Arpilleras in contested spaces

Keynote, Tuesday 3 September 2013

Roberta Bacic

www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/quilts

It is very pertinent that this professional and academic conference is having an exhibition of work by untrained women, mostly from poor communities who, when they made the pieces, had no thought that they would ever be shown around the world. It is appropriate that the theme is "Contested Spaces" as the exhibition of these pieces in the context of this conference is in itself an example of the quotidian unexpectedly challenging the assumptions on how space should be used. It is empowering for me to have the opportunity to make the *arpilleristas* break through the artificial boundaries we impose so that they win the contest for the right to appear in this space and to convey challenging messages.

Are these wall hangings artefacts? Political statements? Works of art? Folk art? What did the women who sewed them think they were making? Why were they making them and what did they expect to do with them? How can we use such work to account for the cost of political violence and human rights violations? No Truth Commission can do that, nor is that its remit.

First I would like to give you some background on this medium of expression we call *arpilleras*. Then I will touch on some of the questions I just raised. I would also like you to consider these questions and what they mean for you as we visit the exhibition; for our minds are also contested spaces. I will leave ample time for discussion and your reflections so that we can have an informed exchange with each other and with the *arpilleras*.

What are *arpilleras*?

Arpilleras (pronounced "ar-pee-air-ahs") are three-dimensional appliquéd tapestries of Latin America that originated in Chile. The backing of strong hessian, "arpillera" in Spanish became the name for this particular type of sewed pictures. Empty potato or flour bags have also been used for the backing, and this has given them their typical size – a quarter or a sixth of a bag. As Ariel Zeitlin Cooke and Marsha MacDowell[1] said, *"This is an art of poverty"*.

Cloth figures were made separately and, with other little memorabilia, they started to be sewn onto these "*cuadros*" (pictures) which gives them a three dimensional effect and a special personalized quality.

We believe that contemporary *arpilleras* originated in Isla Negra on the Chilean coastline. Around 1966 Leonor Sobrino, a long standing summer visitor to the area, animated local women to use embroidery to depict scenes of their everyday lives. The interplay of different cultures was already happening – between the residents of Isla Negra and the visitors – leading to the creation of *arpilleras*. Incidentally another Isla Negra figure who interacted with the community and was inspired to create some of his great poetry was Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet who won the 1971 Nobel Prize for Literature. The group of women became *Las Bordadoras de Isla Negra* (the Embroiders of Isla Negra) and, mainly in the long winter months, they embroidered bucolic scenes of their everyday rural lives.

Insert La Trilla 0, details 1, 2, 3 and 4

In 1970 they were shown for the first time in the National Museum of Art in Chile[2].

Another source and influence was the Chilean folk singer Violeta Parra. In her book about her mother, Isabel Parra[3] said that Violeta told a journalist in 1958 when she was too ill to sing, "*Arpilleras are like songs that one paints*".

Show image of *arpilleras* by Violeta Parra, El Arbol de la Vida, La Cueca

The famous singer started to embroider, paint and sculpt and in 1964 she exhibited 22 *arpilleras* at the Louvre in Paris together with 26 paintings and 13 sculptures.

---

[1] Cooke and MacDowell, 2005

[2] http://www.culturallascondes.cl/home/bordadoras-de-isla-negra.html

[3] Parra, 1985

Already *arpilleras* were travelling, contesting boundaries and introducing a new language. The main differences between those *arpilleras* and the ones we are discussing reside in content and technique. The ones in the exhibition ***Arpilleras in contested spaces*** are used to depict decisive political events that have impinged on individuals, families, communities and the country's history. The *arpilleristas* use discarded scraps of material, sew by hand and embroider only occasionally. Ariel Zeitlin Cooke and Marsha MacDowell[4] add in connection to the *arpilleras* we are examining: "*War textiles are born from this urge to find a new language with which to tell a story*". Jorge Semprún[5] wonders if a new language helps, saying: *"I start to doubt the possibility of telling the story. Not that what we lived through is indescribable. It was unbearable".*

In this exhibition survivor women, with great courage and tenacity, have graphically narrated the harsh reality of life under the Pinochet regime, 1973-1988. Through scraps of material, needle and thread they recount collective and individual stories of disappearances, forced execution, torture, resistance, displacement and forced exile, with a more recent focus on transition to democracy and indigenous land struggles.

