobre de Timoteo,” Documentary, Dir. Lorena Giachino Torr ns (Chile: Errante Producciones, Giachinofilmes, Trivial Media, 2013).

⁴⁸⁷ Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 90 and 99.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, 90.

⁴⁸⁹ Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 21.

⁴⁹⁰ Oral history, March 2014, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁹¹ Conversation with Luis Rivano, September 2015, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁹² Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 92.

and the appearance of journalists who specialized in nighttime shows.⁴⁹³ This argument is supported by the continuous advertising of sexual performance businesses in the state produced tourism magazine throughout the 1950s as well as in mainstream magazines and newspapers throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.⁴⁹⁴ As mentioned in the opening of the chapter, in 1952, *Revista Vea* featured an article titled “Santiago takes it down at night,” boasting that, “ignited by 200 pairs of legs that from night to night form picaresque silhouettes and wink at eyes thirsty for beauty, Santiago strips down at midnight to work, it has abandoned its cup of thick chocolate for an aperitif and abundant red wine.”⁴⁹⁵ Indeed, the presence of the sexual performance industry in Santiago’s nightlife was strong.

Employees and Clientele

Aside from the *vedettes* and comedians, show clubs hired many other employees, including make up artists, hairdressers, clothing designers, choreographers, musicians for their orchestras and solo performance musicians, as well as photographers to take artistic pictures of the semi or fully nude women for promotional purposes and to sell to magazines (for the photographer’s profit). According to photographer Alfredo Molina Lahitte, these photographs were used by vedettes to be sent out to other countries in hopes of landing an international contract.⁴⁹⁶ The testimonies of these employees further establish Bim Bam Bum’s clientele as mixed, male and female, and as having substantial representation by political authorities.

⁴⁹³ Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 90.

⁴⁹⁴ See for example, advertisements for various boites, *Revista En Viaje*, September, 1953. Reproduced in Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 110. I have only analyzed the tourism magazine in the 1950s. Advertisements are present in varying newspapers and magazines throughout the remaining decades, including *Revista Ritmo* and feminist *Revista Paula*.

⁴⁹⁵ *Revista Vea*, “Santiago se desarma de noche,” October 29, 1952, quoted in Ramos Tapia, “De bohemias,” 89.

⁴⁹⁶ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, *Santiago que no dormia* (Santiago: LOM, 2007), 1-2.

Juan Carlos Avatte was a beauty shop owner, who frequented these businesses and provided them with beauty services and products, such as false eyelashes. By his own account, he was paid with money, drinks, or feminine services. Avatte tended to go out with vedettes or prostitutes because, in his own words, “touching other women meant you had to marry them.”⁴⁹⁷ Avatte’s comment further reveals that vedettes did not fit within the traditionally conceived female roles of larger Chilean society, as he clearly distinguishes between vedettes and prostitutes. As ex-police officer turned cabaret playwright Luis Rivano described, a “vedette could be a perfect homemaker, doing her job, hanging up her clothes, and going home, and nobody said anything about it. But, she could also accept invitations to go eat or to dance. Or, she could do that and something else (sex). These three possibilities existed.”⁴⁹⁸

A clothing designer for cabarets named Armando, said, “I make designs. Fantasy bikinis, shine, bordered in pearls, stones. We used a lot of ostrich feathers, generally from Sudan, that I sewed, with aniline... we had a month to prepare the wardrobe.”⁴⁹⁹ Such elaborately made wardrobes were a defining feature of the vedette. Clothing and accessories were used to enhance bodily attributes understood to be feminine in nature. Isabel Allende, in her article of her own vedette performance, noted that vedettes used fake nails and stuffed their bras.⁵⁰⁰

Jorge Pedreros was the artistic director of Bim Bam Bum from 1970 to 1978. In an interview, he said “I feel proud to have directed a theater of that caliber, it was something

⁴⁹⁷ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 45-46.

⁴⁹⁸ Conversation with Luis Rivano, September 2015, Santiago, Chile.

⁴⁹⁹ Armando, Interview in *Apoteosis Final: La Investigacion*, Katy Cabezas, Paty Garcia, Patricia Velasco, Santiago, 2005, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 15.

⁵⁰⁰ Isabel Allende, “Me fui a ofrecer como corista en el Bim Bam Bum,” *Revista Paula*, September, 1973.

that gave you a lot of prestige, comparable to the Maipo or Astro (theaters) of Buenos Aires. Nowhere else could someone have done shows like the ones we did there.”⁵⁰¹ One of his most successful shows was “Chilenissima,” in the 1970s. It was sold out every day for six months.⁵⁰² All of the comments of these male employees and owner Buddy Day himself establish that Bim Bam Bum catered to an elegant clientele, composed of both men and women, and with substantial political representation.

As Ramos Tapia noted, many journalists specialized in nighttime shows. Julio Bustamante, a famous reporter and photographer of Santiago nightlife, became the Public Relations manager for Bim Bam Bum. He knew the sexual performance business intimately, as he also worked as a photographer for *Viejo Verde*, a nude magazine. David Rodriguez was another photographer who worked with vedettes. He traveled to the US to work for Playboy in 1963 and then returned to set up a photography studio in the center of Santiago. He died in 1968 at the age of 38, but his photographs of vedettes are now commemorated as Patrimonio de Chile by the Chilean government’s Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (FONDART).⁵⁰³

In January 1988, Toño Freire wrote a novel to commemorate his recently deceased colleague, nightlife reporter Osvaldo Muñoz Romero, also known as “Rakatán.”⁵⁰⁴ After serving as a police officer, Muñoz Romero had been the founder of *Revista Vea* and the subdirector of the fotonovela *Mi Vida* and nude magazines *El Pengüino*, *Pobre Diablo*, *Viejo Verde*, *Novedades* and *Flash*. He also worked for *Sucesos*, *Eva*, *Zig Zag*, and *Ecran*, among

⁵⁰¹ Buddy Day, Interview by Francia Fernandez, “Los locos años”

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ proyectocabaret.cl

⁵⁰⁴ Freire, *Rakatán*.

other magazines. In 1967, he founded the Association of Show Reporters.⁵⁰⁵ The chronicle provides insights into the world of the nightlife reporters. Reporters complained of bad salaries and unstable work, and said that the photographers made more money than them.⁵⁰⁶ The chronicle describes a strong friendship between reporters, club and cabaret owners, and Chilean artists (uses male “los artistas”).⁵⁰⁷

Freire describes Muñoz Romero as well respected and without any enemies. Yet, Freire also describes Rakatan smacking the buttocks of vedettes, noting that as founding reporter of the Teatro Opera, the owners “had given him permission to touch the sacred backsides of vedettes and debutantes.”⁵⁰⁸ (See Figure 12 in Appendix A for a photograph of one such instance.) The naturalization of Rakatan’s “right to touch” was so intense that Freire mentions it casually, as if it were another symbol of Rakatan’s success. The chronicle also referenced another man who was known for grabbing women’s butts.⁵⁰⁹ Indeed, the naturalization of sexualizing vedettes was fundamental to sexual performance. It is not surprising then that the ritual toast of the “gentlemen” of the night was, “We love women...so we drink. Drinkers, let’s drink.”⁵¹⁰ This repeated chant reflects how integral women were to drinking, and how integral alcohol was to enjoying women.

The chronicle recounts reporters convincing vedettes to go out on dates with them by promising to include their picture and a paragraph about them in their papers.⁵¹¹ Rakatan said reporters should not accept sexual favors in exchange for publicity.⁵¹² The chronicle recounts

⁵⁰⁵ Freire, *Rakatán*, 11.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, 39 and 135.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, 137.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid, 13-14.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, 91.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid, 10; For more on drinking and toasting, including *bebonas mujeres*, see 85.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, 20.

⁵¹² Ibid, 32.

a story of Osvaldo walking in on vedette Sandra Scottie having sex with a man. According to the chronicle, Scottie said to him, “Don’t look at me as if I were lost. I promise that I never slept with older men for money or gifts. If I do it with artists and reporters, it’s because they offer me their contacts to make me a star...”⁵¹³

Professionalism in Sexual Performance

Yet, the Chilean sexual performance industry cannot simply be understood as unbridled commodification and exploitation of female bodies. Vedettes were often professionally trained. Many had training in classical dance, such as Marta Erices,⁵¹⁴ la Antillana, and Manon Duncan, the latter two of whom were both photographed in ballet and pointe shoes. Duncan had studied ballet from a very young age in Valparaiso.⁵¹⁵ A 1950s photograph of Manon Duncan by Molina Lahitte shows her wearing nothing but fishnet stockings and ballet shoes.⁵¹⁶ Professionally trained dancers often found successful careers in the sexual performance industry. Argentine vedette Lidia Madelon said that never imagined that she would end up dancing in cabaret shows after studying in Argentina’s National School of Dance.⁵¹⁷

Choreographers contracted by various cabarets and boites also provided professional instruction to performers without previous dance training. Emilia Aedo was a choreographer for the Teatro Balmaceda in the 1940s. She went on to work in the Picaresque and other boites, teaching a variety of dances including the Charleston and bossa nova.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹³ Freire, *Rakatán*, 69.

⁵¹⁴ Marta Erices, *El Pingüino*, Jan. 27, 1960, 10, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 13.

⁵¹⁵ Manon Duncan, *El Pingüino*, July 29, 1958, 8, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 12.

⁵¹⁶ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, photographs of Manon Duncan, National Library Digital Collection.

⁵¹⁷ Lidia Madelon, *El Pingüino*, June 25, 1959, 9, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 13.

⁵¹⁸ Emilia Aedo, *El Pingüino*, Feb. 12, 1963, 13, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 13.

Choreographers were often male, including Bim Bam Bum's Eugene D'Arcy and Paco Mairena.⁵¹⁹

In 1966, Law 15478 recognized the work of singers and "coristas," cabaret style dancers, as private employees. Such recognition guaranteed them a network of benefits and a place in unions. A vedette-corista status was also included in the Actors Union since the early 1960s.⁵²⁰ Several months after the dictatorship, Isabel Allende appeared on television on the show "Buenas Noches con Cesar Antonio Santis," which granted participants a wish. Isabel Allende's wish was to be a Bim Bam Bum vedette. Scantly clad vedettes, their buttocks exposed by thong bikinis, came on screen to take Allende away to fulfill her wish. As the vedettes led Allende offstage to change, one vedette uncomfortably tried to move away from the famous Chilean actor Jaime Celedon, who was rubbing her exposed behind. Just before leaving stage, Allende made a joke that she did not have her union card.⁵²¹

Still, despite these provisions, vedettes still faced employment issues. Vedettes complained of low salaries that required them to work additionally in boites and having to work as copetineras in those boites and being obligated to drink with clients. With less than desirable salaries, vedettes also faced deductions in the form of fines for any number of issues including arriving late, missing practices, problems with their wardrobes, or laughing at inopportune times.⁵²²

Yet, there are many cases of women who performed as vedettes, advanced their singing and acting careers, and became highly successful, including Argentine vedettes

⁵¹⁹ Compañía de Revistas Bim Bam Bum, National Library of Chile

⁵²⁰ Law 15478, *Revista ENPART*, organo oficial de la Asociacion de Trabajadores de la Caja de Prevision de Empleados Particulares de Chile, January-April, 1970, Santiago, 20; and *Revista Telón*, Sindicato Profesional de Actores, El Sindicato, Imprenta P. Chile, Santiago, 1962, 4. Both quoted in Araya, "La Nueva Noche," 7.

⁵²¹ "Buenas Noches con Cesar Antonio Santis," Dir. Gonzalo Bertran, December 17, 1973, TVN, Chile, presented on "TVN 40 Años," October 19, 2009, TVN, Chile.

⁵²² "Lios en el Piluchismo," *El Pingüino*, May 3, 1961, 16, quoted in Araya, "La Nueva Noche," 12.

Moria Casán and Susana Jimenez, as well as Chilean vedette Paty Cofré. Cofré later became the highly successful television personality “Súper Xuxá” on the show *Morandé con Compañía* by Kike Morandé.⁵²³

Famous Chilean singer Fresia Soto started as a vedette. The seminude performances of this Nueva Ola singer were advertised with pictures in popular youth music magazine, *Revista Ritmo*.⁵²⁴ Once famous, Fresia Soto planned a 1972 performance tour of the whole country, titled, “I want to be a vedette.”⁵²⁵ By April 1974, Fresia Soto told the magazine she did not want to be a vedette anymore and only wanted to focus on singing.⁵²⁶ They still included a former picture of her in a bikini with the article.

Isabel Allende, at the time a writer for feminist women’s magazine *Revista Paula*, recounted her story of fulfilling “her life long desire” to perform as a Bim Bam Bum dancer in a September 1973 article. Ironically, this article was published in the magazine’s first edition following the coup in which her uncle lost the presidency and his life.⁵²⁷ She wrote that she feared she was too short to meet the company’s height requirements, but was accepted and performed in a show.

In a recent conversation with Isabel Allende, however, she remembered the experience differently than that conveyed in the article.⁵²⁸ Genuinely surprised that those archived *Paula* magazines still exist, she said that her boss gave her the assignment to do the Bim Bam Bum show. She told me that she did not want to do it and tried to get out of the assignment by saying she did not even meet the minimum requirements. Her boss said they

⁵²³ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 47.

⁵²⁴ “Bimbambunera,” *Revista Ritmo*, April, 1972.

⁵²⁵ *Revista Ritmo*, October, 1972, 76.

⁵²⁶ “Fresia Soto, Conquistara Buenos Aires?,” *Revista Ritmo*, April, 1974.

⁵²⁷ Isabel Allende, “Me fui a ofrecer como corista en el Bim Bam Bum,” *Revista Paula*, September, 1973.

⁵²⁸ Conversation with Isabel Allende, November 19, 2015, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

were desperate and would take her, so she did it. Allende went on to describe the cabaret as the objectification of women. However, when I asked if it was a space of more liberated sexuality for women and gays, she immediately and unequivocally said yes, adding that people could not be gay in public back then.

Allende's experiences performing in Bim Bam Bum and dressing as a vedette on television were not her only engagement with the sexual performance industry. In 1975, Isabel Allende also produced her own burlesque type play called "Los Siete Espejos," referencing a historic brothel of Valparaiso, but performed by unapologetically "fat" vedettes. She used the cabaret genre to question stereotypes of feminine beauty.⁵²⁹

Rewriting Narratives of Respectability and Shame

Here we return to the second point of issue in the opening of this chapter. Shame is a historical construction. There is nothing inherently shameful about striptease and sexual performance, and it is crucial to recognize both the sources and effects of imbuing such performance with shame. Certainly, striptease and sexual performance were imbued with different degrees of respectability and shame in Chile at different historical and personal moments. While sexual performance was historically increasingly constructed as shameful during the Cold War period, Chilean Cold War sexual performance is best understood as embodying a versatility of respectability. The sexual performance industry historically provided many Chilean women with gainful employment, independence, fame, the ability to travel, and a means of claiming their nonreproductive sexuality and rewriting their own narratives of the politics of respectability. Likewise, Chilean LGBT individuals used this

⁵²⁹ "Las Gordas a Primer Plano," *Unicoop Informativo*, Santiago, July 1975, 4; and "Los Siete Espejos de nuevo en la zona," *La Estrella Valparaiso*, June 1975, 23. From Special Collections, Isabel Allende boxes, National Library.

industry to carve out economic niches for survival and to freely express their identities long before the LGBT and broader sexual liberation movements became a site for the struggle for visibility and rights.

Although the lines delineating historically respectable sexual performance are not always clear, sexual performance artists appropriated, resisted, and inverted society's prescribed racial and sexual boundaries of bodies and desires. As Sally Munt argues shame is culturally constructed and has political effects, as it “performs culturally to mark out certain groups.”⁵³⁰ It is critical to question who found such performance shameful, and indeed, to deconstruct shame itself.

I am not simply arguing that such performance was previously considered respectable, although this argument is certainly present in the memory of many Chileans involved in the sexual performance industry. Recall the quote by cinematographer Pablo Larrain at the opening of the chapter:

It's funny because the cabaret was very famous back in those days, and put on fairly elegant shows. After the coup, it became sort of seedy and run-down. We met with some of the women who were there, and some of them came from left-wing families who felt ideologically compromised by their line of work: dancing almost naked to be ogled by an audience of men who represented the bourgeoisie, the patriarchy. Everything that these women did was completely antithetical to socialism, so it would cause shame for their families.⁵³¹

This quote reveals a tendency among some Chileans of the left to equate sexual performance with the right and/or dictatorship, which is not an accurate historical description. Indeed, Rafael Frontaura describes early twentieth century businesses in a similar nostalgic manner to the way many Chileans later would lament the long-gone nightlife of the 1950s and 1960s. Describing the Patio Andaluz in his 1957 chronicle, it pained him to think of the “lost age of

⁵³⁰ Munt, *Queer Attachments*, 2-3.

⁵³¹ Pablo Larrain, Interviewed by Violet Lucca, “Projecting and Excavating the Past.”

applauses and smiles, of everlasting parties...”⁵³² Speaking fondly of the Lucerna, he bemoaned that it had not been replaced by anything like it.⁵³³

Sexual performance was not antithetical to socialism. As previously shown, members of all Chilean political parties were involved in the sexual performance industry, socialists and communists included. Indeed, the Chilean sexual performance industry is historically rooted in democratic governments, and its booming golden age was during the increasing organization of the left and Salvador Allende’s presidency. In an oral history with a Chilean who man revealed that his communist uncle played guitar in a brothel in the 1960s, he described it as a social space of entertainment where people danced, discounting the sexual politics implied.⁵³⁴ Juan Giusti Cordero, in his chronicle of living in Santiago in July and August of 1973, recalls a leftist tabloid that contained weekly photos of seminude vedettes, pin up style.⁵³⁵ It is also worth mentioning that the nude magazine industry thrived under Allende, as outlined in Chapter Four, “Exposure and Censorship: Nude Magazines and Films Under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship.”

Recall the story of Peggy Cordero, a famous vedette for Bim Bam Bum in the early 1970s and member of the Chilean socialist party. Cordero said she did it for money because she was a single mother with a 5 month old baby when she started, but she does not regret anything. The first vedette who had previously had formal training as an actress in the University of Chile, she said it was not sexy or glamorous, and that her profession was not always respected among party members. Yet, she recounted meeting President Allende in the National Palace while wearing a miniskirt. After looking at her legs, Allende said to her

⁵³² Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 66-67.

⁵³³ *Ibid*, 80.

⁵³⁴ Oral history, January 2014, Santiago, Chile.

⁵³⁵ Juan Giusti Cordero, “La Vispera del Golpe.”

“Compañera, what good people we have now in the party.” By Cordero’s account, Socialist President Allende respected her work. Cordero went into exile after the coup.⁵³⁶

To be clear, issues relating to shame and respectability can be seen throughout the time period I study. Since the 1950s, there are stories of vedettes facing shame and rejection from their families and exploitation by photographers and businesses owners. In 1950, Cuban vedette Blanquita Amaro told *Revista Ecran* that, “she dislikes the audacity of men who allow themselves certain liberties that no one has granted them while she dances or walks through the streets.”⁵³⁷ It is important to note that she references such sexual harassment in the streets as well as during theatrical performances.

Isabel Ubilla also spoke of her sister Solcito, who worked from 1am to 6am at boite Mon Bijou, and her twin sister having nude photos of themselves published without permission. Their father hated that world of “bad men” and especially the photographers that took pictures of them.⁵³⁸ Another vedette, Marta, spoke of the owner of the nightclub Tap Room smacking her bare rear end when she started dancing there before she moved to Bim Bam Bum.⁵³⁹ All of the women spoke of the jealousy and physical fighting that went on among the vedettes in their quest to be the best.

And vedettes did not always see the business as being as elegant or glamorous as its reputation would have it. Former vedette Paty Cofré specifically said that it was not elegant and described the girls having to sew their own pantyhose.⁵⁴⁰ Indeed, one of photographer Julio Bustamante’s famous photographs of her reveals a hole in her fishnet stockings.

⁵³⁶ Peggy Cordero, Interview, *24 Horas*, TVN, Chile, June 13, 2013.

⁵³⁷ *Revista Ecran*, July 25, 1950, 22, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 3.

⁵³⁸ *Revista Paloma*, November 28, 1972.

⁵³⁹ Verónica Marinao, “Obra rescata las plumas del Bim Bam Bum,” *La Tercera*, May 1, 2009.

⁵⁴⁰ Paty Cofré, Interview, “La Real Historia del Bim Bam Bum: El Teatro que todo recuerdan,” *Mas Vale Tarde*, June 12, 2012, Mega, Chile.

Another photograph shows vedette Ruth Keller breastfeeding backstage.⁵⁴¹ There were also issues of safety for these artists who worked by dark. Former corista Margarita Loyola spoke to *Revista Vea* in 1970 about having to take a bus at 1:30 in the morning because she could not afford a taxi home after work.⁵⁴²

It is crucial to recognize the stigmatization of the profession, as well as the ways that sexual performance artists rewrote their own narratives. Sexual performance is not inherently shameful. Following Munt's definition, one enters a state of disgrace, or shame, because one knows he/she has committed a wrong.⁵⁴³ I did not find evidence of sexual performance artists associating shame with their own work. Occasionally they spoke of embarrassment with their first nude performance, but not shame regarding their profession. It is critical to consider what sexual performance meant to these female artists. References to shame most often addressed feelings of shame from the family and friends of cisgender and transgender sexual performance artists, a construction that artists tended to rewrite and invert. Lula Pinochet (no relation to the dictator) spoke of her father making her change her last name after she performed topless in 1962 because of the shame it would bring to her family. Buddy Day renamed her with the more exotic name Lula Montecarlo.⁵⁴⁴ Isabel Ubilla recalled her friends calling her scandalous.⁵⁴⁵

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, shows in cabarets and boites were advertised and covered in national newspapers and popular magazines of different political

⁵⁴¹ Julio Bustamante, "El Registro Fotografico del Bim Bam Bum," *The Clinic*, July 22, 2013.

⁵⁴² Marinao, "Obra rescata las plumas."

⁵⁴³ Munt, *Queer Attachments*, 4.

⁵⁴⁴ Marinao, "Obra rescata las plumas."

⁵⁴⁵ *Revista Paloma*, November 28, 1972.

persuasions, with pictures.⁵⁴⁶ This was not a hidden market. A 1972 article in *Revista Paloma*, a magazine of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular party, discusses the famous Ubilla clan.⁵⁴⁷ The Ubilla clan was eight sisters and supposedly aunts, nieces, and granddaughters, that worked in Bim Bam Bum and other sexual performance businesses over decades. They were some of the first female Chilean dancers to find success on stage in the 1950s in an industry that privileged Argentine vedettes.

Isabel Ubilla, was the first sister to join the business, becoming one of the most famous women in Chile in the 1950s and 1960s. She worked in Bim Bam Bum as well as in the boite Mon Bijoux.⁵⁴⁸ Her father threw her and her sister out of the house at the age of 15 and 16 because of their work, and Isabel started renting a room. Isabel was good friends with Bim Bam Bum owner Buddy Day's wife Marta. Despite her father's shame regarding their work, Isabel found independence and success in sexual performance. Isabel's sister Elba also became a vedette, and was considered the best, even among her sisters. Elba Ubilla married an Ecuadorian millionaire who worked in airline transportation.

Yet another sister, Raquel, married Buddy Day's son, Julio Felis and continued to work as a vedette in the cabaret. Buddy Day recalled Raquel as "the best Chilean vedette."⁵⁴⁹ When Buddy Day returned to Argentina at the end of the 1960s to open a theater there, he left the cabaret in the hands of his brother Eduardo and his son Felis. Raquel Ubilla and Julio Felis later opened Teatro Providencia.⁵⁵⁰ Sadly, Julio was killed in a robbery at the theater in

⁵⁴⁶ See for example, *Revista Vea*, 1953 and "Patricia Maldonado al Festival de la Moda," *Revista Ritmo*, July 1973.

⁵⁴⁷ *Revista Paloma*, November 28, 1972.

⁵⁴⁸ "Elizabeth Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas," *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁵⁴⁹ Buddy Day, Interview, in Francia Fernandez, "Los locos años."

⁵⁵⁰ *Revista Paloma*, November 28, 1972.; "Santiago de Noche," *Revista Ritmo*, October, 1972.