Elizabeth Jelin[6] has said *"Survivors can bear testimony as observers of what happened to others and, at the same time, bear witness of their own experiences and of the events in which they participated*". This is exactly what an *arpillera* does.

Through the medium of street protest, song and dance, women contested the actions of the dictatorship in the public sphere and immortalised these actions in their *arpilleras*. Marjorie Agosín[7] has observed how women challenged the dictatorship, contesting the limits of their role as mothers and carers: "…*the military dictatorship obligated these women to confront public life, to make their pain and grief visible. They not only created tapestries, but also initiated*

---

[4] Op.cit.

[5] Semprún, 1997

[6] Jelin, 2003

[7] Agosín, 2008

street protests, obtaining through their own initiative, a power that had been previously denied to women."

Whilst early *arpilleristas* stitched their own local experiences of repression and survival, these *arpilleras* when brought outside Chile went beyond denunciation; they became global testimonies to the struggle within Chile. They contested the narrative of the state in the wider world which helped to indict the regime in the court of international public opinion.

Exhibiting these *arpilleras* as significant political testimonies and works of art; in museums, universities, art galleries, embassies and community spaces worldwide, contests their positioning as primitive folk art.

Thus, at every stage of their journey, from inception to exhibition, *arpilleras* challenge and contest, testimony to their enduring and global power.

Depicting contested spaces

The technique developed rapidly and the *arpilleras* you see are full of creativity both in technique and subject matter. Some *arpilleristas* were skilled needle workers while others were novices. Appliqué was more suitable than embroidery both because the level of skill required was easier to reach and production was speedier. Using whatever material was to hand for the characters, buildings and other elements of their *poblaciones* (neighbourhoods) made them colourful, intriguing and rather cheap to produce.

Show paz justicia – libertad 03, details 1 & 2

This typical *arpillera,* by an unknown *arpillerista* dates from the late 1970's. It follows the classic pattern that had emerged; the size corresponding to the quarter or sixth of a flour bag; the Andes mountains defining the country, which stretches along the length of Chile from north to south becoming an element of identity; the sun in the centre, making the political statement that it shines for all. Another element present in this *arpillera* is the use of the simple blanket stitch and crocheted red wool to resemble a frame, to let us know this is a picture to hang in and place in a room, to live with.

The material used makes this piece particularly poignant. The dark grey background fabric is from the trousers of a disappeared man and the road from the checked fabric of another's shirt. Agosín[8] informs us that creating *arpilleras* from the clothing of missing family members, as well as from their own clothing, was common practice for the early *arpilleristas*, who often had no other material available to them. One *arpillerista* told me around 1991, "*I can remember us using the trousers, shirts, pullovers, pyjamas and even socks of our disappeared to sew and stitch our arpilleras*"[9].

The same themes recur: arrests and disappearances; torture; exile; survival alone and community solidarity in the face of oppression and added poverty; protests. There are also *arpilleras* showing the process of making *arpilleras*.

Making *arpilleras* became a community activity. The women usually met clandestinely to share materials and techniques and work alongside each other. This experience of solidarity with others who had also suffered was helpful and at times therapeutic. The act of making the *arpillera* was also liberating. Each individual had to concentrate on the work at hand – they could not rush. But at the same time they had space to reflect, to talk and to release some of the feelings that they could not express before, both in the *arpillera* and in snatched conversations across the sewing table.