1989. His father, Buddy Day, said, “For me he was a hero, that is how they classified my dear Julio, he saved the theater and everyone who worked there with his own life.”⁵⁵¹

Angelica Ubilla, another sister, worked in the American Bar in Valparaiso until she married the owner’s son.⁵⁵² Many of the Ubilla sisters found fame, success, friendship, love, economic independence, and even wealth through their profession. The men marrying these vedettes did not find their work shameful, particularly those whose wives continued to work as vedettes.

In her undergraduate thesis on midcentury Chilean nightlife, Lorena Araya dedicates a chapter to the vedette, which she defines as “an artist with the capacities to sing, act and dance that add to her physical attractiveness, exhibiting her body in a sensual way without being aggressive visually, morally or towards the family.”⁵⁵³ While she recognized that vedettes were distinguished in part by their economic independence as well as their ability to travel, Araya incorrectly argued that vedettes could not marry or be mothers and her focus was limited to cisgender female performance.⁵⁵⁴ Many vedettes were mothers and/or married. Recall vedette Ruth Keller breastfeeding backstage.

While researching in Chile, I had the opportunity to talk with ex-police officer and famous cabaret playwright Luis Rivano, whose work was performed in both Bim Bam Bum and in transsexual vedette Candy Dubois’ cabaret. When I asked him if vedettes were considered respectable, he said, “Each one was responsible for their own ass.” Or in other words, respectability was versatile, something that each artist had to construct for themselves.

⁵⁵¹ Buddy Day, Interview in Francia Fernandez, “Los locos años.”

⁵⁵² “Elizabeth Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas,” *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁵⁵³ Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 3-5 and 10.

⁵⁵⁴ Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 10.

A 1972 *Revista Ritmo* article on Santiago nightlife said that cabaret style businesses in Santiago were not quite as nice as those in other countries, and that many of the shows in other nighttime businesses were of “dubious quality.”⁵⁵⁵ Yet, being a strip tease artist allowed Paola Denis to tour cities throughout Chile and other Latin American countries, and in 1970 she was headed to Panama to perform in a cabaret owned by a Chilean ex-vedette.⁵⁵⁶ Other striptease artists also spoke of their profession allowing them to travel to other countries.⁵⁵⁷

As Sally Munt argues, “Sometimes there is no reason or justification for being stigmatized by shame, and shame is transmuted into pride as part of a strategy by individuals and groups to reverse the discourse,” a la Foucault.⁵⁵⁸ Indeed, sexual performance has the potential to be an emancipatory space for expressing diverse bodies, genders, and sexualities, including the nude female body and the expression of female desire. Speaking of her performance, Denis said:

My strip tease is different; I, modestly, believe that it is good, better than normal and that is what shocks some people accustomed to a more even (parejo) and boring level in the art of undressing. If it were to be pornography, it could be said that all strip tease has something of that, which is (soberana lesera) total nonsense. I stand out because I put movement and color into my number and through my movement I have been able to stand out and to get everything I have accomplished.”⁵⁵⁹

Denis was proud of her work and all that she had accomplished, and she seemed to appreciate the mobility it afforded her.

Other strip tease artists found that they were more successful by performing a complete striptease. Ivette D’Arcy’s commented that, “The modern man demands complete

⁵⁵⁵ “Santiago de Noche,” *Revista Ritmo*, October, 1972.

⁵⁵⁶ “Paola Denis,” *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (Volume no. 36).

⁵⁵⁷ Jose Arnero, “Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Churro del Desnudo Nacional,” *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁵⁵⁸ Munt, *Queer Attachments*, 4. See also Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.

⁵⁵⁹ *Viejo Verde*, February 1971, 23.

nudity..., and they must be obliged; I didn't want to, but I found myself obligated in order to get more applause.”⁵⁶⁰ D'Arcy made a conscious choice to completely undress in order to be more successful.

Chilean sexual performance served as an emancipatory space for expressing diverse bodies, genders, and sexualities, including those that broader Chilean society has historically prohibited and policed. As the first comprehensive work on Latin American cabaret culture, the global scholarship on the racial and sexual politics of international cabarets greatly informs this work and helps us understand the function of the versatility of respectability in Chile. Shane Vogel shows how artists worked to transform the politics of representation, understanding the cabaret as “a space of intimacy that exceeds or eludes sexual categorization.”⁵⁶¹ Vogel's work offers an insightful way to examine cabaret culture, both by considering performance artists as active agents and by offering a reframing of the cabaret as a sexually elusive space of intimacy.

My work further demonstrates this understanding of the cabaret as a space of intimacy that exceeds or eludes sexual categorization and that worked to transform the politics of representation. Rafael Frontaura's 1957 chronicle portrays a world where gender norms were somewhat flexible. Some men were “vedettes,” and some women were club owners. Frontaura described going to a cabaret frequented by the working class called El Ensayo that was owned by a woman, where his friend Osvaldo Lois danced the *cueca* as a “vedette.”⁵⁶² He discussed a sketch where male actors dressed as women, and noted in

⁵⁶⁰ Julio Carrasco, “Ivette D'Arcy,” *El Pingüino*, Jan. 28, 1964, 7, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche.”

⁵⁶¹ Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret*.

⁵⁶² Frontaura, *Trasnochadas*, 61.

another occasion that not just male actors but comedians also used make up.⁵⁶³ What can only be described as a love letter from Santiago del Campo was included in the chronicle as well.⁵⁶⁴ Frontaura mentioned the song, “Adios, Mariquita Linda” (Goodbye, Little Feminized Fag), later the title of one of Pedro Lemebel’s books.⁵⁶⁵

Indeed, the world portrayed in Freire’s chronicle is *also* not one clearly defined by gender and sexual boundaries nor of exploitation of women. It speaks of female owners of boites from long ago. The Peruvian boite Embassy was owned by a woman named Marta Canossa, and the boite Zeppelin in Santiago was owned by the female Lily Arce.⁵⁶⁶ It also portrays a world of female sexual liberation. It recounts stories of a comedian named Armando “Bocaza” Moreno, who received his nickname because he was famous for his excellent oral sex abilities, abilities that “gave him prestige among his female admirers.”⁵⁶⁷ The chronicle also mentions one vedette referring to another vedette’s Argentine soccer player boyfriend as her “gigolo.”⁵⁶⁸

The versatility of respectability allowed nightlifers to play with gender and sexual boundaries. At Bim Bam Bum’s tenth anniversary party, Rakatan emerged from a giant cake seminude in a diaper and sprayed champagne over everyone.⁵⁶⁹ The chronicle describes on several occasions a choreographer named Tony Marrero, whose ballet included gays and/or transvestites, described as “locas.”⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶³ Ibid, 49 and 123.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid, 100-101.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 186.

⁵⁶⁶ Freire, *Rakatán*, 57 and 143.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, 76.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, 107.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, 83-84.

⁵⁷⁰ Freire, *Rakatán*, 65, 79, 120.

Oreste Plath, the pen name adopted by Cesar Octavio Muller Leiva in 1929, was a writer, journalist, professor and cultural anthropologist in Chile throughout the twentieth century until his death in 1996. He was named a member of the Academia Chilena de la Lengua in 1982.⁵⁷¹ He spent his last years writing a chronicle of Santiago's vibrant nightlife, first published in 1997. His chronicle, like Frontaura and Freire's chronicles, again demonstrates women's administrative role in the sexual performance industry. Plath discussed the cabaret Zeppelin, opened in the 1920s and a common meeting place for artists and intellectuals, including Pablo Neruda. He says its ownership passed from a woman Ñata Ines to el Negro Tobar.⁵⁷² He described that at some point after the 1950s, one of the partners of Il Bosco married the cashier, Graciela Blaya, who upon her husband's death, took over the business with her new husband.⁵⁷³ He also noted that ownership of Salim and Migual Zacur's Humoresque cabaret was taken over eventually by Salim's daughter, Maryam Zacur.⁵⁷⁴

Some cases of important sexually ambiguous, transvestite and transsexual artists in Chile's sexual performance industry further illustrate the potential for sexual performance to be an emancipatory space for expressing diverse bodies, genders, and sexualities. Vedette Maggie Lay said there were always transsexuals in the cabaret industry.⁵⁷⁵ A 1971 nude magazine included a presumably fictional story of a male client who accidentally took home a transvestite from a boite; the story ended in violence.⁵⁷⁶ In the 1950s Bim Bam Bum Director of Choreography Eugene D'Arcy was photographed in a fishnet top with make up. (See Figure 13 in Appendix A) He was also the choreographer and a performer in the Ballet

⁵⁷¹ Tomas Harris, "Biography of Plath," in Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 20-21.

⁵⁷² Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 184.

⁵⁷³ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 27.

⁵⁷⁴ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 164.

⁵⁷⁵ Maggy Lay, Interview by Paola Mosso, "Aun hay patria, compañeros," *Tiempo de Balas* online newspaper, July 6, 2012, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.tiempodebalas.cl/museo-de-cera/aun-hay-patria-companeros/>.

⁵⁷⁶ "El Que Se Ensarta, Se Ensarta," *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (Volume no. 35).

Eugene D'Arcy at the nearby King's Club.⁵⁷⁷ Among countless other references to gays, Freire's chronicle also describes Bim Bam Bum choreographer Eugene D'Arcy as a gay Argentine man with a cocaine problem who was eventually asked to leave the country after a series of infamous "homosexual scandals."⁵⁷⁸

Also in the early 1950s, the famous transvestite vedette, Bruno, performed in Chile and throughout Europe and the Americas.⁵⁷⁹ Famous Chilean photographer Molina Lahitte captured images of Bruno, with heavy make up and a blonde wig, dressed in elegant dresses and sparkly jewelry, wrapped in feathery boas, and in one photograph in an intimate pose, closely cuddling a man wearing a suit and bowtie.⁵⁸⁰ Bisexual playwright Andres Perez also worked as a dancer for Bim Bam Bum, and in 2001 he said there is nothing new about homosexuality in theater.⁵⁸¹

In the early 1950s, Coccinelle, who worked as a transvestite vedette, or sexual performance artist, in the famous Parisian nightclub Le Carroussel, began to take hormones. In 1958 she traveled to Casablanca, Morocco for sex reassignment surgery, becoming the world's first transsexual cabaret artist.⁵⁸² A number of her French colleagues soon followed suit, and "in the United States and elsewhere the press publicized the 'sex changes' of the French" transvestites. Meyerowitz traces a "transatlantic shift" in sex-reassignment surgery from Europe to the United States from the 1930s through the 1950s and shows how the

⁵⁷⁷ Compania Bim Bam Bum, Collection of Showbooks, June 1954.

⁵⁷⁸ Freire, *Rakatán*, 53, 61, and 62.

⁵⁷⁹ Alfredo Molina Lahitte, photographs of Bruno published in 1950, in Fondo Molina Lahitte, National Library of Chile Digital Collection; See also Revista *En Viaje*, May 1954, 60, quoted in Araya, "La Nueva Noche," 9.

⁵⁸⁰ Molina Lahitte, photographs of Bruno.

⁵⁸¹ "De Cual Boom del Teatro Gay Hablan?," *El Nortño*, March 9, 2001.

⁵⁸² Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 188.

sensationalist and sexualized coverage of Coccinelle gave increased hope to U.S. Male-to-female's.⁵⁸³ This transatlantic shift reached into South America as well.

“Paris was then the western capital of transgender culture, with cabarets like the Carrousel (1947) or Madame Arthur (1946) which welcomed transvestite artists and enjoyed an international reputation. Because transvestism was forbidden by the police, the artists, who used to be men wearing drag for the show, were slowly replaced by transsexuals, who took hormones and identified as women, therefore cunningly subverting the law.”⁵⁸⁴

However, sex change was illegal in France until 1975 so many transsexuals, like Coccinelle, went to Casablanca in Morocco for their operations.⁵⁸⁵

Following surgery, Coccinelle continued to perform at Le Carrousel and also toured Latin America, performing in Buenos Aires, Argentina and in Santiago, Chile in 1970.⁵⁸⁶ According to gay chronicler Pedro Lemebel, the people of Santiago were pushing at the theater doors to see her and were impressed with her overwhelming beauty and her artificial breasts, which she exposed for them.⁵⁸⁷ In 1970, feminist magazine *Revista Paula* published an interview with her, in which she describes one of her experiences performing in the Bim Bam Bum cabaret. The reporter, Amanda Puz, noted that after seeing her performance, she saw Coccinelle as some kind of sexual hybrid and only after interviewing her came to see her

⁵⁸³ Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 49 and 188.

⁵⁸⁴ Florence Tamagne, “Paris: ‘Resting on Its Laurels?’” in *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures*, ed. Matt Cook and Jennifer V. Evans (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

⁵⁸⁵ Tamagne, “Paris.”

⁵⁸⁶ TVN, Bim Bam Bum Material extra, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.tvn.cl/programas/bimbambum/materialextra/?id=724180>. Also see Julio Bustamante, “El Registro Fotografico del Bim Bam Bum, *The Clinic*, July 22, 2013; and “Coccinelle: El Amor Tiene Cara de Mujer?” in *Revista Gente y la Actualidad*, April 14, 1966, Argentina. Reproduced in: *Magicas Ruinas, Cronicas del Siglo Pasado*, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.magicasruinas.com.ar/revistero/internacional/coccinelle.htm>.

⁵⁸⁷ Pedro Lemebel “Bim Bam Bum (o cascadas de marabú en la calle Huerfanos),” April, 6, 2006, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://lemebel.blogspot.com/2006/04/el-bim-bam-bum-o-cascadas-de-marab-en.html>.

as a woman.⁵⁸⁸ It was not her seminude body but her behavior that convinced Puz of her femininity.

In the interview Coccinelle recalled one of her cabaret acts at Santiago's famous Bim Bam Bum cabaret. She came down from the stage to interact with the audience and asked a man what his profession was. When he told her she responded, "Military? Oh, I don't want anything to do with soldiers because they bring me bad memories."⁵⁸⁹ Beyond her reflection of painful memories of soldiers, her comment reveals the cabaret as a queer space of intimacy in which the audience interacts with the performance artists, while also demonstrating the representation of the military in the audience of the transsexual vedette's Chilean performance. While the magazine article ultimately portrayed Coccinelle in a positive light and brought increased awareness to the life of a transsexual, it also reified the constructed sexual binary. Coccinelle was accepted because she successfully accomplished her femininity. Her changed body matched her gendered performance as well as her prescribed heterosexuality.

Santiago was not the only Chilean city that contracted Coccinelle's performance. She also performed in the nightclub "Manhattan" located in Arica in the north of Chile in 1970. The owner of the nightclub, Tino Ortiz, played a critical role in the national and international queer cabaret industry. In addition to contracting Coccinelle, Ortiz discovered Cuban transvestite performer, Ruben Duval, in Lima, Peru and contracted him to work in his Chilean nightclub. To circumvent difficulties in bringing transvestites into Chile, Ortiz listed

⁵⁸⁸ Coccinelle, Interview by Amanda Puz, "Como se siente una mujer que fue hombre?" *Revista Paula*, April 1970.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

Duval only as a “dancer” on his work contract, without specifying the sex.⁵⁹⁰ Ortiz’s son recalled Duval’s performance: he wore high heels and a long, black wig, and danced sensually while stripping down to a bikini. At the end of his performance, he took off his wig as well. Unlike Coccinelle, who performed as a transsexual woman, Duval’s performance of femininity played with sexual ambiguity and fluidity. According to Ortiz’s son, the audience was shocked at first but ended up applauding, and Duval became known as the Cuban Coccinelle.⁵⁹¹ Regardless of when Duval left Cuba, his transnational migration as a cabaret performer allowed him to escape gender-based persecution in his home country. 1960s South America was by no means a safe haven for queer Cubans, but Duval found in the cabaret world an economic niche for survival that allowed him movement and the realization of his gender identity.

The Chilean sexual performance industry was also graced by the formation of a transvestite ballet troupe known as the Blue Ballet, the color referencing a soccer team. In 1967 Tino Ortiz went to Santiago and helped organize a group of transvestite performance artists into the Blue Ballet, and brought them to Arica to perform in the boite Manhattan, where they did striptease without revealing their sex. Protests led to the police shutting down the show, so they went to the boite El Dorado in Antofagasta. Again facing problems, they left to perform in the Café Checo de Valparaiso, where they caught the attention of Bim Bam Bum and were eventually contracted.⁵⁹² The Blue Ballet also worked with famous Bim Bam Bum choreographer Paco Mairena.⁵⁹³ (See Figure 14 in Appendix A) They were featured in

⁵⁹⁰ Tino Ortiz, Interview by Pedro Clemente, “La Verdadera Historia del ‘Manhattan,’” *La Estrella Arica*, February 15, 2004.

⁵⁹¹ Tino Ortiz, Interview by Pedro Clemente, “La Verdadera Historia.”

⁵⁹² Pedro Clemente, “La Verdadera Historia.”

⁵⁹³ *Novedades*, August 18, 1972.

Revista Santiago de Noche in September 1971.⁵⁹⁴ In May 1973 they left to tour in Europe for years. They all became women.⁵⁹⁵

One of the members of this performance group, Candy Dubois, reached unprecedented fame in Chile. Candy had started dancing at a very young age at a restaurant in Valparaiso after leaving home at the age of 10. She met choreographer Paco Mairena, who helped her find work in the cabarets of Santiago, where she met Tino Ortiz and joined the Blue Ballet. Dubois toured Europe performing with the Blue Ballet and, like Coccinelle, changed her sex in Casablanca while living in France.⁵⁹⁶ Candy Dubois returned to Chile in the early 1980s as a woman who now dominated many languages.⁵⁹⁷ With her transsexual colleague Monique, they opened Le Trianon in Barrio Brasil in 1984, a French restaurant with an 8:30 pm cabaret style show. She performed with great success there and elsewhere, including the Hotel Hyatt. Her fame continued in the return to democracy and even following her death by cancer in 1995, her mythic memory lives on. Candy played with a sexual ambiguity, and when asked if she was male or female she responded, "I don't care what people think. If I were to reveal that, my personality would lose all of its charm."⁵⁹⁸ Candy certainly rewrote her own narrative of sexual and gender identity.

Yet, Candy was not the first Chilean transsexual to perform in Chile. Leslie Santana, born as a Chilean man in 1954, is known as the first person recognized as having a sex

⁵⁹⁴ *Revista Santiago de Noche*, Sept. 1971, 28, quoted in Araya, "La Nueva Noche," 9.

⁵⁹⁵ "El Regreso de los Vestidos con Nariz," *La Nacion*, August 17, 2008.

⁵⁹⁶ Gabriela Garcia, "La Sobrevivencia del Le Trianon, el 'Moulin Rouge' de Candy Dubois," *La Tercera*, April 10, 2011.

⁵⁹⁷ "Candy Dubois, la Dubois," August 4, 2007, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://candydubois.blogspot.com/>.

⁵⁹⁸ Eduardo Garcia, "Candy Dubois: Reina de la Noche," July 26, 2012, *Universo Gay*, Online: http://lacuentaporfavor.universogay.com/candy-dubois-reina-de-la-noche__26072012.html.

change in Chile in 1981 at the Hospital Van Buren in Viña del Mar.⁵⁹⁹ The daughter of an air force official, her father helped her get out of obligatory military service. At the age of 18, she had already begun dressing as a woman in 1972. In 1973, at the age of 19, Leslie began working as a vedette with the help of her good friend Fresia Soto. She hired Armando Navarrete as her designer. She performed striptease, “playing a lot with ambiguity.”⁶⁰⁰

In order for the judge to authorize her sex change operation, Leslie described having to see a psychiatrist and a psychologist who affirmed she has a feminine psyche. After her sex change operation, she did total striptease in 1981, contracted by Luz Marina, the owner of Night and Day, and by Marina’s husband, Pancho Ballesterro, of the Tap Room. She was a famous vedette, performing with Fresia Soto in the “Vedettazo” of 1983, and her name appeared on Bim Bam Bum cabaret signs with Maggie Lay and Moria Casan. She then left for Spain, where she found great success performing.⁶⁰¹ Before her death in 2014, Leslie spoke in a televised interview about how respected she was by the military authorities, noting that unlike many other sexual performance artists, she was not required to carry a sanitation card.⁶⁰² She also confessed that she had a romantic relationship with an officer of the military, and that she refused his marriage proposal. Santana was the first transsexual Chilean woman to receive montepio, government stipends paid to the daughters of unmarried military officials.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ “Se fue con plumas y todo. Murió Leslie Santana la primer transsexual de Chile,” *Cambio21*, June 10, 2014, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.cambio21.cl/cambio21/stat/movil/articulo.html?ts=20140610102100>.

⁶⁰⁰ Leslie Santana, Interview in “Leslie: la transsexual que cobra montepio por ser hija de un funcionario FACH,” *Rie.cl*, December 10, 2007, Accessed 4/18/16.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Leslie Santana, Interview in “Mentiras Verdaderas” TV program, *La Red*, Chile, 2012, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://lared.cl/programas/mentiras-verdaderas>.

⁶⁰³ Leslie Santana, Interview in “Leslie: la transsexual que cobra montepio.”

A Closer Look at Sexual Performance Under Dictatorship

Chilean political historian Veronica Valdivia has looked at topless culture under Chilean dictatorship in the late 1970s and 1980s, arguing that the dictatorship's 1978 neoliberal policies encouraged the opening of exploitative topless businesses and *cafes con piernas*, Chilean cafes where clients are served coffee by sexy, scantily clad women. Her work helps illuminate aspects of the local politics and economics of such a market under Pinochet's neoliberal regime, yet she incorrectly describes this market of topless locales, massage parlors and motels as first appearing under the dictatorship.⁶⁰⁴ Such businesses existed long before the dictatorship and its neoliberal policies.

Similarly, performance theorist Diana Taylor has examined the performance of sexual violence under Argentine dictatorship, arguing that it is a masochistic phenomenon of dictatorship whereby the state engenders itself as masculine. My work complicates both Valdivia's and Taylor's analyses of sexual performance as inherently masochistic and emphasizes the need to examine what sexual performance looked like under Argentine and Chilean democracy.⁶⁰⁵

To be clear, the September 1973 coup changed Santiago nightlife, but changes were more technical than political. The 9pm curfew, later extended to 2am, gave nightlife businesses a hard hit.⁶⁰⁶ Yet, despite the curfew and the turbulent political atmosphere, the sexual performance industry continued, adapting in order to survive. One vedette spoke of

⁶⁰⁴ Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, "¿Las 'Mamitas de Chile?': Las Mujeres y el Sexo Bajo la Dictadura Pinochetista," in *Mujeres: Historias Chilenas del Siglo XX*, ed. Elizabeth Q. Hutchison and Julio Pinto Vallejos (Santiago: LOM, 2010).

⁶⁰⁵ Diana Taylor, *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's 'Dirty War'* (Duke University Press, 2007). See also Veronica Valdivia's claims that Chilean sexual performance is a misogynist phenomenon of the Chilean dictatorship's neoliberal economics in Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, "¿Las 'Mamitas de Chile?'"

⁶⁰⁶ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 49.

the chaos in the streets before the coup, but said she had to go to work.⁶⁰⁷ The cabaret closed on September 11, 1973, but opened for three days at the end of the same month, moving their 10pm show to 7pm with the curfew.⁶⁰⁸ It then reopened in January 1974 and stayed open until its closing in 1986, when Chilean courts returned the building to its original owners and it again became a bank. Its last show, at 9pm on December 14, 1986 was called “Con la Camiseta Puesta,” and many of the artists who had performed there over decades were in attendance in the audience.⁶⁰⁹

The continuation of the sexual performance industry throughout the dictatorship can also be seen in popular magazines. Women’s magazine *Revista Paula* included a 1974 piece on Santiago nightclubs and a promotion of a cabaret show produced by Cabaret Bijoux and Hollywood theatre. Popular youth music magazine, *Revista Ritmo*, advertised the 1974 debut of a new Bim Bam Bum vedette, Wendy, as well as a new 1975 Bim Bam Bum show.⁶¹⁰ In 1977, *Revista Paula* promoted the Bim Bam Bum’s new show “Feminissima,” in multiple editions, although one included a brief commentary that the girls dancing were weak. The show was offered in multiple functions every day of the week, beginning at 7pm, with the latest show on Saturdays at 11pm.⁶¹¹

Bim Bam Bum was not the only sexual performance business that continued under the dictatorship. Nightlife reporter and photographer Julio Bustamante said that following the coup, “Some places continued operating, but quietly.” He recalls one place that opened to the public very discreetly in Santiago on Calle Morandé, half a block from a police station.

⁶⁰⁷ Peggy Cordero, Interview on show *24 Horas*, TVN, June 13th, 2013.

⁶⁰⁸ Lemebel, “El Bim Bam Bum.”

⁶⁰⁹ “Bailando en el Casanova”; Marinao, “Obra rescata las plumas.”

⁶¹⁰ “Wendy Debuta Como vedette,” *Revista Ritmo*, October 1974. And “Nueva Revista Estrena el ‘Bim Bam Bum,’” *Revista Ritmo*, April, 1975.

⁶¹¹ *Revista Paula*, August, 1977 (no. 252 and no. 253).

In order to enter, one had to knock on the metal doors with a coin, cross a dark hallway, and then go through another door. It was usually full of people.⁶¹²

Some businesses started operating from curfew to curfew, such as Il Bosco on Alameda, which catered mainly to athletes, famous people and reporters. Despite its attempts to adapt to the curfew, it closed down in 1983, after decades of operation since its opening in 1947.⁶¹³ In November 1973, Isabel Allende wrote a humor piece for *Revista Paula* on El Toque de Queda, the curfew, saying that it controls the population by having men stay away from home from 10pm to 8am.⁶¹⁴

A *Revista Paula* September 1977 article on a nighttime show of seminude Arab dancers mentions that Miss Paula, winner of the magazine's beauty contest, Paulina Leighton, was in attendance.⁶¹⁵ In 1979, newspapers continued covering Queen of the Topless contests.⁶¹⁶ In the early 1980s, some government officials of the municipality of Santiago made attempts to control such businesses, imposing schedules and restrictions on alcohol sales. They had varying degrees of success, depending on the type of business patent each locale was operating with, and nearby municipalities were out of their control completely. When a new curfew was imposed in November 1984, the National Association of Owners and Businesses of Cabarets with Shows sent a letter directly to the dictator asking him to lengthen the night for business reasons. In December the curfew was shortened to 1am-5am.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹² Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 49.

⁶¹³ Ibid, 49-50.

⁶¹⁴ Isabel Allende, "El Toque de Queda," *Revista Paula*, Nov. 1973.

⁶¹⁵ "Bailarinas Arabes y Miss Paula," *Revista Paula*, September 1977.

⁶¹⁶ *Que Pasa*, May 18 and June 8, 1979, 6-7 and 7, quoted in Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?' 106.

⁶¹⁷ Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?' 106-107.

Some fundamental changes in the operation of Chile's sexual performance industry may help explain a possible increasing construction of shame surrounding sexual performance. One important difference with the early sexual performance industry before and its 1980s counterpart is that under democratic government many of these businesses catered to both women and men. Elizabeth Ubilla, in late 1970 mentioned that there were señoras even in the first row of the Bim Bam Bum audience.⁶¹⁸ Other nightlife reporters and employees also testified to the mixed clientele, as did owner Buddy Day.

Recall that in 1977 *Revista Paula* reported that Miss Paula saw an Arab sexual performance show. But, towards the end of the 1970s, there started to appear businesses "for men only." The godfather of businesses directed at the sex market, José Aravena, opened the discoteque Karim in 1979. As Veronica Valdivia notes, such businesses were advertised to men as a place where they could go and, "With a glass of whiskey in hand imagine that all of these women were his, that he was in his own harem..."⁶¹⁹ While Valdivia is incorrect in asserting that such locales began operating with the opening of the market, her work is important in highlighting that these businesses were directed to a male clientele. This male clientele base is a drastic change from the dictatorship Santiago nightlife.

By the 1980s, women were no longer generally considered acceptable clientele in sexual performance businesses. A woman that I conducted an oral history with confessed with serious anguish that she worked in the café con piernas Café Haiti in the mid to late 1980s. Today, this is one of few café con piernas that caters to men and women, usually for business meetings. At the time she was working there, it was only available to male

⁶¹⁸ "Elizabeth Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas," *Cosquillas*, October, 1970.

⁶¹⁹ Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?' 105. Referencing *La Tercera* supplement "Temas de Hombres," February 23, 1979, 7; March 23, 1979; June 22, 1979, 7; August 3, 1979, 8.

cliente. However, by 1984, some businesses experimented with offering ladies nights once a week where they could view male dancers. These types of entertainment were not as successful. The sexual performance scene, once a space of intimacies that eluded sexual categorization, had been divided by sex, implying a strict heterosexuality.⁶²⁰

1980s topless businesses catered only to men, who were also known to take their sons or grandsons.⁶²¹ Even today, many of the cafes con piernas and topless businesses do not allow women cliente, or they allow them at their discretion and modify their shows. However, many of the more respectable present day cafes con piernas do allow women cliente, and they are often the site of business meetings. It is easy to distinguish which of these businesses, which inhabit almost every corner of the business and government districts, are open to female cliente. If they are for men only, the windows are blacked out preventing outside window-shopping.

Another significant change in the operation of sexual performance businesses is that vedettes moved from nighttime clubs to television, as access to television in Chile increased, and no doubt encouraged by the curfew. Starting in 1978, vedettes were regularly featured semi nude on the annual Teletón, also known by Chileans as “la vedettón.” Ex-vedette Maggie Lay, who in 1978 went directly from performing in Bim Bam Bum to starring in the first vedetton attributes the failing cabaret industry to the increase in television and then internet.⁶²² National Television also showed El Festival de la Una, featuring girls of the month who were part of an annual calendar, parading at lunchtime in bathing suits.⁶²³

⁶²⁰ Valdivia, “Las ‘¿Mamitas de Chile,?’” 110; Gaviola, et al, *Una Historia Necesaria*, 136.

⁶²¹ Oral histories, 2013-2015, Santiago, Chile.

⁶²² Maggy Lay, Interview in Paola Mosso, “Aun hay patria compañeros.”

⁶²³ Valdivia, “Las ‘¿Mamitas de Chile,?’” 104-105.

The show *Sabor Latino*, on National Television, regularly featured vedettes, and a famous scandal erupted in 1981 when Spanish vedette Maripepa Nieto, turned her back to the camera, revealing her bare derriere.⁶²⁴ Indeed, *Sabor Latino*'s director, Sergio Riesenberg insinuated that the show was created by the government to distract people from the economic crisis.⁶²⁵ By 1987, TVN removed *Sabor Latino* from their programming, due largely to protests and according to Riesenberg, there was no longer justification for the show.⁶²⁶ The vedettes continued however, progressing in degrees of nudity allowed so that in 2012, vedette Sandra Bustamante performed on national television topless, nipples showing, and with her buttocks bare, wearing only high heels and a small green leaf over her nether parts.

Another significant factor in the changing of the imaginaries of sexual performance, respectability and shame is the association of sexual performance with the dictatorship's military and police. Although sexual performance was an integral part of urban Chilean political, economic and entertainment culture before the 1973 dictatorship, sexual performance artists became more closely associated with police and military under the dictatorship. Ex-police officer and soldier turned cabaret playwright, Luis "Paco" Rivano, wrote and produced a show for *Bim Bam Bum* in 1974 and for the *Picaresque* in 1984, and produced works that focused on vedettes and prostitutes through the 1980s and into 2003, including "C'est si Bonn" in 1984 and "Sexy Boom" in 2003. He knew this world intimately because he did not have to pay to go to shows and theaters during his 11 years of police

⁶²⁴ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 52-53; and Veronica Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?" 104.

⁶²⁵ Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?" 104. Referencing TVN *ExpendienTV*, cap. 3, January 18, 2005, and Canal 13, "TV o no TV?," cap. 2, 2009.

⁶²⁶ Valdivia, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile,?" 110-111.

work, incidentally before the dictatorship.⁶²⁷ Rivano said he did not receive special treatment-quite the contrary-but some Chileans of the left are suspicious of how he obtained so many books and magazines of the pre-dictatorship period.⁶²⁸ He had a perfectly reasonable explanation; they all belonged to a friend of his who went into exile.

Teresita Rouge, a vedette under the dictatorship, was featured seminude in newspaper *La Tercera* de 1975.⁶²⁹ In a recent interview she says she had to work for the military to earn a living. She was contracted for parties by the military and air force, saying that that world was another Chile, different from the one in the streets. They transported her to and from the shows, so that the curfew was never an issue. She says they were always respectful to her. Despite all of this, she left the country in 1978 with her husband.

Recall that Maggie Lay, famous vedette of the 1970s and 1980s also spoke about working for the military. She was contracted to work in special shows, including a private military show in the Hotel Antofagasta in which Pinochet specifically asked for her performance, and after she danced and tickled his face with her feather boa, Pinochet said to her, “You are very good. You sing and dance well. Good for you.”⁶³⁰ Now she works as a taxi driver and actress, and starred as a transvestite in a 2012 play.⁶³¹

Famous ex-vedette of the 1970s and 1980s Mireya Smith, known as Wendy, was engaged to marry a Captain of the Police Force in 1977. He committed suicide days before

⁶²⁷ “La ‘Rosicler’ se va al Bim Bam Bum,” *La Tercera*, Santiago, May 8, 1974, 36; “C’est si Bonn,” *La Nacion*, Santiago, August 22, 1984, 31; “Nostalgia de Bim Bam Bum,” *El Rancaguino*, January 13, 2003; *El Metropolitano*, July 26, 1999. In special collections, Luis Rivano boxes, National Library.

⁶²⁸ Oral history, March 2014, Santiago, Chile; Conversation with Luis Rivano, September 2015, Santiago.

⁶²⁹ Roberto Cadagan, “La Vedette mas Antigua de Chile no se quiere retirar,” Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.periodismoportatil.com/la-vedette-mas-antigua-de-chile-no-se-quiere-retirar-por-roberto-cadagan/>.

⁶³⁰ Maggy Lay, Interview on “Mas Vale Tarde” show.

⁶³¹ Maggy Lay, Interview by Macarena Gallo, “Le canté, le bailé y le pasé las plumas por la cara al General Pinochet,” Accessed 4/18/16, <http://fuenteovejuna2011.blogspot.com/2012/07/entrevista-la-vedette-que-le-bailaba.html>.

their marriage. Later, an accident in 1998 left her in a wheelchair and impoverished by medical bills.⁶³²

Sexual performance artist Patricia Maldonado, who worked in the boite Hollywood of Valparaiso in the early 1970s was recently listed in a popular Chilean magazine as one of the 100 faces of the dictatorship. The article quoted her as saying “I am not for the political right. I am for Pinochet, and I am going to die being for Pinochet, like it or not.”⁶³³

Maldonado’s politics aside, the dictatorship in effect coopted the sexual performance market, thus the association between the two.

A last critical factor in understanding changing perceptions of the sexual performance industry is that, due to increasing fears over STDs, in 1983 the Regulation of Sexually Transmitted Diseases passed, article N. 13 of which prohibited brothels.⁶³⁴ I argue that this prohibition blurred the lines between sexual performance businesses and sexual commerce businesses and imbued sexual performance with a questionable nature. Indeed, Plath noted that the year 1984 was distinguished because so many businesses closed that year.⁶³⁵

1980s representations of the sexual performance industry in literature and the 1987 film *Susi* portray it as an exploitive industry and illustrate the blurry lines connecting sexual performance and sexual commerce. Yet, stigmatizing constructions of shame surrounding the industry depended on individual perceptions, even in the 1980s. Toño Freire’s January 1988 novel commemorating Osvaldo Muñoz Romero (published in 2005) sheds light on how many of the key figures in the cabaret and sexual performance industry viewed the industry at that

⁶³² Luis Urrutia O’Neill, “Wendy, La Gorra y el Calvario,” *El Mercurio*, Feb. 12, 2005.

⁶³³ “Patricia Maldonado al Festival de la Moda,” *Revista Ritmo*, July 1973. And “Los 100 Rostros de la Dictadura,” *The Clinic*, September 3, 2013.

⁶³⁴ Sanchez, “Tres Prostitutas en el Teatro Chileno,” 22.

⁶³⁵ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 35.

time. Isabel Ubilla, Juan Carlos Avatte, and Julio Bustamante, among others, all helped contribute to the novel by sharing their memories of Muñoz Romero and of Santiago's 1950s and 1960s nightlife. The novel portrays the nightlife as glamorous, and the cabaret industry as exciting and respectable rather than exploitative and shameful as other 1980s representations tend to portray it.

While Freire's chronicle, written in the 1980s with the collaboration of many key figures of the cabaret and sexual performance industry, overwhelmingly portrays the historical industry as glamorous and respectable, other 1980s representations of Chilean sexual performance culture portray it as exploitative and shameful. In 1985, Carlos Piña published *The Suicide of the Queen of the Topless* as part of a FLASCO series titled "Chronicles of the Other City," that sought to illuminate aspects of subaltern Chilean cultures.⁶³⁶ The series focused on underground worlds that go unnoticed and are not discussed; this is certainly a huge shift from the cabaret nightlife, once so central to media coverage.

The Suicide of the Queen of the Topless is based on conversations with people who worked in the café-topless in the center of Santiago. All names in the story are fictitious, but the story is based on true accounts. The story is of a young woman named Mercedes who works as a nude dancer, earning herself the crown of Queen of the Topless, only to kill herself because she realized that "this path led straight to prostitution and not to being an artist," and seeing "that no path would allow her to escape her poverty in order to become a part of that fantasy world... thinking that life is like television."⁶³⁷ The sexual performance

⁶³⁶ Carlos Piña, *El Suicidio de la Reina del Topless* (Santiago: La Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLASCO), 1985).

⁶³⁷ Piña, *El Suicidio*, 33.

industry portrayed in this short novel is very different from the world portrayed in earlier representations of the industry. It even differs dramatically from accounts written at the same time about the sexual performance industry in past decades. Sexual performance is linked to prostitution and not to art. The versatility of respectability is gone. There is only shame. Another interesting theme that appears in this chronicle is the role of the fantasy world of television, a world that Mercedes tried to access in the only way she knew how.

In 1986, Chilean author Adriana Marín published her fourth book, titled *Topless*.⁶³⁸ Having attended shows in the Teatro Opera, Marín was interested in the “ambiguous world” of “los Topless.”⁶³⁹ The fictional story is of a young woman trying to escape poverty through prostitution and topless dancing. Marín’s story is tragic, despite Mariela’s survival. It is a story of poverty, false illusions, and the oppression and exploitation of women. The short novel often discusses the role of television in creating an illusion of a world of wealth and love that both Mariela and her mother escape into, a theme that is also present in Piña’s chronicle.⁶⁴⁰ Both novels also unconvincingly blame the lack of a father figure as a crucial element in the women’s exploitation. Increasing access to television and color television changed the way Chileans experienced entertainment, but households without fathers had been around since time immemorial.

Like Freire, the world of Santiago nightlife that Oreste Plath describes is elegant and respectable, a world in which famous artists and politicians were intimately involved. There is no shame in his chronicle. Plath’s prestigious literary and cultural status seemingly allowed him the luxury of not having to negotiate Frontaura’s versatility of respectability. Plath noted

⁶³⁸ Adriana Marín, *Topless* (Santiago: Los Talleres Graficos de Gendarmeria de Chile, 1986).

⁶³⁹ Ibid, 4

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid, 21.

that he “never stopped going to the Bim Bam Bum shows.”⁶⁴¹ Attending the cabaret until it closed in 1986 and experiencing Santiago’s changing nightlife culture into the return to democracy, Plath never associated the sexual performance industry with shame or exploitation, even as he speaks of exploitative moments. On the contrary, he portrays a world of status and elegance, describing how cabaret style businesses at one time were frequented by “reporters and every type of man.”⁶⁴²

The opinions of ex-vedettes on how the industry has changed offer further insights. Vedettes say that nowadays vedettes do not dance or sing or act, they have silicone breasts and buttocks, they take their clothes off quickly without the art of seduction and move around a pole.⁶⁴³ One said says the glamour is not there anymore, and cites the lack of glamorous stage backgrounds, the beautiful curtains, and the frequency of beauty operations.⁶⁴⁴ Their comments bring up a crucial point: that sexual performance is an art, or at least it should be. The consideration of striptease as an art can be seen in early descriptions of such performance. A 1960 article describes how Blanquita Casanova dressed herself onstage rather than undressing herself, noting that “Artistic feminine nudity is the maximum creation of the world.”⁶⁴⁵

This chapter demonstrates that striptease and other sexual performance are critical to both challenging and reinforcing gender and sexuality in state and society, and that they are best understood as inhabiting a versatility of respectability. While sexual performance can certainly be an arena for exploitation, the history of Chilean sexual performance presented

⁶⁴¹ Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 165.

⁶⁴² Ibid, 163.

⁶⁴³ Teresita Rouge, Interview by Roberto Cadagan, *Escuela de Periodismo Portatil*, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.periodismoportatil.com/la-vedette-mas-antigua-de-chile-no-se-quiere-retirar-por-roberto-cadagan/>.

⁶⁴⁴ Paola Mosso, “Aun hay patria, compañeros.”

⁶⁴⁵ Blanquita Casanova, *El Conevidile*, April 12, 1960, 2, quoted in Araya, “La Nueva Noche,” 17.

here shows that it can also be a space for free expression and appreciation of diverse bodies, for eluding sexual categorization and for imagining new narratives of sexual selfhood. The sexual performance industry transcended state and regime politics in Chile, belonging just as much to the democratic left and right as it does to the dictatorship. It served all Chilean Cold War governments as entertainment, a pillar of national and international business and tourism, and as a gendered, racialized, sexualized marketing product of the nation. Yet, in the context of the national and international sexual performance market, such performance was highly political in terms of the politics surrounding these bodies and who was allowed to perform what where. There is nothing inherently shameful about striptease and sexual performance, and it is crucial to recognize both the sources and effects of imbuing such performance with shame.

Chapter 4 Exposure and Censorship: Nude Magazines and Films Under Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship

“There are more fundamental problems to worry about.”

—Subsecretary of Justice Jose Antonio Viero Galo, speaking on 1971 Pornography case, “Que Hacer Frente a la Pornografía?,” *Que Pasa*, N. 28, October 28, 1971, 13-14.

“Pornographic magazines should have first class professionals, graduated from universities, in order to create a different mentality among Chilean children.”

—Mayor of Santiago Ignacio Lagno, 1971, “Que Hacer Frente a la Pornografía?,” *Que Pasa*, N. 28, October 28, 1971, 13-14.

“How is it possible that in a regime that defines itself as Christian, the magazine kiosks are true dens of public corruption?”

—Opus Dei priest Jose Miguel Ibañez Langlois’s question to Pinochet, 1981, “La Pornografía en el Barrio Alto,” *Que Pasa*, N. 549, October 1981, 13-16.

The present chapter examines the exposure and censorship of nude female bodies in nude magazines and films under the democratic right and the rising democratic left, Salvador Allende’s socialist Unidad Popular government, and Augusto Pinochet’s rightwing dictatorship. It intervenes in the traditional historical and political periodization of Cold War Chile by demonstrating greater continuities than ruptures. Both the democratic left and authoritarian right allowed space for nude female bodies in productive sexuality. Rather than conveying opposing views on the exposure and censorship of nude female bodies, Chilean governments under the democratic right and left, the socialist presidency of Allende, and the military dictatorship permitted the production of images of nude female bodies in erotic magazines and, in the case of the dictatorship, in Chilean films as well. The historical evidence reveals common themes and trends (with respective counterparts seen in other forms of productive and/or nonreproductive sexuality). These themes include the naturalization of men’s access to women’s bodies, state regulation of women’s bodies and sexuality outside the realm of reproduction, discourses of modernity and progress framed

around women's bodies, processes of transculturation and particularly the U.S. Playboy magazine structure, the integral role of alcohol to the industry, and tendencies to glorify the past and portray the dictatorship as sexually restrictive. Emphasizing the agency of female models and actresses, who performed their nude racialized bodies, genders, and sexualities on camera, this chapter also pushes against the stigmatization of nude models by deconstructing shame and respectability, historicizing the meanings and motivations of performance, and highlighting its emancipatory effects in allowing for performances of female hetero and homosexual desires.

My analysis of sexual performance in nude magazines reveals how the sexual performance industries were represented in contemporary sexual production. I argue that such representation was the product of *both* the models' own performance of their sex, gender, and sexuality *and* the editorial production of such performance by a mostly heterosexual male staff. Such an argument is what performance theorist Diana Taylor refers to as "an ontological affirmation" that such presentations of sexuality are indeed performance, and the use of the verb "perform" allows for more cultural agency.⁶⁴⁶ And indeed, as Susan Bordo demonstrates in her study of images of male bodies, "inviting, receiving, responding...are active behaviors."⁶⁴⁷

Indeed, nude magazines constitute a more complex type of performance, one that is heavily mediated by production, and whose final product is completely out of the hands of the protagonists. Many of the women who posed semi or fully nude for photographers worked as vedettes or striptease artists. While these women were embodied agents in the production of their on-stage sexual performance, once these women performed their sex and

⁶⁴⁶ Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 3 and 14.

⁶⁴⁷ Bordo, *The Male Body*, 190, quoted in Eck, "Men Are Much Harder."

sexuality in seductive poses for photographers, their images fell into the productive agency of the magazines' reporters and editors. It is difficult to assess to what degree nude models were involved in or consulted with regarding the final presentation of the photographs they appeared in, including the selection of photographs to publish and the creation of commentaries and stories accompanying the images. Many pictures include interviews that seem to be authentic, quoting the models at length as they performed their bodies, genders, and sexualities for the magazine.

There is evidence that some women whose photographs appeared in these magazines felt exploited and even in some cases, had not given permission for their photographs to be used at all.⁶⁴⁸ Thus, it is fairly safe to assume that models in nude magazines were not involved in production beyond posing for the photographs. Yet still, the models were active performers in representing their bodies, gender, and sexuality through posing for the photographers. Similar to nude models performing in magazines, actresses who appear nude on screen are providing a performance that is mediated by production. In neither case does subsequent production negate the agency of their performance.

I pay close attention to evidence of audience in readership and on screen. I build on theories of the male gaze to establish a female gaze as well. Laura Mulvey's first proposed the male gaze, a phenomenon in which the audience is set up from the perspective of an active heterosexual male viewer and women are passive, fetishized objects. According to Mulvey, "The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female form which is styled accordingly."⁶⁴⁹ While Mulvey developed this theory in the context of cinema, Beatriz

⁶⁴⁸ "Las Ubilla: Dinastía de Curvas," *Revista Paloma*, Nov. 28, 1972; Peggy Cordero, Interview in "BBB estreno entrevista Peggy Cordero en Chile," *24 Horas*, TVN, June 6, 2013.

⁶⁴⁹ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure."

Preciado's architectural analysis of *Playboy* magazine during the Cold War applies Mulvey's conception of the male gaze to magazines.⁶⁵⁰ While Preciado's and Mulvey's theoretical male gaze is helpful to my own analysis, I also want to emphasize the active agency of the women performing in these magazines and the evidence indicating instances of female gaze.⁶⁵¹ This distinction is important because s Beth Eck notes, "There is a dialectical experience in viewing nudes. Gender informs how one looks, and how one looks informs gender, particularly as it is linked to sexual identity."⁶⁵²

Discussion of censorship in the Chilean historiography are overwhelmingly focused on the September 11, 1973 military coup and subsequent dictatorship's violent political purging and censorship of all aspects of life. Luis Hernán Errázuriz and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada's monograph on the aesthetic coup of the military dictatorship emphasizes the censorship of all aspects of Chilean cultural and political life, including murals, monuments, personal appearance, magazines, television, and films.⁶⁵³ Indeed, the military government "looked to eradicate political-cultural expressions of the left..."⁶⁵⁴ The authors describe the intense censorship involved in this political-cultural eradication, noting that "initially, the only newspapers and magazines (diarios) authorized by the military junta to circulate in the capital were *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*...nevertheless both were strongly censored in editing..."⁶⁵⁵ The intense censorship they describe is one of "mass media," affecting "the press, magazines, radios, television, and cinema."⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁰ Beatriz Preciado, *Pornotopia: Arquitectura y sexualidad en Playboy durante la Guerra Fria* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2010).