The art of the *arpillerista* was driven, not only by economic necessity, but also by a need to tell a story. The process of creation cannot be done in a rush. The *arpilleristas*' thought processes, individually and collectively, were profound and sometimes it was a painful and lengthy process to find the way to portray and for others to see. Thus, in these communities of cloth, scissors and needles, the women stitched their stories into *arpilleras*. The miniature figures, that protest or scream or dance or beg, moved from their fingers to the cloth and took with them their stories and pain. James E. Young writes, "*Every movement of the hand that pushed the needle in and pulled it out is reflected in each stitch"*[10], and each stitch shows "*memory as a physical activity, a material process whereby artists make sense of events inwardly and outwardly in the*

---

[8] Op. cit.

[9] Personal communication, 1991

[10] Young, 1993

same act"[11]. This sense of process, the transfer of the story from person to cloth is beautifully described in the words of an *arpillerista* who expressed how the textile '*received her tears*' with the *arpillera* soaking them up. Here both, figuratively and literally, the catharsis of creation drew the *arpillerista's* story and pain from her.

The duality of this process is apparent in how the *arpilleristas* not only told their individual stories but also narrated and expressed universal experiences – all with pieces of hessian, scraps, needle and thread.

Arpilleras **in contested spaces**

The *arpileristas* were not initially thinking of who might see their work. They were making them for themselves and each other and also to survive. Then their work began to be seen by others who realised that the tapestries carried powerful, raw testimony of the contested space and contested narrative between the Pinochet regime and those resisting it. Acquiring them became an act of solidarity and at the same time provided financial help for the *apilleristas* and their families to survive. Another characteristic of the *arpilleras* were little pockets sewn onto the backs where the *arpilleristas* put little messages for those who received them, telling something of themselves and the piece they had made.

The *arpilleras* expressed the contradictions in the circumstances of those making them – the contested space between their hearts and minds and their physical conditions. This is powerful enough, but much of their power lies in the way they are able to challenge and reach different environments and contexts.

Sometimes the solidarity supporters who bought *arpilleras* stored them away without being aware of how they could touch other people. In 2009 I curated an exhibition for the Museum of Osaka University by invitation of Dr Tomoko Sakai who had done her PhD on the Northern Ireland conflict. She had been deeply affected by the narratives of the families shattered by "The Troubles" and saw some of the expressions of this in *arpilleras* on exhibition in Northern Ireland. Later Dr Sakai contacted me to say that the Oshima Hakko Museum

---

[11] Young, 2005, p.34

had told her they had a collection of *arpilleras* but didn't know exactly what they were until they saw an article about my exhibitions in Osaka. On the museum's invitation I had the privilege of going to Japan earlier this year to help the museum to catalogue their collection of 88 *arpilleras* in preparation for an exhibition. This exhibition is still running. The collection has become stitched poems -- perhaps like *haiku* -- in their museum. Some of these very pieces are here for you to see. It is hard to convey how moving it was to hold *arpilleras* that had been made over 20 years ago by women I had met at the time, many of whom are now dead.

This is not the only time that exhibitions of *arpilleras* have led to people and institutions retrieving pieces they had acquired but for many years had stored in boxes.

I believe that collections need to be properly catalogued and that archiving can be used to extend the reach of the *arpilleras* into cyberspace. All the cataloguing I have done has been archived by the University of Ulster in their Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). I am indebted to the archivist, Martin Melaugh, for helping me and the *arpilleras* to find a place on the contested space of the internet that reaches multitudes of people. I am regularly contacted by people who, through the net, have connected with and been influenced by these stitched pictures.

From rural villages and urban workshops in Chile, these deceivingly simple textiles have travelled worldwide and carry with them a 'trail of context' from their creation to their viewing. In their journey they cement bonds between the *arpilleristas* and those who view them growing in meaning and public awareness, linking the viewer to the resistance in which they were born. They may still be considered as folk craft by many observers, yet they are exhibited, without apology, in museums, art galleries, universities and embassies. In every step of their journey the *arpilleras* have demonstrated resistance: resistance against poverty by creating a grassroots export; resistance against repressive regimes by narrating the story of daily life under such regimes; resistance against the very idea of non resistance by making sewing an act of subversion and and resistance against the expectations of the art world by being considered worthy of display in public places.