⁶⁵¹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure."

⁶⁵² Beth Eck, "Men Are Much Harder," 706.

⁶⁵³ Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid, 15.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid, 15.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid, 45.

Indeed, the military government did engage in systematic censorship, but Errázuriz and Leiva's conclusions do not provide a complete picture of censorship under the dictatorship, considering their lack of consideration of nude magazines under democracy and dictatorship and of nude films under the dictatorship. Perhaps the most important point of examining nude magazines and films under the dictatorship is precisely that the military government did not qualify them as "political-cultural expressions of the left" that required censorship. In fact, the exposure of nude female bodies was a continuation of a cultural expression with a long history in Chile that was rooted just as much in the democratic right as in the democratic left. Advances in technology brought nude bodies to the screen under the dictatorship, but the commodification and consumption of images of nude female bodies is part of a long history of Chilean mass media.

No Cold War Chilean governments considered nude magazines to be associated with a political party. The issue at hand was whether or not such magazines were to be considered as pornography, as outlined in Article 374 of the Penal Code prohibiting selling and distributing print "contrary to *buenas costumbres*" and in Article 20 of the Law On Advertising and Press Abuses which also prohibited the sale of such magazines that were "obscene and contrary to *buenas costumbres*."⁶⁵⁷ A closer look at the history of nude magazines in twentieth century Chile parallels European historian Lynn Hunt's description of the invention of pornography in Europe. "Pornography was not a given; it was defined over time and by the conflicts between writers, artists, and engravers on one side and spies,

⁶⁵⁷ *Codigo Penal*, Article 374, 97. And Article 20 of Ley Sobre Abusos de Publicidad y Prensa, quoted in "Que Hacer Frente la Pornografía," *Que Pasa*, October 28, 1971, 13.

policemen, clergymen and state officials on the other.”⁶⁵⁸ In the case of Chile, pornography was defined through debates among publishers, editors, and photographers on one side and state officials and clergymen on the other.

The History of Nudity in Chilean Magazines

Chile has a long history of erotic magazines, one at least as old as the cabaret and sexual performance industries. These magazines historically mixed eroticism with a sense of humor. Marcelo Mendoza published a history of erotic Chilean magazines in 1986, yet another example of the dictatorship’s exceptionalism in censorship when it came to erotic content. Mendoza argued that approaching eroticism with humor was the only way to avoid protests against immorality and indecency, a complicated terrain that editors had to navigate throughout the twentieth century.⁶⁵⁹ The first erotic magazine appeared in Santiago in December 1875, *El Picaflor*. The four page weekly Sunday magazine included photos of nude women and erotic stories of women undressing in front of windows. The term “picaflor” (hummingbird) has also been used (in the second half of the twentieth century at least) to describe men who move quickly from one “flower” to another.⁶⁶⁰ Such magazines continued appearing in diverse regions throughout the nation, although most often they were produced in Santiago, the port city of Valparaiso, and mining cities in the north of Chile. For example, in August of 1903 two picaresque magazines were produced in Iquique, in the north of Chile, *No Aguantís* and *El Pijecito*. An average of 7000 copies of each of the 30 editions of *No Aguantís* were circulated throughout the mining city.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ Lynn Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1996), 11.

⁶⁵⁹ Marcelo Mendoza, “La picara historia del periodismo erotico chileno,” *Apsi*, March 10-23, 1986: 26-29.

⁶⁶⁰ Oral history with 75 year old cisgender Chilean woman, August 2013, Santiago, Chile.

⁶⁶¹ Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29.

In December 1907, the weekly newspaper *El Pololito* promoted itself as “Occupying a permanent place in the ears of the government and in the pink cheeks of the ladies.” It was the first of its kind to explicitly connect sex and politics.⁶⁶² Such magazines that played with a combination of eroticism, politics, and humor continued over the decades, although often with a short lifespan. According to Marcelo Mendoza, *Monos y Monadas* (1910-1912, then 1922-1925), with editorial bases in Santiago, Valparaíso and La Paz, made good use of “sexipolítico” jokes as well. Mendoza describes one cartoon from the magazine that represented politics from a heterosexual male perspective with the image of a sexualized woman. According to Mendoza, it featured a scantily clad, bombastic, provocative woman representing Politics and a visibly tired President Arturo Alessandri sitting in a chair and remarking to her, “You already have me on my knees; you are impossible to satisfy. Will I have to give up?”⁶⁶³ Mendoza also notes that *El Gallómetro*’s (1932) anti-Ibañez editor, Pedro Gallómetro Urdemales, used sexual-political humor to convey his political stance.⁶⁶⁴

The influence of French sexual performance so fundamental to other productive sexuality industries is also evident in the nude magazine industry. In April 1910, the first issue of *Ba-ta-clan* was printed out of Valparaíso and stayed in print over a year. Its editor, a Frenchman by the name of Ch. Laborderie, focused on high quality images and well-drawn pictures.⁶⁶⁵ The Chilean word “*bataclana*” is not in the dictionary of the Real Academia

⁶⁶² Quoted in Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 167.

⁶⁶³ Quoted in Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-29.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Española, as it is derived from the French word *bataclan*. The word refers to shows or performances where women dance seminude.⁶⁶⁶

English phrases also appeared in early twentieth century nude magazines, revealing a process of sexual transculturation that predates *Playboy*. *Chispa* (1935) described itself as Parisian and used the English words “sex appeal” in its marketing slogan as well. The magazine’s editor, Oscar Edwards Bello commented that, “nudity is not pornography; it is also art.”⁶⁶⁷ The magazines’ attempts to separate their inclusion of images of nude female bodies from the category of pornography were attempts to avoid charges of immorality, as outlined in Article 374 of the Penal Code prohibiting selling and distributing print “contrary to buenas costumbres.”⁶⁶⁸ Claims to nudity as art were the first grounds these attempts were made on in Chile. Thirteen editions of *Sex Appeal* were published in 1939, a magazine advertised as humoristic “without the pornography.”⁶⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the Supreme Court accused the magazine of immorality in 1939.⁶⁷⁰

The editorial Zig-Zag introduced nude magazine *Pobre Diablo* in 1945, and in 1952 included a fully nude photograph of Marilyn Monroe.⁶⁷¹ As a consequence, the magazine was shut down. It is certainly noteworthy that Chile’s *Pobre Diablo* printed Monroe’s nude photographs a full year before *Playboy* magazine would begin its empire with Monroe’s nude photographs, originally taken for a calendar. In other words, Chile did it first, but the government shut the magazine down.

⁶⁶⁶ Oreste Plath, *El Santiago que se fue*, 166. Plath’s daughter and editor of his book, Karen P. Muller Turina, quotes the *Diccionario Ejemplificado de Chilenismos y de otros usos diferenciales del español de Chile*, by Felix Morales Pettorino, et al.

⁶⁶⁷ Quoted in Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29.

⁶⁶⁸ *Código Penal*, Article 374, 97.

⁶⁶⁹ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 169.

⁶⁷⁰ Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29.

⁶⁷¹ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 169.

Still, by the 1950s there was significant competition among Chilean made erotic magazines.⁶⁷² Further, at least by the 1950s, Chilean nude magazines included photos of semi or fully nude vedettes, exemplifying strong connections between the on stage sexual performance industry and the behind the camera sexual performance industry. A deeper analysis of a 1955 edition of *Ronda* exemplifies this and provides additional insights into 1950s performances of Chilean nudity and heterosexual male eroticism. It featured a cover photograph in color of nude vedette Eliana Keller wearing only high heels, make up, and earrings and strategically holding a pillow over her nipples and genitals.⁶⁷³ The magazine also featured sexual performance artist Erika Galard of the Picaresque cabaret and sexual performance artist Marlen who performed in the Teatro Alhambra.

However, the magazine still included a strong element of humor, even advertising itself as a “World Humor Selection.”⁶⁷⁴ In line with its marketing, the magazine included numerous illustrated comics and jokes that were sexual in nature, as well as stories translated from French.⁶⁷⁵ Such jokes played with constructions of the heterosexual male sexualization of women. One joke laughed about sexual advances preventing a woman from talking, noting that “A kiss prevents talking...that’s when hands start talking.” Another illustrated comic played with Christianity, featuring a naked Adam and Eve, breasts bare, with Adam

⁶⁷² Mendoza, “La picara historia”; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 170.

⁶⁷³ *Ronda*, Santiago, 1955 (no. 53), National Library of Chile.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid. My translation of “Selección del Humorismo Mundial.”

⁶⁷⁵ Silvia Risser, “Venganza a Golpes,” translated from French by Cesar, *Ronda*, Santiago, 1955 (no. 53), National Library of Chile.

commenting in the caption, “What do you expect, *lola*? We have it all, you, me, and even the snake.”⁶⁷⁶

The back cover of the magazine featured a photograph of a woman in a bra and panties, with an illustrated comic of a male miner throwing down his pick, hat, and water canteen while running after her while saying, “This is a real mine... and with two veins!” This comic naturalized men’s unrestricted access to women’s bodies while also playing with the word “mina,” a Chilean word meaning both “a mine” as in a copper mine, and “an attractive woman.”⁶⁷⁷ Using humor to equate the female mina with the copper mine, the joke reveals Chilean culture’s appropriation of female bodies as a national product, and one that needed to be violently extracted from the earth.⁶⁷⁸

The magazine also argued for the artistic nature of nude female bodies, echoing 1930s arguments on behalf of beauty. In an article titled, “Art: A Rival,” it compared the statue of the Venus de Milo with the nude body of sexual performance Marlen who performed at the Teatro Alhambra.⁶⁷⁹ The comparison included the Venus de Milo’s bust, hip, and height measurements and a photograph of a topless Marlen wearing lace panties, high heels, and earrings. The article noted that the comparison was:

to clarify that just as these works of art openly show full nudity to whoever wants to see them, we can also present in a more rigorous artistic sense, without harming anyone’s modesty, the figure shown here that corresponds to Marlen, whose anatomical measurements are profoundly similar to the marvelous creations we have

⁶⁷⁶ The use of the word “lola” in 1955 is relevant in determining the origin of this word. The word is generally considered to have come from Vladimir Nabokov’s novel *Lolita* (1955). Indeed, it is possible that some Chileans read the English version of the novel in 1955 before the Spanish version came out in 1959.

⁶⁷⁷ Silvia Risser, “Venganza a Golpes.”

⁶⁷⁸ Pablo Rojas Varas examined the mine as a sexual feminine metaphor in the masculine imaginary in the north of Chile, noting that both mines and female bodies are described as “dangerous, untrustworthy, rich, inconsistent, unaccessible, and irrational.” Pablo Rojas Varas, “Con la mina por la sangre: Diferentes formas de imaginacion/comercializacion de los cuerpos en la Region Moral de Calama,” in Pavez and Krauser, eds. *Capitalismo y Pornologia*, 404-436. Quote from introduction to book on page 17.

⁶⁷⁹ “Arte: Una Rival,” *Ronda*, Santiago, 1955 (no. 53), National Library of Chile.

mentioned. This living statue is exhibited on a pedestal located in the center of the stage of the Teatro Alhambra.

Indeed, Marlen's nude body was presented as a living statue, a Chilean work of art, a product to be viewed with national pride.

Guido Vallejos, a man who would become a pillar of the Chilean nude magazine industry, joined the erotic forces in with his first nude magazine *El Pengüino* (1956-1968). Like *Ronda*, the magazine also included nude photos of vedettes from Bim Bam Bum and the Picaresque cabarets.⁶⁸⁰ Vallejos was successful at negotiating the production of nude magazines and potential charges of offenses against morality. *El Pengüino* was accused of offenses against morality, but the case was eventually dismissed.⁶⁸¹ Vallejos would go on to produce nude magazines throughout the Cold War period, negotiating such production with the governments of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, Eduardo Frei Montalva, Salvador Allende, and Augusto Pinochet, as well as into the transition to democracy.

Yet, the 1960s marked a crucial shift in the representation of erotic entertainment. The inclusion of semi or fully nude photographs of vedettes in erotic magazines like *El Pengüino* increased, while in 1962 the Revista Bim Bam Bum Company stopped printing its own revue showbooks with erotic seminude photos of vedettes.⁶⁸² Although artists had appeared in nude magazines before, in the case of Bim Bam Bum vedettes, their photographic and artistic representation moved from cabaret showbooks to erotic magazines. This further encouraged a supply of local artists ready to perform for nude magazines. At the same time, it separated Bim Bam Bum artists from their artistic setting.

⁶⁸⁰ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 172.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Compañía Revista Bim Bam Bum Collection, Santiago: National Library of Chile.

The 1960s also marked a move in Chilean nude magazines' marketing strategies in line with this shift in production of nude images of vedettes; Magazines increasingly sought to emulate and market themselves in line with the US *Playboy* magazine after its beginning in December 1953 and less so as emulating French cabaret culture. All of the Chilean scholarship on nude magazines and pornography discusses the Chilean nude magazine industry's (frustrated) attempts to compete with the U.S. *Playboy*.⁶⁸³ Huidobro and Escobar assert that the style of productive sexuality in print media changed from the historic Chilean picaresque tradition of intertwining humor, politics and sexuality to the imported *Playboy* magazine style of a "comprehensive" mens' magazine replete with both well-written, dynamic articles and high quality color photographs of nude women.⁶⁸⁴ The *Playboy* format would soon begin to validate Chilean arguments that nudity was not pornography. Photographer David Rodriguez, who often worked with vedettes, traveled to the US to work for *Playboy* in 1963 and then returned to set up a photography studio in the center of Santiago. He died in 1968 at the age of 38, but his photographs of vedettes are now commemorated as Patrimonio de Chile by the Chilean government's Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes (FONDART).⁶⁸⁵

The last continued efforts to emulate French cabaret and nude culture came with the release of nude magazine *Can Can* in 1965, produced by the editorial Zig-Zag. This magazine was advertised as "For gentlemen only," and "like the Parisian dance." It introduced an erotic fotonovela, protagonized by nude vedette Elizabeth Wagner. However, this effort was cut short when in 1966 new owners of Zig-Zag took over, and the Catholic

⁶⁸³ Mendoza, "La picara historia," García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*; Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*.

⁶⁸⁴ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*.

⁶⁸⁵ proyectocabaret.cl.

Church's involvement in the editorial put the editorial in an awkward position. After Congress got involved in the discussion, the magazine was shut down.⁶⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the Editorial Zig-Zag then launched the biblical "partner" of women's magazine *Revista Eva with Adán* (1966-1967). Despite being "the magazine of the Latin American man," *Adán* was under direction of the female writer Mercedes Valdivieso. Valdivieso described the magazine as a mix of "frivolity" with serious intellectual pieces, noting that the pictures of naked women were not a substantial part of the magazine.⁶⁸⁷ The inclusion of serious intellectual pieces used the US *Playboy* formula to distinguish the magazine from the category of pornography. This move was quite different from earlier nude magazines' claims that their magazines were artistic rather than pornographic, à la the French cabaret.

In 1967, another monthly magazine for "executive men" was launched, *Alta Tension 2000*, directed by Luis Alvarez Baltierra. The magazine also followed a similar format as the US-made *Playboy*, including a variety of well-written articles along with photographs of nude women. Taking full advantage of increasing access to technological advancements, *Alta Tension 2000* included full color pictures and a calendar, and the magazine edited a strip tease movie. It also played with ideas of pageantry and superlatives, as did other productive sexuality industries, featuring a series of photos of nude women elected/crowned with such titles as "Miss Scarcity" and "Miss Puff."⁶⁸⁸ *El Piriguín* (1969-1971), directed by Alberto

⁶⁸⁶ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 172-3.

⁶⁸⁷ Mercedes Valdivieso, Interview in *Eva*, Dec. 9, 1966, 77, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 174.

⁶⁸⁸ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 174. Pictures of "Miss Escasez" and "Miss Puff" reproduced on p. 175. The magazine changed names to *Nueva Alta Tension*, and then in 1969 to *NAT* under the new direction of Andres Mujico Romero and then Enrique Barros Latorre. The last edition was printed in 1973. I attempted to consult editions of this magazine in the National Library's collection, but the magazine was inexplicably unavailable for viewing.

Vivanco, was also advertised as “the picaresque magazine of the Chilean play boy,” and dedicated a larger proportion of space to nude pictures.⁶⁸⁹

Nudity: Not Just For Men

It is also important to note that not all magazines were marketed strictly for men. According to Mendoza, *Yuju*, which appeared in May 1935 and shortly after changed names to *Chispa*, was marketed for women as well, despite its running section “Advice for Don Juans.”⁶⁹⁰ Several other women would be involved in the production of these magazines in the decades to come as well.

Furthermore, as discussed in the Cabaret Chapter, since the 1950s, the Chilean sexual performance industry was visible in a variety of newspapers and magazines, including a 1958 tourism magazine published by the state that boasted urban Chile’s history of cabarets and nightclubs dating back to the 1920s and Josephine Baker’s 1929 tour of Chile.⁶⁹¹ Coverage of the industry was also provided across the decades in *Revista Vea*, in feminist women’s magazine *Revista Paula*, in the popular youth music magazine, *Revista Ritmo*, in the Unidad Popular’s magazine *Revista Paloma*, and in popular magazine *Que Pasa*, among others.⁶⁹² Such coverage included photos of seminude or fully nude vedettes, available for consumption by male and female readers alike.

Nudity was a hot topic in other magazines as well. In 1971, Juan Guillermo Tejada accepted the position of designer of the newly launched Communist magazine *Ramona*, and

⁶⁸⁹ Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 29. My translation. The English words “play boy” were used in the magazine’s advertisement. See also García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 170 and 174.

⁶⁹⁰ Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 26-29.

⁶⁹¹ “Candilejas Santiaguinas: Ayer y Hoy,” *Revista En Viaje*, November 1958, FFCC del Estado.

⁶⁹² “Patricia Maldonado al Festival de la Moda,” *Revista Ritmo*, July 1973; *Revista Paloma*, Nov. 28, 1972; “Santiago de Noche,” *Revista Ritmo*, October, 1972; “Bimbambunera,” *Revista Ritmo*, April, 1972; “Divertidísima,” *Que Pasa*, October 28, 1971; “Barbara la nueva revista,” *Que Pasa*, August 9, 1973.

he later became subdirector of the magazine. He recalls his battle with other party members over including nudes in the magazine, as he attempted to design the magazine along the lines of *Playboy*.⁶⁹³

By the late 1960s, advertisements also increasingly featured nudity, sexualizing the female body in the name of marketing. A 1969 *Salomé* lingerie advertisement featured a photograph of a voluptuous woman (whose head was cut from the photograph) wearing a bra and seductive lace skirt.⁶⁹⁴ The text read “*Salomé* has it all... the new *Salomé* is more daring... the new *Salomé* is bolder...” The increasing use of nudity in advertisements and magazines was also noted by Isabel Allende, who wrote a 1970 humor piece titled “A Sad Future,” in which she condemned the nudity, pornography, and promiscuity that she believed had saturated Chilean culture.⁶⁹⁵ She wittily stated that “at present any woman would be ashamed to admit that she does not take the pill, that she did not like transparent fashion, and that she believes in monogamy because she would otherwise be challenging the statistics of the demographic explosion, the society of consumerism, and the moral obligation to share everything...” She claimed that because even children were inundated with nudity from seeing magazine covers, that the miniskirt was no longer even sexy enough to grab a man’s attention and worried about how women would ever gain men’s attention now that everything was revealed.

Indeed, advertisements increasingly featured photographs of nude or sexualized women. A 1970 Kent deodorant advertisement in *Revista Paula* showed a completely nude woman covering her chest and with her nether parts cropped out of the picture low enough to

⁶⁹³ Juan Guillermo Tejada, *La Fabrica* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2008), 44, 73, quoted in García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 80-81.

⁶⁹⁴ *Salomé* advertisement, *Revista Paula*, December 1969.

⁶⁹⁵ Isabel Allende, “Un triste futuro,” *Revista Paula*, January 1970.

imply that she was fully nude.⁶⁹⁶ Next to her was a picture of the deodorant. While *Revista Paula* depended on such advertisements to fund the magazine's production, they continued to criticize the sexualization of consumerism. They published another article criticizing the increasing use of nudity and sexuality in advertisements in April 1970.⁶⁹⁷ It criticized a Tout advertisement for a new chair material called Airborne that made use of 50 photographs of nude female buttocks. It argued "advertising has no limits anymore." Noting that even toothpaste ads used nudity, it argued that nudity was so prevalent in advertising that it no longer even grabbed the attention of potential consumers and that advertisers had to look for new ways- beyond nudity- to catch the attention of the public.⁶⁹⁸

A November 1973 advertisement for Perfumeria Farru featured a female's naked buttocks.⁶⁹⁹ By 1974, nude female bodies were used to sell everything from "beauty science" massagers to sanitary pads to lotion.⁷⁰⁰ Advertisements were not the only place images of nude or seminude female bodies were found. A 1977 *Revista Paula* piece on cellulite included an image of a nude woman in the shower.⁷⁰¹

Nudity Under the Unidad Popular

Several nude magazines began under the Unidad Popular government. In 1970, Guido Vallejos founded *Viejo Verde*, *Cosquillas*, and *Novedades*. The three magazines were

⁶⁹⁶ Kent deodorant Advertisement, *Revista Paula*, February 1970.

⁶⁹⁷ "La publicidad se disparó," *Revista Paula*, April 1970.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹ Advertisement, Perfumeria Farru, *Revista Paula*, November, 1970.

⁷⁰⁰ Advertisement, Silhouette, *Revista Paula*, May 1974; Advertisement, Tampax, *Revista Paula*, June 1974; Advertisement, Nivea, *Revista Paula* (date unclear, no. 162).

⁷⁰¹ "Gran Enemiga de las Mujeres: La Celulitis," *Revista Paula*, June 1977.

produced by a team of both foreign and Chilean men.⁷⁰² Other magazines also began under Allende's government. *Ricuritas* also began in 1972, and *Ganso* began in 1973.⁷⁰³

I analyzed early 1970s editions of *Cosquillas*, *Viejo Verde*, *Novedades* and *Ganso*.⁷⁰⁴ Such magazines proved to be a rich site for understanding gender and sexual relations in Chile under the Unidad Popular government. The insights from these magazines, and their picaresque jokes, stories, commentaries accompanying nude pictures, and interviews with sexual performance artists, reflect deep underlying norms of both the productive sexuality industries and broader Chilean society that persisted over decades. Many of these fundamental norms were present in the erotic magazines of both the 1950s and 1960s as well as later, under the monopolistic editorial reorganization of the dictatorship despite changes in the means and logistics of producing them.⁷⁰⁵

Ganso included more drawings, stories, and humor than photographs. *Cosquillas* and *Viejo Verde* featured a combination of nude photographs, sexy stories, picaresque comic strips, and sexual jokes (often explicitly political in nature). *Novedades* clearly was structured along the lines of *Playboy*, replete with both nude photographs and newspaper style reports. In the cases of *Viejo Verde* and *Cosquillas*, their names are clear references to their substance. "Viejo verde" is a term that literally means "green old man," and references old

⁷⁰² Collections of *Cosquillas* and *Viejo Verde*, Santiago, Chile: National Library. I purchased my own personal collection of *Novedades* from a street vendor in Santiago, as this magazine is not held at the National Library. Also referenced in Mendoza, "La picara historia," 29; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176.

⁷⁰³ Collection of *Ganso*, Santiago: National Library of Chile; Mendoza, "La picara historia," 29; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176.

⁷⁰⁴ Several magazines that are supposedly housed in the National Library were inexplicably inaccessible in March 2014 and September 2015. They showed up as being available for access in original hard copy form in the National Library's digital register, but the librarians were unable to locate them in the archives.

⁷⁰⁵ Editorial reorganization was not unique to the dictatorship, and even state led editorial reorganization occurred under Allende; the dictatorship however monopolized the sexual production industries, including the production of erotic magazines.

men who like young girls because the men are still “verde,” ie not ripened or matured. “Cosquillas” means “tickles,” specifically referencing both a bodily sensation and the act of touching another person. *Cosquillas*’ slogan was, “the magazine of young, pretty girls, good proportions, and dirty jokes.”⁷⁰⁶ Just as with the on stage sexual performance industry, these magazines commonly infantilized nude models, who ranged from age 16 and up, as “babies” or “girls.” A December 1971 edition of *Novedades* also presented 16 year old striptease artist Erika as a “lola.”⁷⁰⁷

All of the magazines produced women as hypersexual. The majority of the commentaries accompanying nude pictures discuss the women’s sexual desires or preferences, especially in *Cosquillas*, and there is a clear hypersexualization of women in jokes and comic strips. The photographs themselves are more erotic than artistic; it is not just the woman’s body being appreciated, but her sexuality as well. For example, *Viejo Verde* offered in one edition thirty photos of a woman’s face during orgasm.⁷⁰⁸ There is a liberating factor in these magazines: women were sexual, with sexual desires, often for other women. Women had orgasms. In productive sexuality specifically targeted for heterosexual men, women were afforded certain abilities, characteristics, and liberties that they were not taught in official public sexual education (ie female orgasm) nor afforded in real life (ie lesbianism).

October 15, 1971 the Federation of Parents and Representatives of Private Education (FEDAP) filed charges of immorality against Guido Vallejos and his partner Jorge Galasso for publishing *Viejo Verde*, *Cosquillas*, and *Novedades*.⁷⁰⁹ While foreign magazines were

⁷⁰⁶ Collections of *Viejo Verde* and *Cosquillas*, National Library of Chile.

⁷⁰⁷ Julio Bustamante, “Erika, la Bomba Rubia Chilena,” *Novedades*, December 31, 1971.

⁷⁰⁸ Referenced in Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 29; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176.

⁷⁰⁹ “Que Hacer Frente a la Pornografía?,” *Que Pasa*, October 28, 1971, 13-14.

also circulating, the charges noted that Vallejos' three magazines were "habitually consumed" by children. Parents and educators complained that such magazines were available for viewing in kiosks throughout the city of Santiago, and that vendors sold these magazines to minors. Government officials were not concerned with these issues.

Subsecretary of Justice Jose Antonio Viero Galo stated that, "There are more fundamental problems to worry about." He also described pornography as a capitalist problem. Mayor of Santiago Ignacio Lagne explicitly defended pornography, citing its widespread acceptance in the U.S. and Europe. He criticized Chileans outdated mentality, and insisted that children needed to be taught what sex is from a very young age. He added that, "Pornographic magazines should have first class professionals, graduated from universities, in order to create a different mentality among Chilean children."

The case was covered in popular magazine *Que Pasa*. A reader, Luis Carrasco, wrote a letter to the magazine complaining that their own use of "pornographic photos" made them hypocritical. He implored them to "help parents bring at least one clean publication into their home." The magazine responded respectfully noting that "feminine beauty is not always pornography."⁷¹⁰

In September 1973, in the last days of Salvador Allende's presidency, *Que Pasa* published another article dealing with pornographic magazines.⁷¹¹ The article criticized the lack of foreign magazines in Chile, an issue it noted had begun in January 1973. Complaining that when foreign magazines were available, they were usually 7 months outdated. It noted, however, that the Banco Central continued receiving updated subscriptions to Playboy. The article highlighted the disconnection among nude magazine

⁷¹⁰ Luis Carrasco, "Pornografia en 'Que Pasa,'" in "Correo," *Que Pasa*, 1971 (no. 31), 4.

⁷¹¹ "Las Esquivas Revistas Extranjeras," *Que Pasa*, September 1973, 63.

audiences. Even under the Unidad Popular, the availability of foreign nude magazines depended on class and social status. Select members of Chilean society never went with out their nude photographs.

Nude Models' Motivation

Women had different motivations for consenting to have their bodies photographed for publication, and there is evidence that photographs were at times published without their consent. Isabel Ubilla lamented that a picture of her twin sisters naked was published without their permission.⁷¹² Peggy Cordero remarked that she was never paid for any of the interviews or nude photographs that were published.⁷¹³ Still, other women reported doing it for the money, and for the opportunity to travel abroad. For example, in 1971 Paola Denis was headed to Panama to perform in the cabaret Maxim's, owned by a Chilean ex-vedette, Marlen Fernandez.⁷¹⁴ Lujan, Dennis, and Govinda also applauded the abilities to travel that their careers afforded them.

Many women felt that it was good career publicity. Macarena Lujan said that it would open many doors for her.⁷¹⁵ *Cosquillas* reporter Jose Arnero said in one piece that, "There are so many Chilean woman that have left and never ever returned because success crowned their ambitions and desires." He added that, "There is no place in the world where signs are not announcing a Chilean name."⁷¹⁶ Other sexual performance artists also saw their work as part of their career development as artists. Regarding nude model Macarena Christie, *Viejo Verde* said, "It is not the possibility of making a lot of fast, easy money that motivates her.

⁷¹² "Las Ubilla: Dinastia de Curvas," *Revista Paloma*, Nov. 28, 1972.

⁷¹³ "BBB estreno entrevista Peggy Cordero en Chile," *24 Horas*, TVN, June 6, 2013.

⁷¹⁴ "Paola Denis," *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

⁷¹⁵ Jose Arnero, "Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Churro del Desnudo Nacional," photographs by Rolando Bustos, *Cosquillas* 1, October 28, 1970.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Above all it is her interest in accomplishing herself as an artist.”⁷¹⁷ Giorgia Sol, mother, wife, and vedette, said that, “the theater environment is good for those who have the soul of an artist.”⁷¹⁸

Yet, nude magazines also made fun of these women’s ambition, such as a 1971 *Viejo Verde* photograph of an unnamed nude blonde woman on her hands and knees with a commentary that reads, “In their imperial desire to become celebrities, certain women confuse posterity with posteriority.”⁷¹⁹ The line between performing one’s body and sexuality as artistic career development and having one’s performance exploited solely for the pleasure of others was a blurry one that illustrates perfectly the versatility of respectability that, like other entertainers and sexual performance artists, nude models had to negotiate.

Reporters and Photographers

The reporters and photographers who worked for these two magazines were all male. Many of the photographers and reporters for nude magazines also worked for cabarets and boites. Osvaldo Muñoz Romero, also known as “Rakatan,” was a cabaret and nightlife reporter who also wrote for nude magazines like *Viejo Verde*.⁷²⁰ He was, according to his friends, the official reporter for Bim Bam Bum.⁷²¹ Julio Bustamante was a photographer for both magazines and for all of the cabarets, as well as, according to him, the official Bim Bam

⁷¹⁷ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 28), 39.

⁷¹⁸ Jose Arnero, “Giorgia Sol, Dama, Señora, y Bailarina,” *Cosquillas*, 1971 (no. 5).

⁷¹⁹ *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

⁷²⁰ “Pítica Ubilla es ahora una leyenda,” *La Cuarta*, Date unknown, Accessed 4/18/16, http://www.lacuarta.com/sitios/santiago_50/pitica.html.

⁷²¹ Freire, *Rakatán*, 13-14.

Bum public relations manager.⁷²² Bustamante remembered, on at least one occasion, pretending to be gay in order to photograph the naked female models.⁷²³

Not all of the nude magazines' staff also worked for cabarets, although their presence in the sexual performance nightlife scene was very likely. *Viejo Verde* reporter Jose Arnero did not appear to be directly affiliated with the on stage sexual performance businesses. Arnero at times expressed a political stance. In addition to his countless commentaries applauding models' condemnation of contraceptives, in an article on nude vedette Ruth Keller he noted (as an unrelated sidenote) that his friend, who attended Keller's Bim Bam Bum performances and liked her very much, lost every speck of land he had through the agrarian reform.⁷²⁴

Female Desire

The nude magazines I analyzed portrayed women as sexual beings. The *Viejo Verde* issue featuring thirty photographs of a woman's face during orgasm certainly demonstrates the performance of both female desire and female orgasm. Macarena Lujan, a strip tease artist who worked at the boite Mon Bijoux in 1970 and had previously performed topless at Bim Bam Bum, was featured in a series of semi and fully nude photographs in *Cosquillas*.⁷²⁵ A male reporter and another male photographer were credited for the four-page piece on Lujan. It is difficult to distinguish how true the piece is to Lujan's actual interview. The magazine had an obvious agenda of sexualizing this striptease artist for their clients, but it is also clear that during the interview Lujan was performing her body, gender, and sexuality for

⁷²² Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 44.

⁷²³ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 43.

⁷²⁴ Jose Arnero, "Ruth Keller Va Camino al Estrellato," *Cosquillas*, Dec. 23, 1970.

⁷²⁵ Jose Arnero, "Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Churro del Desnudo Nacional," photographs by Rolando Bustos, *Cosquillas* 1, October 28, 1970.

a nude magazine. Because she was interviewed, we can assume that she did indeed give her consent for the photographs to be published. However, it is dubious that she would be consulted regarding the final presentation of her pictures and what was printed from her interview. Thus, her performance is modified by the male production of her body, gender, and sexuality. Yet, this production is a performance in itself, one that is both distant and integrally connected to Lujan's original performance.

Lujan was presented as a woman who enjoyed performing her striptease and enjoyed her sexuality. The magazine describes her debut as a striptease artist as positive. She found "pleasure" and "enjoyment" in it, and the audience enjoyed it as well. As with other striptease artists, the photographic report also describes in detail the type of men that she desired: from 30 to 40 years old, thin, good looking, 1.8 meters tall, and able to financially support her. The magazine also noted that Lujan did not like hippies because they are hairy and smelly. The anti-hippie sentiments in the magazine were a regular aspect of the performance of female sexuality. Such sentiments were further developed in jokes such as one comic that remarked that "hippies do not wash their sexual parts because they think they will use them up."⁷²⁶

At one point the article on Macarena Lujan actually reads as an interview, with questions and answers clearly delineated. In this section the reporter asks her if she is single, and she replies that she is single in her "own way." Lujan was preparing to travel abroad to perform in Panama and then on to other countries. She saw this as an opportunity that would open many doors for her.

⁷²⁶ *Cosquillas* 1, October 14, 1970.

Yet, there were also instances of women who were pro-hippie, such as striptease artist Paola Dennis. The article on Dennis, which included both semi and fully nude pictures of her, noted that, “She likes free love, so she loves hippies.”⁷²⁷ This comment reflected broader fears of hippie culture as sexually liberating.⁷²⁸ She liked to travel so she did not want to tie herself down with someone. She was described as having a great character and was chosen as the reporter’s most impressive woman of 1970. Dennis started in the Picaresque, where she began her striptease career, then later worked in the Tap Room and in Mon Bijou before taking her performance on tour to Peru, Ecuador, Panama and Guatemala. Yet, Arnero also noted that Paola Dennis hardly smiles when she is performing because “she does not like to mix work with pleasure.” This comment implies that Paola Dennis saw the performance of her pleasure and desire as work.

It is also important to note here that while these magazines were clearly targeted for heterosexual men, there does appear to be evidence that some women read them as well. According to the article, Dennis hardly liked to read, and when she did, it was only “light” things like *Cosquillas* and *Viejo Verde*. This commentary implies that these magazines marketed for men were also read by a female audience, albeit a liberated female audience. This instance of female readership recalls earlier nude magazine *Chispa*’s marketing to both men and woman and requires us to consider the female gaze. There is also the possibility that Dennis read these magazines precisely because she was featured in them, or that she said this as part of her performance for the magazine, or that Dennis did not say this at all.

The nude magazines also played with changing notions of how women should dress, tying this into their performance of desire. One photographic commentary addressed the

⁷²⁷ Jose Arnero, “Paola Dennis, La del Strip-tease Porno,” *Cosquillas*, January 13, 1971.

⁷²⁸ Barr-Melej, “Siloísmo.”

miniskirt, so controversial in early 1970s Chile. A February 1971 edition of *Cosquillas* featured a cover photo of a fully nude blonde model, with her legs crossed so as to cover her nether parts. She appears to be genuinely smiling with a speech bubble added to her photograph indicating that she is saying, “It is sensational to wear a really short miniskirt. But it is even better still not to wear a miniskirt at all.”⁷²⁹ This commentary was likely added by the production team and not said as part of the model’s performance. It clearly associates the miniskirt with a liberated female sexuality by implicating that the short skirt is a step towards full nudity.

Some of the magazines performances of female desire were clearly added by the production team. One such case is seen in an article on Elizabeth Ubilla. The reporting segment of the piece asked if she had a boyfriend. Ubilla replied that she did not, but that she was dating a soccer player. Yet, in a picture of Elizabeth bending over to expose her bare buttocks to the camera behind her, the magazine added the caption, “She does not have a boyfriend, but if something comes along, enter!”⁷³⁰ Such commentary serves to naturalize the sexualization of women without their consent.

Another *Cosquillas* piece by Jose Arnero on vedette Ruth Keller also describes her sexual preferences, while sexualizing her in an animalistic way and applauding her rejection of contraceptive pills. Nineteen year old Keller was a vedette at Bim Bam Bum who the magazine also described as “morena.”⁷³¹ According to the article’s description of the men she liked, it was essential for them to be “machos, extremely macho, tall, dark, green eyed and good looking.” Yet, the magazine also disdainfully noted that the man they had seen her

⁷²⁹ *Cosquillas*, February 24, 1971.

⁷³⁰ “Isabel Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas,” *Cosquillas* 1, 1970 (no. 3).

⁷³¹ Jose Arnero, “Ruth Keller Va Camino al Estrellato,” *Cosquillas* 1, Dec. 23, 1970.

with was a disgrace and did not comply with her supposed requirements. A caption alongside a picture of a nude Keller on her hands and knees notes that she “has something feline about her, like all women. She likes to crawl, scratch, bite, and eat fresh meat.” The presentation of Keller’s animalistic desires was likely added by the male production team and not part of Keller’s own performance.

Regarding the pill, the magazine says that Keller did not believe in it because she did not practice “free love.” According to Arnero, Keller said that when she does have a man, she will not use pills or a protective helmet, so as not to have sex in “revolutionary ways.” Another larger caption reads, “Nothing to do with contraceptive pills; when people love each other they have to accept the consequences.” The magazine, and the reporter Arnero, were taking a clear stance on contraceptives, highly controversial in early 1970s Chile. Contraceptives were portrayed as revolutionary and as a tool for practicing free love.

Gina Govinda also found international success as a striptease artist. After beginning her striptease in the cabaret Las Vegas in Arica, she went to Peru and became the *virreina* of Lima’s nightlife. She returned to Chile to perform in Santiago’s Tap Room. At the time of her 1971 *Cosquillas* article she was hoping to go perform in Argentina. She was photographed fully nude, but always discreetly hiding her nether parts. She described her ideal man as sincere, hardworking and cultured.⁷³² Govinda was also featured in a 1971 *Viejo Verde* photographic series and article. The latter article described her preference for green. According to the magazine’s report on her, this color preference attracted her to Chilean police (who wear green uniforms), and especially to “viejos verdes.”⁷³³

⁷³² ulio Bustamante, “Gita Govinda,” *Cosquillas*, February 24, 1971.

⁷³³ Rakatan, “Gita Govinda,” *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 31), 22-23.

Jokes in these magazines also portrayed women as sexual beings, who cheated on their husbands and enjoyed sex with men.⁷³⁴ A 1971 *Viejo Verde* comic strip titled, “Sex Past and Present” revealed the magazine’s perceptions of how sexuality had changed over time. It compared a “before” woman concerned that her ankle length dress revealed too much with a “now” woman wearing a see through shirt and complaining that it did not reveal enough. It compared a “before” woman saying that a man was not her boyfriend because they had only known each other for two years with a “now” woman, fully nude, saying that a man was not her boyfriend because they had only had sex one time.⁷³⁵ While the historical reality is much more complex, all of these comparisons insinuate that women were more sexual and enjoyed a less restrictive dress code. Another illustrated comic shows two striptease artists in their dressing room, and one of them is exclaiming, “I don’t think I will be able to resist if he has a big one.”⁷³⁶ The male production team’s performance of female desire portrayed women as highly sexual beings, so sexual that they might not have been capable of resisting their sexual desires.

The Production of Exploitation

The magazines’ coopting of female sexuality is clear in other instances as well, produced as exploitation. One *Cosquillas* edition included a nude photograph of blonde sixteen year old Rosita Lopez with a brief commentary that, “she did not want to be photographed or to show her face and we were able to get this pose, modestly!”⁷³⁷ The pose they were so proud to accomplish featured Rosita from the back with her buttocks fully exposed, turning around ever so slightly to also show her face and one of her breasts.

⁷³⁴ *Cosquillas*, Jan. 13, 1971; *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 37).

⁷³⁵ “Sex Past and Present,” *Viejo Verde*, March 1971.

⁷³⁶ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 39).

⁷³⁷ *Cosquillas* 1, October 14, 1970.

Another photograph of seventeen year old Bim Bam Bum vedette Elba Bari's exposed breasts includes a caption that she did not want to show her breasts, but that they captured the photograph at the right moment, urging readers to "Look at her good because it is impossible to get pictures like this of her."⁷³⁸ While these commentaries certainly imply that the pictures were taken and reproduced without the models' consent, this could be production editing to make readers feel they were getting something extra special. Regardless, it naturalizes male access to female bodies without consent.

A *Viejo Verde* photo series and article on Argentine striptease artist Veronica Ayar, chosen as Miss South America in the international strip tease contest, quotes her condemnation of exploitation. Ayar stated that "Viejos verdes are a necessary evil, but I disapprove of the ones who get involved with girls that are too innocent."⁷³⁹ Ayar's comment laments men's exploitation of naïve young women.

The magazines also present boites as especially exploitative. Ruth Keller was hoping to travel to perform in Mexico, where "one can work in boites without having to be a copetinera." Arnero adds that women who work in boites are obligated to sit at tables with clients to get them to drink. Keller said that the union did not have jurisdiction over boites, and that she thought they were regulated by the Municipality or Provincial or Regional Intendents. She also said that women were organizing to fight the requirement to drink with clients in boites, and that they even had a lawyer.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁸ Jose Arnero, "Elba Bari: 17 Años de Curvas," *Cosquillas*, 1971 (no. 8).

⁷³⁹ Rakatan, "Veronica Ayar," photographs by Julio Bustamante, *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 39).

⁷⁴⁰ Jose Arnero, "Ruth Keller Va Camino al Estrellato," *Cosquillas* 1, Dec. 23, 1970.

Race and Exoticism

Women who performed their bodies, genders, and sexualities in nude magazines were more racially and ethnically diverse than women who performed as fashion models, beauty contestants, or even Bim Bam Bum cabaret artists. The magazine described model Macarena Lujan as brown (*morena*) and Chilean (*chilenaza*). Based on the black and white pictures of her, she had long, straight, dark hair, dark eyes and relatively dark skin.⁷⁴¹ The description of her as “chilenaza” reflects the notion of a “raza chilena.” She was brown, but still her European aesthetics included her in the national racial identity, whereas other darker women were exoticized.

Nude magazines often included (likely imported) pictures of dark skinned Afro-descended women and Asian women.⁷⁴² However, such racially diverse women successfully performed the exoticization of their bodies and sexualities by appropriating racial and ethnic stereotypes, just as in cabaret performances. A 1971 *Viejo Verde* photo spread features a naked Afro-descended woman dancing outside with a skull. This performance of her exoticized race and gender invokes some type of voodoo magic that is naturalized with her body.⁷⁴³

Twenty year old Vaya Tiare, featured in a series of semi and fully nude photos in *Cosquillas* in December of 1970, was the daughter of a Chilean mother and a Tahitian father. The magazine described in detail her measurements (height, weight, bust, waist and hips). They also played with her perceived racial difference, describing her as “the most exact representation of the so-called ‘yellow threat.’” According to the magazine, she described

⁷⁴¹ Jose Arnero “Macarena Lujan, Nuevo Churro del Desnudo Nacional,” photographs by Rolando Bustos, *Cosquillas* 1, October 28, 1970.

⁷⁴² Collections of *Cosquillas* and *Viejo Verde*, National Library, Santiago, Chile.

⁷⁴³ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 37).

herself as terribly flirtatious and a party girl who hated the idea of marriage and preferred free love. She considered women to be superior to men and that women should wear the pants, although the article noted that she preferred miniskirts. Tiare began dancing at the age of ten, traveled to Paris at fourteen to perform her “exotic” body, and soon after began to perform her striptease.⁷⁴⁴

Much like the broader representation of women in fashion, beauty pageants, and cabarets, there is very little representation of indigenous women in the nude magazines I studied. No indigenous women posed for these nude magazines. However, there is some evidence of models’ appropriating and performing Native American ethnicity and of magazines producing comics of abduction and rape of indigenous women. A May 1972 *Novedades* issue included two large photographs imported from Hollywood of topless model Maureen Ridley wearing a feather headdress and leather miniskirt.⁷⁴⁵ While the magazine describes her as “an authentic Sioux beauty,” it is unclear whether Ridley was actually a Sioux woman.

There is also an illustrated joke in a 1971 *Viejo Verde* magazine that shows men in a bar drinking and smoking, and two of the men are holding topless indigenous women. One of the women has a blank stare, as if she were drugged, and the other woman is literally draped over the shoulder of one of the men, who is also holding a gun. One of the men is remarking to the other men, “What a tremendous advance in the technique of these tranquilizing guns, right, Galasso?”⁷⁴⁶ The indigenous women are portrayed as sexualized prey, and the men’s abduction of them is naturalized through this “humorous” comic.

⁷⁴⁴ “Vaya Tiare,” *Cosquillas* 1, Dec. 23, 1970.

⁷⁴⁵ “Maureen Impone el Peinado Siux,” *Novedades*, May 5, 1972.

⁷⁴⁶ *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

Transvestites and Lesbians

Legal and cultural policing of gays and lesbians is evidenced throughout the Cold War period, yet there are some references to both transvestites and, particularly, lesbianism. A 1971 *Viejo Verde* edition included a presumably fictional story of a male client who accidentally took home a transvestite from a *boite*.⁷⁴⁷ The story ended in violence. A 1972 edition of *Novedades* included a photograph of transvestite dancer Carlos Reyes (of the Blue Ballet) with choreographer Paco Mairena. The inclusion of this photograph does not contain any homophobic commentary. It is simply an attractive photograph. Reyes certainly looks quite feminine, and one of his nipples and part of his buttocks are exposed in the photograph. It is also noteworthy that in the photograph he is being touched by two men. (See Figure 14 in Appendix A)

Lesbianism was fetishized, encouraged, and visible in nude magazines in the early 1970s. In some cases, women are clearly performing lesbianism for the magazine's male viewers. Other instances seem to refer to actual lesbians. A 1971 article and nude photographic series in *Viejo Verde* on Chilean sexual performance artist Marlene Darriant discussed her preference for women. The article apparently quoted Darriant at length, although it is unclear to what degree they edited her interview. Darriant, who worked in Lima's *Boite Embassy*, was quoted as saying, "I have a lot of admirers. But they are generally ugly, black, hairy men who forgot to put on deodorant. So, I prefer the friendship and sweet company of my girlfriends who smell good, are affectionate, and do not cause me problems." She then added an exception to her preference for women and racist condemnation of men: Norma Roma, who became very jealous when Darriant met new girls.

⁷⁴⁷ "El Que Se Ensarta, Se Ensarta," *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 35).

According to Darriant, Roma tried to commit suicide one night and caused a big scandal that was reported in the newspaper *Expreso*. Darriant also referred to her sexual preference as her “prohibited games.”⁷⁴⁸ Darriant clearly knew of the stigmatization of these “games” but assumed her sexuality nonetheless.

In some cases, magazines produced performances of lesbianism. A later 1971 *Viejo Verde* photographic story titled, “Roommates Teresa and Ivonne” included nine staged photographs of the two roommates undressing and caressing one another. This story seems to be created by the magazine’s editors and production team. It is lesbian fantasy sex made for men, although it does appear that some women also read this magazine. Most of the two page spread is dedicated to the photographs of the two women, but there is a brief commentary that provides some textual storyline. The text never uses the word “lesbian” and never explicitly says that they have sex. Rather, it says, “they take off one another’s clothes to get more comfortable and to continue their conversation more intimately. They share a cigarette... They caress each other like two good friends and finally they lay down to pursue an invigorating fantasy.” The text then goes on to say “all of this appears documented in these pages thanks to the indiscrete lens of *Viejo Verde* that penetrated the warm intimacy of Teresa and Ivonne.”⁷⁴⁹

The use of the word “penetrate” is characteristic of Chilean picaresque humor that relies heavily on sexual innuendo. Yet, it is also significant to understanding the performance of lesbianism in the magazine. The women’s lesbian relationship was performed in the magazine in the context of the male gaze that in this case literally and metaphorically penetrated the women’s intimacy. Here, I build on Beatriz Preciado’s adaptation of Laura

⁷⁴⁸ Rakatan, “Marlene Darriant,” photographs by Julio Bustamante, *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 29).