It seems pertinent at this stage to introduce the concept of contested spaces and the intrusion of *arpilleras* in them.

A contested space is any area over which two or more people or entities are in dispute, or at least, not in agreement. It can be physical or metaphysical. For example, I own a piece of land; you claim it's yours. I publish a book; you claim it's your intellectual property.

Living in Northern Ireland, itself a contested space, I am very aware of the concept as a way of understanding the local situation and, at the same time, the challenges it presents. There is, for example, an Interface/Contested Space Programme, jointly funded by the Northern Ireland Government and a charitable foundation. The key aim of the programme is to promote and improve relations between and across disadvantaged interfaces within the community – in this case, mostly the deprived areas of Belfast.

From 23 to 26 September of this year Causeway Museum Service in Northern Ireland will have an international seminar called Heritage Practice in Contested Spaces. It is exactly this same public organization that commissioned "Stitching and Unstitching the Troubles" exhibition held in 2012 in Coleraine and "Stitching and Unstitching the Troubles II" in Ballymena in 2013.

But a contested space is not only the assumptions made about who can use the space but also how the space can be used.

While preparing this keynote I came across a notice from The Santa Fe Art Institute in the USA about its 2013 summer school on contested space. In their presentation they say:

> "CONTESTED SPACE will explore the complex contemporary landscape–social, political, physical, and cultural–and the arts, ideas and artists that play a major role in shaping public understanding of the powerful dynamics of those spaces.
>
> Historically, land was the great frontier and artists had a major role in shaping public understanding of those spaces. Now the frontiers of the past have become the "contested spaces" of the present. These new frontiers are no longer just physical space, but constantly assume new morphologies–local, national, transnational, geopolitical, social, cultural,

> physical, virtual. At this point in time the planet has been entirely mapped and Googled and has become a globalized space that conveys the fears and hopes of humankind. When distance has been abolished and time and space have shrunk, can art still explore new territory? Yes, it is the territory of “contested space” in which transformation and re-imagining begins and the arts play a central role”.

However, one of the major challenges for the art world is how ordinary, perhaps non-professional, people can challenge assumptions to inhabit these spaces. Too many initiatives bring art to the people rather than bringing people’s artistic expressions to a given space. *Arpilleras* have the potential to achieve this at many levels.

When the political challenging *arpilleras* made their appearance in late 20th century Chile they were not noticed or they were considered insignificant or unimportant. The dictatorship did not take them seriously. After all, they were only the hobby of simple women – What did they know? What could they say? Who would listen to them? So the tapestries were exported without restriction. But of course they conveyed important messages of resistance that solidarity groups both understood and disseminated. Eventually the dictatorship began to realise this and the *arpilleras* and *arpilleristas* had to go underground.

Show articles 04 la Segunda 1978 & La Tercera 1980

I would like now to show you a newspaper cutting from 1980 when the police authorities first seized *arpilleras* at Santiago airport and branded them as subversive. The maker, the buyer, anyone who touched the bundle was subject to a court martial and punishment.

Over time making *arpilleras* has been taken up by those suffering under other repressive regimes or are coping with other forms of discrimination and disadvantage in various countries worldwide. *Arpilleras* from Peru, Ireland, Northern Ireland and England in this exhibition illustrate how the early *arpilleras* prompted the use of such textile narratives in other contested spaces to articulate human rights abuse and exclusion.

A striking example of arpilleras entering contested spaces was during the Peruvian Truth Commission. Women from Ayacucho wanted to give their testimony but it was an intimidating prospect. They did not speak Spanish well;

they were not accustomed to the formality and legality of a hearing. So they prepared an *arpillera* – much bigger than the typical size – and with two panels: Yesterday and Today.

Show 05 1 Yesterday, 05 2 Violence, 05 3 Today, 05 4 action in front of court

Even in the photograph one can see how eloquently it expresses the women's experience. In the "Yesterday" panel, vibrant colours depict their life in Ayacucho before the war between *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) and the Peruvian Government. However, violence can be seen creeping into the bottom right corner. The duller colours in "Today" and the regimented rows of temporary housing in their settlement for displaced people in Lima, presents the contrast more graphically than it is possible in words. The women held up the *arpillera* in front of the court during the Truth and Conciliation proceedings and at a later stage donated it to the Museum of Memory of Peru.

The techniques and concepts of *arpilleras* have been taken up in many contested societies around the world – in Africa and Europe as well as South America among others. Some *arpilleras* are being made by women with little experience or expertise in sewing; others are being made by well-known textile artists. Many textile artists have acknowledged the impact that *arpilleras* have had on their work and life. Crossing barriers has been positive and empowering. Might it be possible that *arpilleristas* will appear in New Zealand after this exhibition, seminar and associated activities?

Indigenous people relate strongly to this approach as they often have traditions of graphic representation of daily life. *Arpilleras* about indigenous issues have been produced to depict the treatment of indigenous peoples at the hands of the colonial community. They may depict their deprivation and disadvantage; the experience of discrimination; the denial of their right to their land; the ban on using their own language; their efforts to maintain their culture and customs in the face of the outside world.

In their *arpilleras* they also express their struggle to resist oppression and exercise their rights, including their hunger strikes in protest at being treated as terrorists while defending their land and homes.

Show No to the dam 6

Linda Adams, an English needle worker who has become a true *arpillerista*, has depicted issues that affect the Mapuche in Chile and her depiction reveals their plight and makes their pleas universal.

It has also been my privilege to be involved in the process of introducing *arpilleras* to new communities and stimulating the local people to make their own. Most exhibitions include workshops where local people can work on their own *arpilleras* related to their lives. It is very powerful to experience how people have used this opportunity to depict things they have not talked about or processed emotionally before. In Catalonia women in their 80s have told stories through their *arpilleras* of their experiences during the Spanish Civil War over 70 years before.

Last year in Northern Ireland, as mentioned before, I curated an exhibition in a town near my home, followed by a series of workshops over the winter in which women described their experiences during the Northern Ireland Troubles and their responses to those experiences.

Show 07, 1, 2 , 3 & 4

As those *arpilleras* were related to events in the contested spaces of their environment, their depictions could themselves be contested and reopen suppressed animosities. Twenty-one new local *arpilleras* were included in a second exhibition this spring in another cultural centre in the region. The exhibition and the process were well received and many groups from across the political spectrum asked to have guided tours to engage with the issues.

Why have *arpilleras* been successful ambassadors in contested spaces?

I hope you will take the opportunity to engage with the exhibition and find out for yourselves how far the *arpilleras* move and touch you; and consider what intrinsic qualities of the work give them their power and capacity to function in very different environments.

I will simply mention some of the qualities that I think may be important.

They are attractive. While they depict the human capacity for inhumanity, pain and suffering, and loss, they mostly do so in vibrant colours and sometimes with humour. The people in the communities are not defeated, but struggling with determination and persistence.. Barbara Kirshenblatt[12] says: "*The folksiness lends them an innocence that makes the sense of victimhood absolutely unbearable . . . they show emotion*".

They are not intimidating. While profound, they are still simple. They are accessible and their message is clear. They mostly use a style similar to primitive painting. And they show daily life, to which people can relate even though the daily living is different on the other side of the world. Many of the experiences involve basic human issues with which most of us are familiar. They tell us a story that brings out feelings and responses.

They invite others to start sewing. While many of the *arpilleristas* are highly skilled and their work is technically accomplished, the basic techniques are easily acquired. By using appliqué a simple *arpillera* can be made very quickly, leading to a sense of achievement and immediate gratification. From there, many people have gone on to make *arpilleras* that are more proficient both in technique and content.

They have the capacity to ease the expression of difficult memories and emotions, as the original *arpilleristas* found out. This is because they require steady work with the eyes focused on the needle and thread, but the mind has space to roam and explore difficult feelings either in the textile or in oblique conversation with fellow *arpilleristas*.

Where are the *arpilleras* going?