⁷⁴⁹ “Compañeras de Pieza Teresa E Ivonne,” *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 36).

Mulvey's theory of the male gaze, in which the audience is set up from the perspective of an active heterosexual male viewer and women are passive, fetishized objects fulfilling male fantasies.⁷⁵⁰ While Mulvey developed this theory in the context of cinema, Beatriz Preciado's analysis of *Playboy* magazine during the Cold War applies Mulvey's conception of the male gaze, arguing that the magazine was careful to always show women separately from men "to set up a rigorous separation of the subject and the object of the gaze."⁷⁵¹

Indeed, men never appeared in the photographs of these Chilean magazines, and their appearance in the illustrated comments was always mediated by both their use of clothing and the accompanying commentary that set up the power dynamics of the jokes. However, it is important to recognize the evidence indicating instances of female gaze.⁷⁵² And rather than consider these models as passive objects of male fantasy, we must acknowledge the active agency of the women performing in these magazines. Susan Bordo demonstrates in her study of images of male bodies that "inviting, receiving, responding...are active behaviors."⁷⁵³ The same is true of images of female bodies.

Yet, the production of lesbian sexuality targeted for a male audience did not always necessarily involve actual women. A 1971 *Viejo Verde* edition included a lesbian story, supposedly told as an autobiographical account of an actual woman, although the authorship is not identified by name.⁷⁵⁴ The story was titled "An 'In' Girl," implying both the infantilization of women and the notion that lesbianism was a trendy fad. Whether the story was actually written by a woman or created by the magazine's production team is unclear, as

⁷⁵⁰ Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure."

⁷⁵¹ Preciado, *Pornotopia*.

⁷⁵² Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure."

⁷⁵³ Bordo, *The Male Body*, 190; Eck, "Men Are Much Harder."

⁷⁵⁴ "Una Niña 'In,'" *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 39), 4-5.

parts of the story seem authentic and parts of the story seem to be intended to soothe male fears of the lesbian threat. The magazine did include illustrations of sexy semi nude women sharing their bodies with one another and kissing. (See Figure 15 in Appendix A)

The story starts when the woman attended high school at an elite all-female boarding school in the outskirts of Santiago. She describes how she still believed in Prince Charming, although she always imagined her relationship with him as platonic and could never actually envision herself kissing him. At night in the boarding school, she witnessed her classmates crawling into bed with each other and heard their moans and sighs. A classmate named Sandra was the one who really “opened her eyes.” Sandra was an elegant, rich, independent, beautiful woman, with the body of a mannequin, long brown hair and green eyes. They became friends immediately. Sandra showed the narrator her sexy lingerie, taught her to wear make-up, and told her she would become “in.” The narrator soon learned exactly what she meant when Sandra kissed her, and then later that night, crawled in to bed with her to play “erotic games.”

The narrator noted that while all the female students engaged in this behavior, her lesbian sexual experience changed her. She began to spend all of her time with Sandra, and they went out together to parties in Santiago on the weekends. But, in one of these parties she met Enrique, and after sleeping with him, all of the things Sandra taught her lost their flavor. The “masculine heat” opened her up to other possibilities. When she told Sandra that she no longer enjoyed their bedtime games, Sandra accepted it with grace. The narrator continued a platonic friendship with Sandra and a sexual relationship with Enrique. Sandra began a new relationship with another classmate.

The narrator notes that while there were very many lesbians, her life was not always as easy as it might seem. This comment and the larger story both indicate a substantial lesbian and bisexual community, while also noting the difficulties women who desired other women faced living in a legally and culturally constructed heteronormative society. The narrator's sudden interest in men perhaps indicates an element of fictional fantasy designed to soothe fears of the lesbian threat.

Indeed, while lesbians were fetishized, they were also portrayed in nude magazines as a growing threat. A 1971 *Viejo Verde* seven page nude photographic series on French model Bibi Chanel who was studying Sociology at the Sorbonne casually notes that among her "friendships" are inseparable lesbian couples.⁷⁵⁵ In a later 1971 edition, a photograph of topless Swedish model Marianne Hedquist includes a commentary by the magazine that they "are noting an almost dangerous increase of girls who prefer feminine tongues." They attribute this to men being increasingly ruder, smellier and more savage, which according to the magazine, wounds women's delicate sensibility. The commentary concludes saying that the increase in lesbianism is understandable but not justifiable.⁷⁵⁶ This last comment reflects the complicated terrain lesbians had to negotiate. On one hand, the magazine encouraged performances of lesbianism and understood why women would desire other women. Yet, this understandable lesbian desire was also a threat to the magazine's male heterosexual production team.

Models Who Were Not Sexualized

While the majority of women in these two nude magazines were sexualized, there were exceptions to this rule, evidencing the versatility of respectability even among nude

⁷⁵⁵ "Bibi Chanel," *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 32), 35-39.

⁷⁵⁶ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 34).

magazines. An early 1971 article on Bim Bam Bum vedette Giorgia Sol described her as a lady and a señora.⁷⁵⁷ Sol had studied as a young girl with choreographer Paco Mairena. At the time of the article, she was married with two children, aged 8 and 9. She is photographed “modestly,” always wearing her cabaret style bikini. The article notes that her husband stands outside the theater doors when he is not working and then takes her home to eat the dinner he has prepared. It is interesting to note the lack of expression of female desire and the significantly decreased sexualization of this married vedette, although this may be mediated by the visible and vigilant presence of her husband.

Wendy is another Bim Bam Bum vedette featured in *Cosquillas* who always appears in photographs dressed, either in her cabaret bikini or in flirty, short dresses.⁷⁵⁸ The magazine does not speak of her sexual desire, and the piece on her is successfully respectable. After working as a singer and being married eight years, she separated and began working in Bim Bam Bum to show her ex that she could take better care of herself alone. The article describes her as cultured and intelligent, also noting that she “does not believe in contraceptive pills.” Wendy’s “covered” coverage is exceptional because she is not sexualized and the lack of sexualization is not mediated by the presence of a husband. Yet, the magazine could not resist noting that she did not believe in using contraceptives, a belief that perhaps factored in to her respectable coverage.

Representations of the State in Nude Magazines

State regulation of brothels and sexual performance businesses is a common theme among jokes in early 1970s nude magazines. One illustrated comic shows a Sanitation Inspector (identified by the words on his briefcase) in a brothel, literally inspecting the body

⁷⁵⁷ Jose Arnero, “Giorgia Sol, Dama, Señora, y Bailarina,” *Cosquillas*, 1971 (no. 5).

⁷⁵⁸ Jose Arnero, “Wendy, La Artista Que Cambio La Cancion Por el Bikini,” *Cosquillas*, January 13, 1971.

of a topless prostitute as he pulls down her underwear with an excited smile on his face. The caption below reads, “I have to see if you are fit for human consumption, darling.”⁷⁵⁹

Another illustrated comic shows a police officer with a malicious grin sitting on a couch with a semi nude woman. It is not clear whether it is a brothel or not, as it appears to be a living room. In the caption, the woman is saying, “You don’t think you are going to far with the inspection?”⁷⁶⁰ Another illustrated comic shows soldiers in a brothel of nude women, and the female owner of the brothel says to one of the soldiers, “This is a place where the soldiers become generals.”⁷⁶¹ There are also jokes about soldiers visiting brothels, taking advantage of their female secretaries, and watching stripteases at cabarets, one of which specifically references the Picaresque.⁷⁶² Another joke shows soldiers in a brothel, and the woman in charge is telling them, “This is where soldiers become generals.”⁷⁶³

Viejo Verde also had an erotic comic strip with the English title “Pussycat” about a vedette of the same name; The comic in one 1971 edition tells the story of Pussycat speaking before Congress (one Congressman notes that instead of “testifying” she is “tittyfying” about physical culture).⁷⁶⁴ The congressmen make jokes about her counting on their support and being great at lifting up the people. The next morning at her home, Pussycat receives countless gifts sent from the congressmen. Back in Congress, the men tell her that accepting gifts is illegal. Pussycat responds, “You guys violate (rape) women...I violate (break) laws.” Her “crime” is forgiven, and the comic ends with a sexy poster of a seminude Pussycat that says “Pussycat for President.” The caption reads, “She will probably get elected.” The comic

⁷⁵⁹ *Cosquillas*, Jan. 13, 1971.

⁷⁶⁰ *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

⁷⁶¹ *Cosquillas*, Feb. 24, 1971.

⁷⁶² See *Viejo Verde* (no. 40 and no. 47), 46.

⁷⁶³ *Cosquillas*, January 13, 1971.

⁷⁶⁴ “Pussycat,” *Viejo Verde*, March, 1971, 41-44. The play on words uses “tetificar” instead of “testificar.”

implies the government's involvement with vedettes and once again reveals the naturalization of raping women. It also reflects the popularity of sexual performance artists in Chilean society. A *Cosquillas* article on Elizabeth Ubilla remarks that any Christian Democratic Senator would love to get as much press coverage as she does.⁷⁶⁵

The Representation of Sexual Performance Businesses

Many of the jokes and comics in these two nude magazines reference sexual performance businesses and culture. The comics often equate sexy women to food. One illustrated comic shows two hyper curvy women at a café con piernas and an older businessman seated at the counter. One of the women is saying to the other, "He wants to eat raw meat... who will sacrifice herself?"⁷⁶⁶ Another illustrated comic shows a businessman sitting alone at a restaurant/bar table with the menu open. The waitress, a busty topless woman wearing only a bikini bottom and high heels, is saying to him, "The cocktail 'Delicia' is not an aperitif, sir, it is me..."⁷⁶⁷

Many illustrated comics also frame jokes around women's bodies. One comic of a topless restaurant shows two topless waitresses wearing only bikini bottoms and tiny aprons. One of the women's breasts are perky and upright; the other woman's breasts are hanging down and sagging. The latter woman says to the other in the caption, "I have worked so much today that I am exhausted."⁷⁶⁸

Other illustrated comics reveal interesting aspects of sexual performance businesses. One comic shows an elegant couple at a restaurant with a striptease show; the man is wearing a jacket and bowtie and the woman is wearing a pearl necklace. The male client is staring at

⁷⁶⁵ "Isabel Ubilla, Penultimo Bastion de Dinastia de Buenas Piernas," *Cosquillas* 1, 1970 (no. 3).

⁷⁶⁶ *Cosquillas*, Feb. 24, 1971.

⁷⁶⁷ *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

⁷⁶⁸ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 36), 45.

the mostly nude striptease artist, and his wife is staring at him and remarking that, “Antonio, your salad is getting warm.”⁷⁶⁹ Jokes aside, this comic reveals that striptease shows often included women in their clientele and reflects an upper class element to that clientele. Another comic implies the increasing nudity in restaurants in the early 1970s. In *Viejo Verde*'s March 1971 “Sex Past and Present” illustrated comic, it compared a “before” restaurant with a fully dressed waitress with a “now” restaurant with topless waitresses wearing only bikini bottoms.⁷⁷⁰

Many of the comics and stories in early 1970s nude magazines portray sexual performance as an exploitative industry and naturalize such exploitation. One comic shows a malicious looking fat man directing a scared, completely nude woman to go out on stage. He is telling her “this is your big opportunity, girl, get out there and show them what you are made of.”⁷⁷¹ One edition of *Cosquillas* magazine's erotic comic strip about a vedette named Candy, titled “Candy: Una Vedette ‘In,’” shows her being taken advantage of by a delivery man bringing her a gift. He acts like as if he is the one giving her the gift, and then after sleeping with her, he tells her that it is her boyfriend who is rich enough to buy her the gift he delivered.⁷⁷²

There is a similar “true” story in *Viejo Verde* about a woman who went to try out to be a vedette and was prepared to have sex with the owner for the job.⁷⁷³ In this story, however, the woman realized the man was not the owner before they had sex and tried to resist. In the story, she ends up enjoying her rape, but did not get the job when the owner saw

⁷⁶⁹ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 37).

⁷⁷⁰ “Sex Past and Present,” *Viejo Verde*, March 1971.

⁷⁷¹ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 39).

⁷⁷² “Candy: Una vedette ‘In,’” *Cosquillas* (no. 9).

⁷⁷³ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 35).

what she had done. Once again the rape of women is naturalized, as is lying to women in order to have sex with them. The latter story implies that sexual performance artists had to have sex to get their jobs.

These types of implications are extended beyond the cabaret industry to the television and movie industries as well. Another illustrated comic shows a sexy woman with a short, bald man; they are both undressed and posters in the room indicate that this man is involved in the cabaret and movie industries. Two other men are poking their heads in the door. The caption reads, “Miss Eliana, I will give you the role in the movie but I forgot to tell you that I have two partners,” implying that she must sleep with all three of the men before getting the role.⁷⁷⁴ A 1971 illustrated comic showed three businessmen admiring the completely nude body of a woman trying out for a commercial on “Cera Wax.” One of the men is saying “you are perfect for this commercial, Miss! Now let’s see how you say, ‘I use Cera Wax for my floors.’”⁷⁷⁵ The comic implies that actresses were taken advantage of and that the most important factors in hiring them were approval of their nude bodies and their willingness to undress.

Nude Magazines Under the Dictatorship

Neither *Viejo Verde* or *Cosquillas* continued production under the dictatorship, but this short lifespan was characteristic of Chilean erotic magazines. Following the September 11, 1973 coup, many editorials were shut down or changed ownership and direction, but the nude magazine industry was by no means eliminated by the dictatorship. Rather, the dictatorship monopolized the nude magazine industry, legalizing and realizing sole responsibility for the production of these magazines through censorship, editorial annexation

⁷⁷⁴ *Viejo Verde*, 1971 (no. 39), 43.

⁷⁷⁵ *Viejo Verde*, February 24, 1971.

and reorganization, and the violent political purging of prior competitive magazines and editorial companies.

The survival of the nude magazine industry was only political in the sense that those who were willing to collaborate with the military dictatorship were able to publish such magazines. According to *Viejo Verde* and *Novedades* photographer Julio Bustamante, Guido Vallejos and Bustamante both met with General Carlos Krumm, who was in charge of censoring print media under the dictatorship in the 1970s. Krumm told them that they could not print pictures of naked women. Vallejos and Bustamante argued that Chileans were used to seeing these type of images, and Bustamante asked Krumm if he wanted them to “print a magazine for fags.” The magazines continued to print editions, but were strictly forbidden from showing any pubic hair.⁷⁷⁶ Here, instead of using art or the Playboy format as a justification for nudity, Bustamante used heteronormative sexuality as a validation for continuing the magazines. *Novedades* continued at least through December 1973.⁷⁷⁷

Other magazines ran continuously through the coup as well, such as *Ganso*, which began the first week of September 1973 under the editorial Quimantú and continued through the end of that year. Its director, Antonio Rojas Gómez later became a reporter for *Las Ultimas Noticias*.⁷⁷⁸ *Pepe Antártico* also reemerged in 1973 and continued fairly regularly until 1976 and then again from 1984 to 1990.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁶ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 52.

⁷⁷⁷ Collection of *Novedades*, National Library of Chile.

⁷⁷⁸ Mendoza, “La pícara historia,” 29; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176.

⁷⁷⁹ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 169.

Julio Bustamante also began working for erotic magazine *Bravo* that began in 1977 and ran through 1982.⁷⁸⁰ *Bravo* was a monthly magazine inspired by *Playboy* that featured naked women on its cover page, and focused less on humor and more on high quality articles and imported photos of busty nude women.⁷⁸¹ Hector Soto, who worked for *Bravo*, lamented that despite what the magazine accomplished, “The Chilean *Playboy* could not be done during the military dictatorship.”⁷⁸²

Bravo was initially directed by Ronald Cardenas and subdirected by a woman named Graciela Romero.⁷⁸³ Once again we see the historical involvement of women in the production of nude magazines. And Graciela Romero was not the only woman to work in the nude magazine industry under the dictatorship, as Elvira Mendoza directed *Hombre del Mundo* from 1978 to 1990.⁷⁸⁴

Huidobro and Escobar claim that picaresque magazines almost disappeared under the dictatorship, except for the generally illegal imported magazines and that only towards the end of the 1980s such magazines began to reappear. They argue that “everything seems to indicate that as the power of DINA-COS declined, there is a boom in picaresque and erotic magazines that ends in the 1990s during the transition to democracy.”⁷⁸⁵ Yet, these magazines never really disappeared from Chilean production and consumption, as evidenced by the existence of magazines such as *Novedades*, *Pepe Antartico*, and *Bravo*. Even reporter

⁷⁸⁰ Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 51; García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176. The authors indicate that *Novedades* began under the dictatorship, but I purchased 1971 and 1972 editions of the magazine from Luis Rivano. Furthermore, the National Library holds editions beginning in July 1973.

⁷⁸¹ Mendoza, “La picara historia,” 29; Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 51-52.

⁷⁸² Albuquerque and Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*, 51-52.

⁷⁸³ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 176. Later Romero’s position was taken over by Mario Fonseca and then by Ricardo Gelcic, and in 1981 all direction was taken over by Juan Basauri Tocchetton.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 177.

⁷⁸⁵ García Huidobro Mac Anliffe and Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas*, 177-178.

Marcelo Mendoza's 1986 article on the history of picaresque magazines in Chile included reprinted nude photographs of women.⁷⁸⁶

Further evidence is seen in a 1981 *Que Pasa* cover article on pornography.⁷⁸⁷ The article discussed the new "fashion" of watching pornographic videos that was popular among upper class middle-aged married couples. Here, again we see instances of female gaze. Further, new access to developing technologies was changing the way Chileans consumed sexualized nudity. Describing the consumption of pornography by class, it noted that the "sophisticated videocassettes" were popular among upper class Chileans, whereas those less well off enjoyed color photographs and the poorest sectors had to settle for black and white photographs.

The article noted that national production of nude images had been increasing, and that four months ago Santiago "and some other important cities in the country" were "practically invaded by pornographic publications" from the U.S. and Europe. It stated that *Bravo* had to compete with these more "hardcore" foreign magazines, but that the foreign magazines were very expensive. It described how all of the magazines were visible in kiosks and available for purchase by children, even following the new Constitution's placement of the foreign magazines under the transitory regulation in March.⁷⁸⁸

However, it lamented that another order sent "from very high up" in June stopped the supply, "at least publicly." According to the article, Opus Dei priest Jose Miguel Ibañez Langlois asked Pinochet "How is it possible that in a regime that defines itself as Christian, the magazine kiosks are true dens of public corruption?" As a result, the supply of imported

⁷⁸⁶ Mendoza, "La picara historia," 26-29.

⁷⁸⁷ "La Pornografía en el Barrio Alto," *Que Pasa*, October 1981, 13-16.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.* The article references la disposición 24 transitoria.

magazines started disappearing and prices skyrocketed on the black market. However, it noted, low quality nationally produced nude photographs were still available for the poorest sectors.

The article also included a piece on “Beauty and Pornography” by a priest named Luis Eugenio Silva. Discussing the Venus de Milo and Michelangelo’s David, Silva argued that the naked body was not in and of itself pornography, but that “everything depends on the meaning it is given.” Here we see conversations about the definition of pornography occurring between consumers, publishers, state officials, and the church.

Television and Films

As discussed in my analysis of televised vedette sexual performance in the previous chapter, sexual performance became a regular, defining feature of Chilean television certainly by the late 1970s as vedettes increasingly began moving from cabarets to television shows. This section analyzes the fictional representation of the sexual performance industries in television and films, arguing that, like some of the 1980s chronicles referenced in the cabaret chapter, this representation also influenced the increasing construction of shame surrounding the sexual performance industries by focusing on its exploitative aspects and blurring the lines between sexual performance and sexual commerce. Under the dictatorship, television was vigilantly controlled by the military junta. As Sergio Durán describes, Television Nacional de Chile (TVN), the state channel, “served during the dictatorship as the spokesperson and sounding board of the official truths, while in the other channels owned by the universities of Chile... editorial control was ensured by directing representatives.”⁷⁸⁹ The

⁷⁸⁹ Sergio Durán Escobar, *Ríe cuando todos estén tristes: El entretenimiento televisivo bajo la dictadura de Pinochet* (Santiago: LOM, 2012), 14.

appearance of nudity, sexual performance, and stories of sexual commerce was thus explicitly permitted by the military junta.

In 1977, the Chilean television show *La Colorina* began airing on national television in black and white. The title of the show referenced the redheaded protagonist, played by the actress Liliana Ross, who worked as a cabaret performer and a prostitute and later became a señora and the administrator of the club.⁷⁹⁰ This show certainly blurs the lines between nighttime sexual performance businesses and sexual commerce, yet it also portrays the possibility of such work as leading to a more stable career and more respectable identity.

Liliana Ross, speaking in 2015 about her role in the show, described her character as a woman who danced while “dressed freely” (*vestida libremente*). Ross also said that she became very famous, but that people confused her with the character she played on tv. She remembers a woman coming up to her and telling her that she did not want to continue dancing but also wanted to become a respectable working woman so that she would not have to deal with men saying rude things to her. Ross recalled feeling a great sense of responsibility that the woman may not have been able to accomplish what her character did.⁷⁹¹ Thus, while the show portrayed a world of versatility of respectability in which women could move from a life of prostitution to being a respectable señora, even Ross felt that this may have given women false hope. Ironically, in portraying a world of versatility of respectability, it attacked that very versatility by conflating sexual performance and sexual commerce.

⁷⁹⁰ *La Colorina*, directed by José Caviedes (TVN, Chile, 1977). Also see Durán Escobar, *Ríe cuando todos estén tristes*, 92; and “Liliana Ross y su papel en *La Colorina*,” TVN, 3/9/2015, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.tvn.cl/programas/menu/imperdibles/liliana-ross-y-su-papel-en-la-colorina--1601722>. A full color Mexican remake of *La Colorina* emerged in 1980, as well as subsequent remakes of the story such as *Salomé* (2001).

⁷⁹¹ Liliana Ross, Interview in “Liliana Ross y su papel en *La Colorina*,” TVN, 3/9/2015, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.tvn.cl/programas/menu/imperdibles/liliana-ross-y-su-papel-en-la-colorina--1601722>.

The censorship of films was officially established in the 1980 Constitution through the Consejo de Calificación Cinematográfica (CCC), although censorship had occurred since the dictatorship took power in 1973. Many movies were censored and denied to the Chilean public during the 1970s, 1980s, and even in the first ten years of the return to democracy. Censored movies included the sexy *The Last Tango in Paris*, as well as movies censored for political reasons such as *All Workers Go to Heaven*, the 1975 *Captain Pantoja and the Special Services*, about a Peruvian military's special prostitute service center, as well as the 1988 *The Last Temptation of Christ*.⁷⁹² Yet it is also necessary to consider all of the films that were not censored by the dictatorship. In this context, the productions of a 1977 Chilean film about a prostitute that allowed nudity and of a 1987 Chilean film about the sexual performance industry that included nudity are even more remarkable; it begs the question of why these movies passed through the CCC without problems.

The 1979 film *Julio Empieza en Julio*, filmed in 1976, about a 15 year old boy who falls in love with a prostitute, featuring actress Schlomit Baytelman nude on screen, is centered around the Cold War Chilean tradition of young men losing their virginity on their fifteenth birthdays to prostitutes.⁷⁹³ In 1999, the film was voted the best Chilean movie of the century.⁷⁹⁴ The story takes place in the early twentieth century on the fifteenth birthday of an upper class young man named Julio. To celebrate, his father takes him to a brothel where a party ensues, and Julio engages in his first sexual relationship with an older female prostitute named Maria, played by famous Chilean actress Schlomit Baytelman. At the time,

⁷⁹² Sebastián Alburquerque and Melissa Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne*; See also Errázuriz and Leiva, *El Golpe Estético*, 139-143, for complete list of films censored by dictatorship.

⁷⁹³ *Julio Empieza en Julio*, dir. Silvio Caiozzi, Chile, 1979.

⁷⁹⁴ Video Testimony of Schlomit Baytelman, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile; Julio López Navarro, *Cien películas latinoamericanas* (Ediciones Pantalla Grande: 2000).

Baytelman, who appeared nude in the film, was 26 years old and the actor that played Julio was 15.⁷⁹⁵ Julio becomes infatuated with Maria and wants to have her to himself. The owner of the brothel forces her to continue sleeping with Julio against Maria's wishes. Julio's father, however, opposes his romantic interest in Maria and to show Julio that she "is a whore," the father sleeps with Maria. The movie ends with Julio leaving his father and yelling that he loves her.

Schlomit Baytelman discussed her role in the film in her testimony for the National Archive's Women and Gender Archive. She described the film as "machista," and said that it shows "what Chile still is." She discussed appearing nude in the film with a fifteen year old boy, noting that she got the part because the husbands of other actresses refused to let them appear nude on film, and even worse with a fifteen year old boy. She recalled the director hiring one of his friends, who was not an actor, to play Julio's father in the film. She had to get completely naked with this older man and film a scene where they pretended to have sex. They were both actually nude, he was one top of her, and when he touched Baytelman, she recalled that her "body cried," and thus she began to cry. This happened three or four times, until the director finally offered her a drink. She ultimately was able to do the scene, but she was surprised with herself that it was so hard for her. Later she realized that "the problem was that I was feeling that I was a whore."⁷⁹⁶ She said that in the middle of it, the man told her she had "beautiful breasts," and she thinks that was part of the problem. He was seeing her as a woman, not as an actress. Baytelman remembered that after filming the scene, this man was the only one returning to Santiago so she had to ride back alone with him. She

⁷⁹⁵ Video Testimony of Schlomit Baytelman, Women and Gender Archive, National Archive of Chile.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

noted that she talked about her family and her husband the whole time to change the image she thought he had of her, to make sure he knew that she was not a whore.

The 1987 Chilean film *Sussi* is a story of a young woman named Azucena (Sussi), played by Marcela Osorio, who moves to Santiago from the countryside to find work and ends up working in a cabaret type nightclub.⁷⁹⁷ Upon arriving to the capital, Sussi rents a room in a house and tries working at a hospital before going to work as a *copetinera*⁷⁹⁸ in a nightclub. She is told that it is how the big stars get discovered. In the movie, the sexual performance show with a topless dancer begins when the *toque de queda* begins. Sussi is told she can make more money by leaving with the men, but that it can be dangerous. Here, just as in *La Colorina*, the sexual performance industry is portrayed as a sexual commerce industry.

An older man who works in television, played by Jaime Celedon, comes to the club to take pictures of the women. He tells Sussi, who he calls “guaguita” (baby), that if she lets him touch her he will make her the prettiest woman in Chile, and so the two have sex. Osorio is shown topless in another sex scene with a man who lives in the house she lives in. The movie replays several common themes among 1980s representations of the sexual performance industry: women must use their bodies and sexuality to become a star, the use of cocaine, and the hypocrisy of men demanding that the women they impregnated get abortions. Interestingly, when the outside of the cabaret is vandalized with graffiti, the owner blames it on the communists. The dictatorship approved movie portrays communists as attacking the sexual performance business.

⁷⁹⁷ Dir. Gonzalo Justiniano, *Sussi*, Chile, 1987. Written by Susana Malbrán.

⁷⁹⁸ See Cabaret chapter for discussion of *copetineras*.

The actress who played Sussi, Marcela Osorio, is a Chilean woman who left the country in political exile with her family and returned in the 1980s as an actress known for her erotic role in *Ardiente Paciencia*. Known as the Chilean Marilyn, the actress recognized that her body helped her career.⁷⁹⁹ Jaime Celedon, the actor who played the man who exploited Sussi's sexuality, was on the show *Buenas Noches con Cesar Antonio Santis* in December 1973 when Isabel Allende was the guest who was fulfilling her dream of being a vedette (as she had done for the September 1973 *Revista Paula* article). On the show, vedettes came on stage with their buttocks bare to take Isabel Allende off to change. Celedon can be seen touching the vedettes' bottoms, despite their attempts to move away from him.⁸⁰⁰ His role in the film as a powerful man who exploited vedettes' sexuality and naturalized his access to their bodies was perhaps not a difficult character to play. The film was so popular that ten years after the film's release, in 1997, TVN made a show with the same story called *The Stories of Susi* starring Andrea Molina Oliva.⁸⁰¹

This chapter has exposed Chile's long history of erotic and nude magazines. The industry thrived under the rising democratic left, the socialist presidency of Allende, and Pinochet's dictatorship. By emphasizing the models' agency and historicizing the meanings and motivations of sexual performance in nude magazines, I have highlighted its emancipatory effects in allowing for performances of female hetero and homosexual desires. I have further complicated notions of exploitation by illustrating women's role in the

⁷⁹⁹ "Marcelo Osorio, la sensualidad hecha mujer," *La Cuarta*, Accessed 4/18/16, http://www.lacuarta.com/galerias/galerias_individuales/galeria-marcela-osorio/01.htm.

⁸⁰⁰ "Buenas Noches con Cesar Antonio Santis," December 17, 1973.

⁸⁰¹ "Andrea Molina: La transformacion de animadora a diputada," *La Cuarta*, July 5, 2013; Daniel Belmar, "Las chicas que alguna vez se empelotaron y ahora les da cosita," *The Clinic Online*, February 8, 2012, Accessed 4/18/16, <http://www.theclinic.cl/2012/02/08/las-chicas-que-alguna-vez-se-empelotaron-y-ahora-les-da-cosita/>. The show was called *Las Historias de Sussi*. Molina, who often appeared on the show in her underwear or covered only partially by a sheet in the 1990s, later became a politician and was elected as the representative of Valparaiso's District 10 from 2010-2014.

production of such magazines as well as their role in the audience and readership, proposing the notion of female gaze. Intervening in the scholarship on the dictatorship's heavy use of censoring, I have demonstrated that while the dictatorship heavily censored all forms of media, sexualized nude female bodies were not censored in magazines, television, or film.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Establishing the entertainment industry as a fundamental structure of power, this dissertation has demonstrated the importance of examining productive sexualities and other nonreproductive sexualities in Cold War Chile. In looking at the consumption, production, and performance of beauty in fashion, modeling, advertising, beauty contests, sexual performance, and nude magazines, we see a new cultural and political history of Cold War Chile. The ruptures in the traditional political periodization did not fundamentally affect any of these productive sexualities, nor did they greatly affect broader nonreproductive sexualities. Changing technologies had a far greater effect on all productive sexualities.

Centering transgender communities in the history of Chilean gender and sexuality, I show that nonnormative genders and sexualities were present and visible since the 1950s, yet marginalized, culturally shamed, and legally repressed under all of these changing regimes. The performance of specific essentialized aesthetic and behavioral markers of femininity was central to constructions of gender and sexuality for both cisgender and transgender women, yet both cisgender women and queer Chileans resisted and inverted normative notions of binary gender roles in public and private spaces throughout the Cold War period. The transnational nature of competitive beauty contests, the cabaret and striptease industries, and nude magazines reveals race, sex, and gender constructions as transnational processes.

Despite drastic regime shifts, the elite maintained overarching continuities in policing heteronormative gender and sexuality and in the related sexualization of female bodies. Productive sexualities provided cisgender and queer Chileans education in femininity under democracy and dictatorship. Throughout the Cold War period (and indeed throughout the twentieth century) beauty industries served in the construction of a sexed, gendered,

sexualized, and racialized model of the ideal physical qualities of Chilean national identity. Such models promoted cisgender European aesthetics while exoticizing other aesthetics, and since the 1960s began appropriating imagined indigenous aspects for tourism purposes while excluding actual indigenous women. Beauty industries, built on markers of femininity established in state schooling and elsewhere, sold products and services intended to fabricate specific ideals of incarnate femininity, as well as advice on how to perform as women. Beauty and femininity are performances of sex difference, and education in femininity was taught in beauty industries, as well as in other cultural productions and commercial spaces, in public schooling, in private spaces, in the sphere of labor, and increasingly in medical-legal discourses.

Reframing sexual performance as potentially emancipatory rather than inherently exploitative, I have shown that striptease and other sexual performance are critical to both challenging and reinforcing gender and sexuality in state and society, and that they are best understood as inhabiting a versatility of respectability. Striptease and other sexual performance functioned as a space for the expression and appreciation of diverse bodies, for eluding sexual categorization and for imagining new narratives of sexual selfhood, thus challenging and reinforcing education in femininity in Cold War Chile. Like the beauty industries, the cabaret and striptease industries served all Chilean Cold War governments as entertainment, as a pillar of national and international business and tourism, and as a gendered, racialized, sexualized marketing product of the nation. Indeed, all Cold War governments allowed space for sexualized nude female bodies in cabaret and nightclub performances, as well as in magazines. With increasing advances in technology, the

dictatorship capitalized on the performances of sexualized nude female bodies in television and film as well.

Indeed, all of these productive sexualities served as educations in femininity. All of these industries used performative markers of sexualized beauty and femininity as constructs of sex differentiation, yet in doing so, they also provided cisgender and trans Chileans the tools to invert such legally established binary heterosexual norms. Both cisgender and transgender women adopted and/or resisted such stylized markers learned in this education in femininity in order to express their gender identity and/or to “pass” for political reasons.

Beauty, as a construct of sex differentiation, was a lucrative business and one that provided changing governments racialized and sexualized representations of the nation. “Official beauty,” like cabaret acts and nude magazines, was assimilated into the language of nationalism and economic markets by the democratic right, left, and center as well as the dictatorship. Indeed, motherhood was not the most important signifier of womanhood in Chile, or in broader Latin America. Mothers were important, but no more important than beauty queens, models, sexual performance artists, or prostitutes. Of these, only beauty queens were prohibited from being mothers or wives.

Queering the Transition

By the mid to late 1980s, queer Chilean visibility was even more pronounced, with brave activists publishing declarations of homosexuality and staging public performance protests. In 1985, a published interview with Ernesto Muñoz in *Revista APSI* announced his homosexuality and quoted him saying, “Homosexuality exists at all levels and also within the structures of power. There have been presidents with clear homosexual tendencies, and also

ambassadors, ministers, and senators...”⁸⁰² Four months later, the same magazine quoted Marcos Ruiz Delgado’s announcement that, “I am Christian, Socialist, and homosexual.”⁸⁰³ In 1987, Chilean lesbian activist organization Ayuquelén also declared in *APSI* that it was time to speak out and criticized the homophobic society in which they lived.⁸⁰⁴ By 1992, the lesbian activist group organized the First National Feminist Lesbian Encounter, in which fifty women from different regions of the country participated.⁸⁰⁵

Pedro Lemebel, whose work figures as a primary source base in this dissertation, was a revolutionary sexual activist, writer, and icon of queer and progressive Chile. His collective *Yeguas del Apocalipsis*, formed in the late 1980s, entailed one of the most effective challenges to the machismo of the Chilean right and left.⁸⁰⁶ While not all of their performances entailed explicitly sexual or gendered protests, many did. Las Yeguas used public spaces as their stage, deliberately politicizing their gendered performances. In one of their 1988 performances, known as “Refounding the University of Chile,” Lemebel and Francisco Casas rode together, bareback and naked, a yegua (mare) down the street and into the University of Chile’s Juan Gomez Millas campus, accompanied by clothed female poets Carmen Berenguer, Carolina Jerez, and Nadia Prado. According to FONDART, the artists “parodied and eroticized the virile iconography of the military/conquistador while referencing homosexual masculinity.”⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰² In *Revista APSI*, August 12, 1985, quoted in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 21.

⁸⁰³ In *Revista APSI*, quoted in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 21.

⁸⁰⁴ In *Revista APSI*, June 22, 1987, quoted in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 25.

⁸⁰⁵ Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 25.

⁸⁰⁶ www.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl, Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, FONDART, Government of Chile.

⁸⁰⁷ www.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl, Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes, FONDART, Government of Chile. “Refundación de la Universidad de Chile.”

Lemebel noted that “Before the arrival of the democracy, it was us *maricas* who said what others could not or did not want to say.”⁸⁰⁸ By August 1989, when a plebiscite secured the 1990 transition to democracy, the Yeguas stole a literal stage in order to politicize their gender and sexuality. Interrupting a play starring Ana Gonzalez in a ceremony nominating Patricio Aylwin as a presidential candidate in the Teatro Cariola, the Yeguas suddenly took over the stage dressed in drag (*travestidos*) wearing only corsets, high heels, and coats.⁸⁰⁹ In front of an audience that included important political and intellectual figures such as Ricardo Lagos, the Yeguas held up a canvas sign that read “Homosexuals In Favor of the Change” (*Homosexuales por el cambio*).⁸¹⁰ Francisco Casas later noted that they had to run away quickly following their staged performance protest. He also stated that Aylwin ordered that the protest not be reported on anywhere, and that it took ten years for the performance to be published in the magazine *Pagina Abierta*.⁸¹¹

The Yeguas continued their sexual politics performances in the through the transition to democracy and into 1997, setting the stage for future sexual politics performers such as Claudia Rodriguez, Victor Hugo Robles (the Che of the Gays) and the late Hija de Perra. Hija de Perra lost her life August 26, 2014 to AIDS related encephalitis. Described as “the Gabriela Mistral of postmodernity” by Victor Hugo Robles, Hija de Perra had dedicated her life to the performance of sexual politics, bringing attention to the rights of sexual minorities

⁸⁰⁸ Pedro Lemebel, Interview by Luis Alberto Mancilla, *Punto Final*, October 1996, quoted in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 27.

⁸⁰⁹ www.yeguasdelapocalipsis.cl.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹¹ Pedro Lemebel, Interview by Luis Alberto Mancilla, in Robles, *Bandera Hueca*, 27.

and STD education.⁸¹² Queer Chile lost another of its most effective activists of sexual politics when Pedro Lemebel died of cancer on January 23, 2015.⁸¹³

Recent studies have shown that globally Chile ranks among the lowest in terms of countries' respect for women, falling behind the Middle East and North Africa as well as many other Latin American countries.⁸¹⁴ Sixty percent of Chilean male and female respondents said that women in Chile were not treated with respect and dignity.⁸¹⁵ In understanding the stigmatization of cisgender women, we must look deeper than the exaltation of motherhood. We must question why prostitutes are stigmatized in a country where prostitution is legal and that only in 1984 prohibited brothels. We must interrogate why striptease artists are equally stigmatized in a country in which women strip naked on live television for annual charity benefits. We must ask why transgender Chilean women face the most stigmatization and violence in a country with such a long and powerful history of trans visibility.

The traditional political periodization of Cold War Chile does not help us answer these questions. Chileans who did not conform to heteronormative gender binaries faced police abuse and repression and cultural shaming under the democratic right, left, and center, Allende's peaceful road to socialism, and Pinochet's right wing dictatorship. Likewise, all of these Cold War governments made space for- and enjoyed the performances of- nonnormative sexualities, including queer and transgender sexual performances as well as cisgender female sexual performances and stripteases. Brothels were also legally regulated

⁸¹² Victor Hugo Robles, "Opinion: Todas Somos Hijas de Perra," *El Mostrador*, September 9, 2014.

⁸¹³ "El Che de los Gays: 'Pedro Lemebel No Era de los Huecos Bien Portados, Era Subversivo y Resentido, Un Luchador,'" *Radio Villa Francia*, Chile, January 23, 2015.

⁸¹⁴ Bill Chappell, "Survey: Latin America Ranks Last in Respect for Women," *NPR*, October 14, 2014.

⁸¹⁵ Chappell, "Survey." For contrasting examples, 54% of Argentine respondents said that women were not treated with respect in their country, with statistics of 43% in Mexico.

under all of these governments, and the dictatorship prohibited them as a means of controlling STDs without prohibiting prostitution itself. Additionally, all of these governments used sexualized, gendered, and racialized female images and performances to represent the nation.

In order to fully question the stigmatization of femininity and queerness in Chilean society, we must recognize that essentialized notions of femininity were at the heart of medical-legal programs addressing both cisgender and trans femininity. Indeed, the history of Chile must be queer because Chile is a queer country. From the queer choreographers and trans prostitutes and dancers of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (and their clients) to the medical-legal reactions of the state to Chileans who attempted to “pass” as their authentic selves, it is clear that there is nothing new about homosexuality or transvestism in Chile. For some cisgender women, successfully passing as beautiful women of a certain ethnic and class status took on urgent, vital meanings under the politically repressive dictatorship. It is clear that cisgender women and trans and queer Chileans consumed, performed, produced, and/or inverted the same essentialized markers of femininity in the expression of their gender, sexuality, and political identities. Indeed, the history of Cold War Chile demonstrates that everything is drag.

Bibliography

Archives

Archive of *Revista Paula*, Santiago, Chile

Women and Gender Archive, ARNAD, National Archive of Chile, Santiago, Chile

National Library, Santiago, Chile

Archive of Museum of Education Gabriela Mistral, Santiago, Chile and Museum of Education Digital Exhibit, Accessed 4/18/16, www.museodeeducacion.cl.

Archive of *Museo de la Moda*, Santiago, Chile

Museum of Fine Arts, Santiago, Chile

Published Primary Sources

Allende, Isabel, *Paula: A Memoir*, translated by Margaret Sayers. New York: HarperCollins, 1994.

Freire, Toño, *Rakatán: ¡Hay Ambiente en el Bim Bam Bum!* Santiago: Editorial Puerto de Palos Ltda, 2005.

Frontaura, Rafael, *Trasnochadas: Anecdótico del teatro y de la noche santiaguina*. Santiago: Editora Zig-Zag, 1957.

Lemebel, Pedro, *Loco Afán: Crónicas de Sidario*. Santiago, LOM, 1996.

———. <http://lemebel.blogspot.com/2006/04/el-bim-bam-bum-o-cascadas-de-marab-en.html>.

Marín, Adriana, *Topless*. Santiago: Impreso en los Talleres Gráficos de Gendarmería de Chile, 1986.

Merino, Roberto, *Horas Perdidas en las Calles de Santiago*. Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000.

Molina Lahitte, Alfredo. *Santiago que no dormía*. Santiago: LOM, 2007.

Piña, Carlos. *El Suicidio de la Reina del Topless*. Santiago: FLASCO, 1985.

Plath, Oreste. *Geografía del mito y la leyenda chilenos*.(2^a). Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1983.

———. *El Santiago que se fue: Apuntes de la memoria, Fifth Edition*. Santiago: Editorial Grijalbo, 1999.

Television and Films

Julio Empieza en Julio. Directed by Silvio Caiozzi. Written by Valentín Castillo. Chile, 1979.

La Colorina. Directed by José Caviedes. TVN, Chile, 1977.

Sussi. Directed by Gonzalo Justiniano. Written by Susana Malbrán. Chile, 1987.

Secondary Literature

Albuquerque, Sebastián, and Melissa Gutiérrez, *El Club de la Carne: La Fracasada Historia del Porno Chileno*. Santiago: Catalonia Ltda, 2013.

Allen-Spencer, Patricia C. "Of Mice and Bunnies: Walt Disney, Hugh Hefner, and the Age of Consensus," Thesis, Oregon State University, 2001.

Ang, I. *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Appelbaum, Nancy P., Karin Roseblatt, and Anne S. Macpherson, eds. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Araya Riveros, Lorena Andrea. "La Nueva Noche: El imaginario de la bohemia, genero revisteril y vedettes (Santiago, 1950-1973)," Undergraduate Thesis, University of Chile, 2007.

Baldez, Lisa. *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Baldwin, Kate A. *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Banet-Weiser, Sarah. *The Most Beautiful Girl in The World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

- Barr-Melej, Patrick. "Siloísmo and the Self in Allende's Chile: Youth, 'Total Revolution,' and the Roots of the Humanist Movement." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (November 2006): 747-784.
- Bennett, Judith. *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006.
- Besse, Susan. *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Bliss, Katherine, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City*. State College: Pennsylvania State University, 2001.
- Bordo, Susan. "'Material Girl': The Effacements of Postmodern Culture," *The Gender and Sexuality Reader*, edited by Roger N. Lancaster and Micaela di Leonardo, 335-58. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- . *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and in Private*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.
- Bosley, Jocelyn. "From Monkey Facts to Human Ideologies: Theorizing Female Orgasm in Human and Nonhuman Primates, 1967–1983," *Signs, Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Indigenous Feminisms* 35, no. 3 (Spring 2010): 647-671.
- Bronfman, Alejandra. "Mismeasured Women: Gender and Social Science on the Eve of Female Suffrage in Cuba." In *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America*, edited by William French and Katherine Bliss, 71-86. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- . "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, edited by Sue-Ellen Case, 270-82. Baltimore: John-Hopkins University, 1990.
- . *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Butler Flora, Cornelia, and Jan L. Flora, "The Fotonovela as a Tool for Class and Cultural Domination," *Latin American Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 134-150.
- Cabezas, Katy, Paty Garcia, and Patricia Velasco. *Apoteosis Final: La Investigacion*. Santiago, 2005.

- Callahan, W. "The Ideology of Miss Thailand in National, Consumerist, and Transnational space," *Alternatives*, 1998.
- Candelario, "Hair-Race-ing: Dominican Beauty Culture and Identity Production," *Meridians* 1, no. 1 (2000).
- Caulfield, Sueann. "Interracial Courtship in the Rio de Janeiro Courts, 1918-1940," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, edited by Nancy P. Appelbaum, Karin Roseblatt, and Anne S. Macpherson, 163-186. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Chappell, Bill. "Survey: Latin America Ranks Last in Respect for Women," *NPR*, October 14, 2014.
- Cohen, Colleen Ballerino, Richard Wilk, and Beverly Stoeltje, eds. *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Vintage, 2004.
- Corrales, Javier and Mario Pecheny, eds. *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America: A Reader on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2010.
- Cosse, Isabel. "Infidelities: Morality, Revolution, and Sexuality in Left-Wing Guerrilla Organizations in 1960s and 1970s Argentina," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23, no. 3 (September 2014).
- De Beauvoir, Simone, *The Second Sex*, translated by H. M. Parshley. New York: Vintage, 1974.
- Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University, 2001.
- Dore, Elizabeth and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham: Duke, 2000.
- Dudziak, Mary L. "Josephine Baker, Racial Protest, and the Cold War," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (September 1994): 543-570.
- Durán Escobar, Sergio. *Ríe cuando todos estén tristes: El entretenimiento televisivo bajo la dictadura de Pinochet*. Santiago: LOM, 2012.
- Dussillant Christie, Jaqueline. "Consumo y belleza. Los cuidados del cuerpo femenino, siglos XVIII-XX." In *Fragmentos para una historia del cuerpo en Chile*, edited by

- Alvaro Gongora and Rafael Sagredo, 445-501. Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones, 2009.
- Eck, Beth. "Men Are Much Harder: Gendered Viewing of Nude Images," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 5 (Oct. 2003): 691-710.
- Edmonds, Alexander. *Pretty Modern: Beauty, Sex and Plastic Surgery in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Edmondson, Belinda. "Pubic Spectacles: Caribbean Women and the Politics of Performance," *Small Axe* 13 (March 2003): 1-16.
- Elsy, Brenda. "'I have united all Chileans': Miss Universe, Augusto Pinochet, and the Transnational Solidarity Movement." American Historical Association Presentation, January 7, 2012.
- Errázuriz, Luis Hernán, "Dictadura Militar en Chile: Antecedentes del Golpe Estético-cultural," *Latin American Research Review* 44, no. 2 (2009): 136-157.
- Errázuriz, Luis Hernán and Gonzalo Leiva Quijada. *El Golpe Estético: Dictadura Militar en Chile 1973-1989*. Santiago: Ocho Libros Editores Ltda, 2012.
- Etcoff, Nancy. *The Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty*. New York: Doubleday, 1999.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Vol. 1. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Frank, Thomas. *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998.
- French, John and Daniel James. *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- French, William and Katherine Bliss, eds. *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield: 2006.
- Fusco, Coco. "Hustling for Dollars: *jineteras* in Cuba," *The Bodies That Were Not Ours: And Other Writings*. London: Routledge, 2001, 137-153.
- . *English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas*. New York: The New Press, 1995.
- García Huidobro, Cecilia, Mac Anliffe and Paula Escobar Chavarría, *Una Historia de las Revistas Chilenas*. Santiago: Universidad de Diego Portales, 2012.

- Gaviola, Edda, Eliana Largo, and Sandra Palestro. *Una Historia Necesaria: Mujeres en Chile: 1973-1990*. Santiago: Aki & Aora Ltda, 1994.
- Gole, Nilufer, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1996.
- Góngora, Alvaro. *La Prostitucion en Santiago 1813-1931: Vision de las Elites*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1999.
- Góngora, Alvaro and Rafael Sagredo, eds. *Fragmentos para una historia del cuerpo en Chile*. Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones S.A., 2009.
- Gotkowitz, Laura, ed. *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Green, James N. *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-century Brazil*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- . “Doctoring the National Body: Gender, Race, Eugenics, and the “Invert” in Urban Brazil, ca 1920-1945.” *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America*. Edited by William French and Katherine Bliss, 187-21. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.
- Grewal, Inderpal. *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- . “Traveling Barbie: Indian transnationality and new consumer subjects,” *Positions* 7, no. 3 (1999): 799-827.
- Gundle, Stephen. *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Haiken, Elizabeth. *Venus Envy: A History of Cosmetic Surgery*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1997.
- Halle, Fannina. *Women in Soviet Russia*. New York: Routledge, 1933.
- Harmer, Tanya. *El Gobierno de Allende y la Guerra Fria Interamericana*. Santiago: Universidad Diego Portales, 2013.
- Holmgren, Beth. “Bug Inspectors and Beauty Queens: The Problems of Translating Feminism Into Russian,” *Genders*, Issue 22 (December 1995).
- Htun, Mala. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Hunt, Lynn. *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*. New York: Zone Books, 1996.
- Kirkwood, Julieta. *Feminismo y participacion politica en Chile*. Santiago: FLASCO, 1982.
- . *Ser Politica En Chile: Las Feministas y Los Partidos*. Santiago: FLASCO, 1986.
- Klubock, Thomas Miller. *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Kulick, Don, "The Gender of Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes," *American Anthropologist* 99, no. 3 (September 1997): 574-585.
- . *Travesti: Sex, Gender, and Culture Among Brazilian Transgender Prostitutes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Lancaster, Roger N. *Life Is Hard: Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua*. Berkeley: University of California, 1992.
- Lardo, Eliana, ed. *Genero en el estado, Estado del Genero*. Santiago: ISIS, 1998.
- Lavrin, Asuncion. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1995.
- Ledezma, Ana Maria. "La sociedad en vitrina: mujeres en la publicidad. Chile a mediados del siglo XX" in *Concurso Tesis Bicentenario 2005*. Santiago, June 2007.
- Leighton, Pablo, "A Culture of Audio-Visual Propaganda Under Dictatorship and Democracy in Chile," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Santiago.
- Lewis, Vek. *Crossing Sex and Gender in Latin America*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Liepe-Levinson, Katherine. *Strip Show: Performances of Gender and Desire*. New York: Routledge: 2002.
- Loeza, Guadalupe and Pável Granados. *Mi Novia, La Tristeza: El Recuento Biográfico Más Completo, Informado y Original Que Se Haya Escrito Sobre Agustín Lara*. Mexico City: Oceano de Mexico, 2008.
- López Navarro, Julio. *Cien películas latinoamericanas*. Santiago: Ediciones Pantalla Grande, 2000.
- Loveman, Brian. *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

- Manzano, Valeria. "Sexualizing Youth: Morality Campaigns and Representations of Youth in Early 1960s Buenos Aires," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 4 (Oct 2005): 433-461.
- . *The Age of Youth in Argentina: Culture, Politics, and Sexuality from Perón to Videla*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2014.
- McNair, Brian. *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratization of Desire*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Mendoza, Marcelo. "La picara historia del periodismo erotico chileno," *Apsi* (March 1986): 26-29.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. "The Body in its Sexual Being," in *The Phenomenology of Perception*, translated by Colin Smith. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne. *How Sex Changed: A History of Transexuality in the US*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Montalva, Pia. *Morir un poco: Moda y sociedad en Chile 1960-1976*. Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2004.
- . *Tejidos Blandos: Indumentaria y Violencia Politica en Chile, 1973-1990*. Santiago: Fondo de Cultural Economica Chile, 2013.
- Moskalenko, Lena. "Beauty, Women, and Competition: 'Moscow Beauty 1989'" in *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests, and Power*, eds. Colleen Ballerino Cohen, et al. New York: Routledge, 1996: 61-74.
- Mouat, Francisco. *Chilenos de Raza*. Santiago: El Mercurio, 2004.
- Mulvey, Laura, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18.
- Munt, Sally. *Queer Attachments: The Cultural Politics of Shame*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007.
- Nabokov, Vladimir. *Lolita*. Paris: Olympia Press, 1955.
- Neuburger, Mary. "Veils, Shalvari, and Matters of Dress: Unravelling the Fabric of Women's Lives in Communist Bulgaria." In *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, edited by Susan Reid and David Crowley. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000: 169-87.

- Ochoa, Marcia. *Queen for a Day: Transformistas, Beauty Queens, and the Performance of Femininity in Venezuela*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Parameswaran, Radhika, "Global Media Events in India: Contests Over Beauty, Gender and Nation," *Journalism and Communication Monographs* (July 2001).
- Pavez, Jorge and Lilith Krauser, eds. *Capitalismo y Pornología: La Producción de los Cuerpos Sexuados*. Antofagasta, Chile: Universidad Católica del Norte, 2011.
- Peri Fageström, René. *La Raza Negra en Chile: Una Presencia Negada*. Santiago: LOM Ediciones Ltda., 1999.
- Pieper Mooney, Jadwiga E. *Politics of Motherhood: Maternity and Women's Rights in Twentieth-Century Chile*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2009.
- Preciado, Beatriz. *Pornotopia: Arquitectura y sexualidad en Playboy durante la Guerra Fria*. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2010.
- Powers, Margaret. *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende 1964-1973*. State College: Pennsylvania State University, 2002.
- . "Class and Gender in the Anti-Allende Women's Movement: Chile 1970-1973." *Social Politics* (Fall 2000): 289-308.
- Purcell, Fernando. *Ampliando Miradas: Chile y su Historia en un Tiempo Global*. Santiago: RIL Editores, 2012: 175-176.
- Ramos Tapia, Hugo, "De bohémias, cabarets y trasnochadas: los clubes nocturnos de Santiago Centro (c. 1950-1960)." *Revista de Estudios de Historia de la Cultura, Mentalidades, Económica y Social* 1 (2012): 87-110.
- Rappaport, E.D. *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Reid, Susan. "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union Under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 211-252.
- Reid, Susan and David Crowley, eds. *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000.
- Robles, Victor Hugo, *Bandera Hueca: Historia del Movimiento Homosexual de Chile*. Santiago: ARCIS, 2008.

- Rojas, Jorge and Gonzalo Rojas, "Auditores, lectores, televidentes y espectadores. Chile mediatizado. 1973-1990." In *Historia de la Vida Privada en Chile: El Chile Contemporáneo de 1925 a Nuestros Días*, edited by Rafael Sagredo and Cristián Gazmuri, 381-424. Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones S.A., 2008.
- Rojas Varas, Pablo. "Con la mina por la sangre: Diferentes formas de imaginación/comercialización de los cuerpos en la Región Moral de Calama" In *Capitalismo y Pornología: La Producción de los cuerpos sexuados*, edited by Jorge Pavez and Lilith Kraushaar. Antofagasta, Chile: Universidad Católica del Norte, 2011, 404-436.
- Roseblatt, Karin Alejandra, *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920-1950*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 2000.
- Rotter, Andrew J. "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964." *The Journal of American History* 81, No. 2 (September 1994): 518-542.
- Rubenstein, Anne, "The War on *Las Pelonas*: Modern Women and Their Enemies, Mexico City, 1924." In *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico*, edited by Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Sagredo, Rafael and Cristián Gazmuri, eds. *Historia de la Vida Privada en Chile: El Chile contemporáneo de 1925 a nuestros días, Tomo 3*. Santiago: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones S.A., 2008.
- Salazar, Gabriel. "La mujer de 'bajo pueblo' en Chile: enfoque histórico," *Proposiciones* 21 (1992): 64-81.
- . *Patriarcado mercantil y liberación femenina (1810-1930)*, Santiago: Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, 2010.
- . *Hombres y Femenidad. Historia Contemporánea de Chile IV*. Edited by G. Salazar and J. Pinto. Santiago: LOM, 2002.
- Sanchez, Jessica Vera. "Tres Prostitutas en el Teatro Chileno," Thesis, University of Chile, Department of Theater, Santiago, 2004.
- Scanlon, Jennifer. "If My Husband Calls I'm Not Here: The Beauty Parlor as Real and Representational Female Space," *Feminist Studies* 33, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 308-334.
- Scott, James. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale, 1987.

- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075.
- . *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University, 1999.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- Stanfield, Michael, *Of Beasts and Beauty: Gender, Race, and Identity in Colombia*. Austin: University of Texas, 2014.
- Stepan, Nancy Leys. *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. New York: Cornell, 1991.
- Tamagne, Florence. "Paris: 'Resting on Its Laurels'?" In *Queer Cities, Queer Cultures*, edited by Matt Cook and Jennifer V. Evans. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Taylor, Diana, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- . *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina's "Dirty War."* Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Tejeda, Juan Guillermo. *La Fabrica*, Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2008.
- Telles, Edward E. and Tiana S. Paschel, "Beyond Fixed or Fluid: Degrees of Fluidity in Racial Identification in Latin America," Presented at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, San Francisco, CA, May 25, 2012.
- Thoma, P. "Of Beauty Pageants and Barbie: Theorizing Consumption in Asian-American Transnational Feminism," *Genders* 29 (1999).
- Tinsman, Heidi. *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950-1973*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- . "A Paradigm of Our Own: Joan Scott in Latin American History." *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1357-1374.
- Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1974.
- Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, Verónica, "Las '¿Mamitas de Chile?' Las Mujeres y el Sexo Bajo la Dictadura Pinochetista." *Mujeres: Historias Chilenas del Siglo XX*. Edited by Elizabeth Q. Hutchison and Julio Pinto Vallejos. Santiago: LOM, 2010.

- Vogel, Shane, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009.
- Wade, Peter. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press, 1997.
- Walter, Richard H. *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile 1891-1941*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press: 2005.
- Williams, Megan E. "The Crisis Cover Girl: Lena Horne, the NAACP, and Representations of African American Femininity, 1941-1945." *American Periodicals* 16, no. 2 (2006).
- Winn, Peter, *Tejedores de la Revolución: Los trabajadores de Yarur y la vía chilena al socialismo*. Translated by Verónica Huerta y Paula Salazar. Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2004.
- Zelaya, Christen E. "The Portrayal of Women in Chilean Magazine Advertising." Thesis, Mass Communications, Texas Tech University, August 1995.

Appendix A

Figures



Figure 1: “Eligen Miss Chile a lo Musica Libre,” photographs by Julio Bustamante, *Novedades*, N. 139, July 1973.

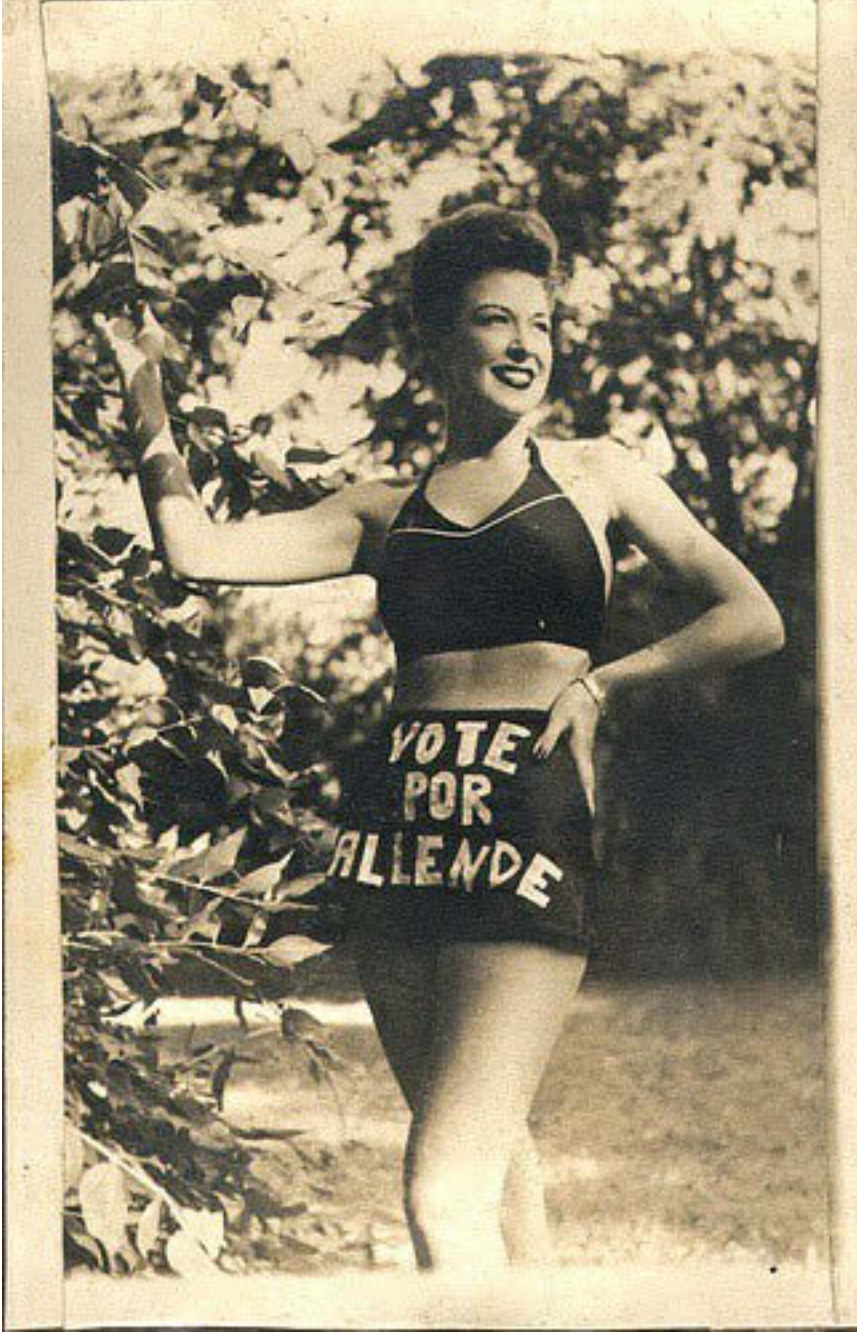


Figure 2: Actress Malu Gatica, Chile, 1945

Source: Fotografia del Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Fundación Salvador Allende



Figure 3: “Traditional Dances from Easter Island” in “Chile Salutes the World,” Third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
Source: “El Clasico de la UNCTAD III,” *Novedades*, N. 78, May 1972.



Figure 4: Easter Island indigenous dance group Tararaima performing in the National Palace for President Allende and his wife

Source: "Por primera vez la Isla de Pascua llega a la moneda," *Novedades*, N. 78, May 1972.



Figure 5: Easter Island indigenous dance group Tararaima performing in the National Palace for President Allende and his wife
Source: "Por primera vez la Isla de Pascua llega a la moneda," *Novedades*, N. 78, May 1972.



Figure 6: Juan Cordoba de Lasalle, a transgender woman known as “Blanquita,” and Oscar Tortosa Filipone
Source: “Degenerados o enfermos?,” *Revista Vea*, N. 745, July 22, 1953.



Figure 7: Catalina Wing, a transgender man
Source: "Hombres o Mujeres? Trate de Identificarlos," *Revista Vea*, N. 745, July 22, 1953.



Figure 8: French vedette Ivonne Menard
Source: 'Vea' en el Corazon de Paris," *Revista Vea*, March 26, 1952, Santiago, Chile.



GLADYS LORENZ, MISS NOCHE 1971

SANTIAGO.— Gladys Lorenz, la espigada y curvilínea vedette argentina que desde hace largos meses está triunfando en los escenarios chilenos, se ciñó la corona de Miss Noche 1971, en el concurso que año a año organiza la boîte Mon Bijou para recolectar fondos e ir en ayuda de la infancia desvalida. La estupenda Gladys que, con su rubia cabeza coronada y la banda terciada a un hombro, luce sus curvas en esta fotografía, tiene 31 años, es viuda y se ha convertido en una de las figuras más populares de la vida nocturna santiaguina.

Figure 9: Gladys Lorenz, Miss Noche 1971

Source: "Gladys Lorenz, Miss Noche 1971," *Novedades*, N. 60, December 1971.



Figure 10: Cleopatra, photographs by Alfredo Molina Lahitte, published in 1950s, Biblioteca Nacional Digital de Chile.



EL "PICA" ELIGIO A LAS REINAS DEL STRIP

Figure 11: Striptease Queen in El Picaresque
Source: *Novedades*, N. 93, August 18, 1972



Figure 12: Photograph of Rakatan, Osvaldo Muñoz Romero, kissing and hugging Miss Striptease Chile

Source: *Novedades*, N. 93, August 18, 1972.



Figure 13: Eugene D'Arcy, photographed by Alfredo Molina Lahitte
Published in 1950s, National Library of Chile

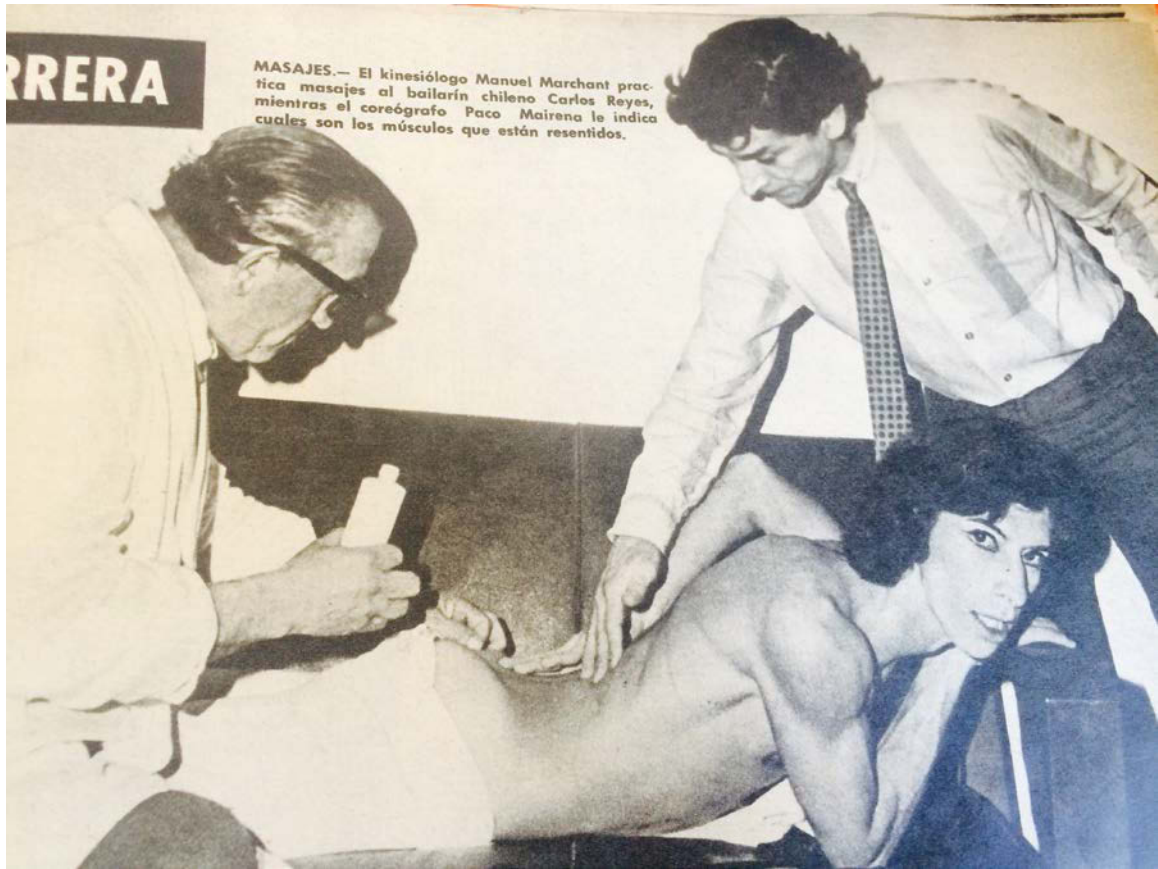


Figure 14: Choreographer Paco Mairena with dancer Carlos Reyes
Source: *Novedades*, N. 93, August 18, 1972

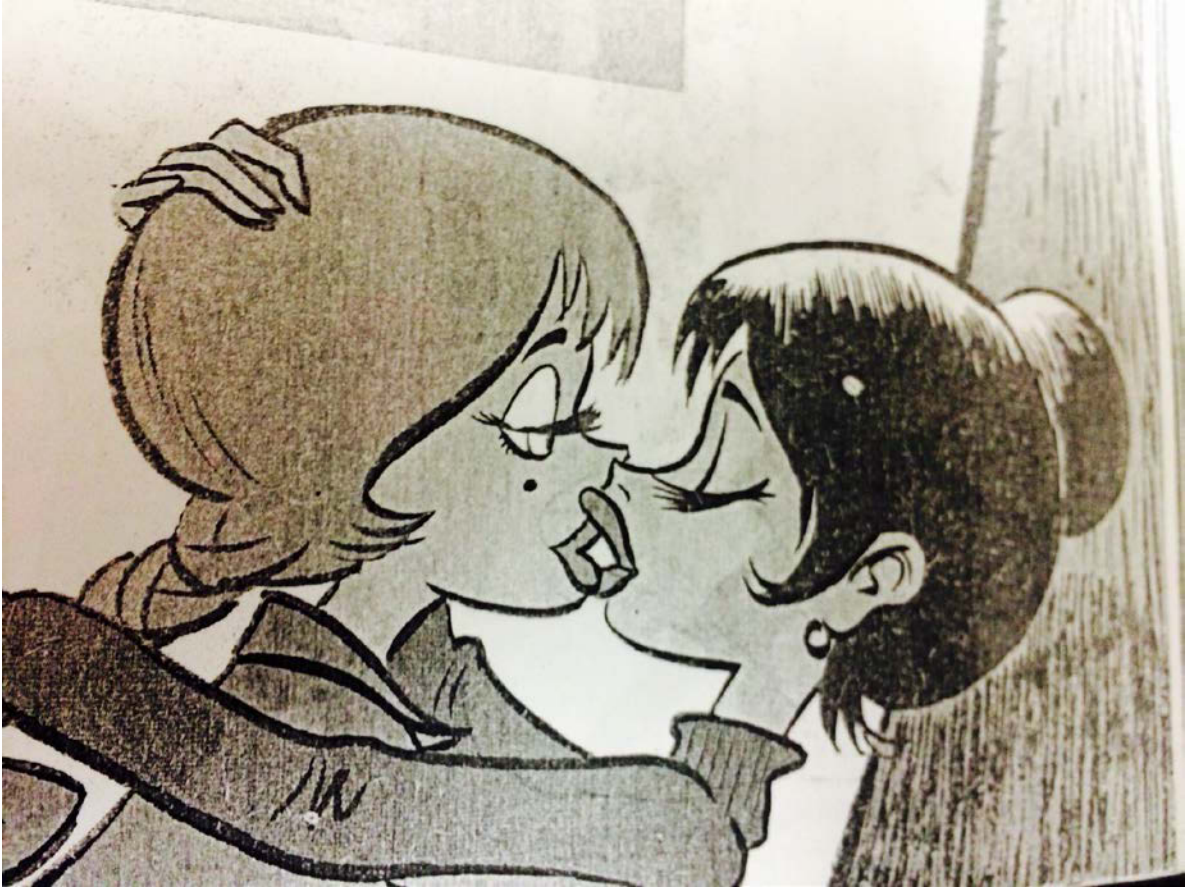


Figure 15: Lesbians in nude magazine *Viejo Verde*
Source: "Una Niña 'In,'" *Viejo Verde*, N. 39, 1971, p. 4-5.