Since 2008 I have been challenging the categorising of these works as primitive folk craft supported as acts of solidarity and humanitarian aid. I locate them as significant political testimonies and works of art to be exhibited in museums, art galleries, universities and public buildings as worthy of such spaces.

The expression of struggle is often local. In their *poblaciones* people feel discrimination and oppression and resist it. Their community is a space of contestation. But the roots of the struggle are national and indeed global. By sending the *arpilleras* out of the community to the wider world they have been able to enter places and spaces that would not normally pay attention to their

[12] Kirshenblatt, 2005

concerns. Their presentation contests the exclusion of marginalised people, the indigenous and poor, and open up debate about their messages. In 2010, at the time Chile marked 200 years of independence from Spain, and in conjunction with the Chilean Embassies in London, Berlin, Dublin and the Consulate General in New York, a series of arpilleras exhibitions took place as *Arpilleras Embajadoras (Ambassadorial arpilleras).* They brought stories of Chile's recent history to other countries in the special influential way that arpilleras can do.

I would like to stop for a minute to show you an interesting *arpillera* that brings out an immediate need to raise our voices thousands of miles from where flagrant human rights abuse is taking place.

Show 08 Reflections on violence + detail 1 & 2

This *arpillera* shows a scene in London when the Olympic torch arrived in the city on its route to China in 2008. The games were of course supposed to show China as modern progressive state. In contrast, the *arpillera* shows the scenes in England when the flame arrived here. Those concerned by the situation in Tibet protested against the tour and in this way highlighted in England and indeed around the world the suppression of the rights of the Tibetan people. It made the torch parade a contested space with Chinese and British security services restricting the protestors. The *arpillera* captured that and it is now on show here in New Zealand, again challenging the avoidance of the issue of Tibet.

To end this keynote I take particular pleasure in bringing to your attention a book published just last April. Its title is *Arpillera sobre Chile: Cine, teatro y literatura antes y después de 1973 (An arpillera about Chile: movies, theatre and literature before and after 1973)*[13]. Intrigued and excited by the title – after all, the word *arpillera* used for a formidable book of research! And also with the Violeta Parra *arpillera* as the cover illustration – I looked expectantly into the table of contents for a chapter on *arpilleras*.

Show 09 Cover of book *Arpillera sobre Chile*

---

[13] Paatz and Reisenstafler, 2013

There is none. Quizzically I turned to the introduction and read it. Here was the surprising answer. The compilers had, in their own words, put the book together as though making an arpillera. That is, they worked collectively and used any material they had to hand, be it articles, essays, stories, videos, scraps of information. I have the happy feeling that the word a*rpillera* is starting to contest the language space just as arpilleras themselves challenge other contested space.

Perhaps by the time we gather for International Visual Methods Conference 4 or 5, *arpilleras* will have been incorporated into our everyday language and paradoxically, commonly used to express something where the existing words are not enough.

Acknowledgements

I thank Breege Doherty, the assistant curator whose help was pivotal in the writing of this paper, particularly by researching relevant UK and Irish magazines, journals and web pages, and who also played a major role in the preparation of the present exhibition.

Bibliography

Agosín, Marjorie, 2008 *Tapestries of Hope, Threads of Love, The Arpillera Movement in Chile 1974 – 1994*, *2nd Edition* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Cooke, Ariel Zeitlin & MacDowell, Marsha (eds.), 2005 *Weavings of War: Fabrics of memory* East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Museum

Franger, Gaby, 1988 *Arpilleras Cuadros que hablan Vida cotidiana y organización de mujeres* Lima, Perú: Movimiento Manuela Ramos

Jelin, Elizabeth, 2003 *State Repression and the Struggles for Memory* London: Latin American Bureau. Originally published in Spanish as *Los trabajos de la memoria,* copyright 2002 by Siglo XXI

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2005 "Ties that Bind: A Conversation about Heritage, Authenticity and War Textiles" in Cooke & MacDowell (op. cit. pp. 47-55)

Huenún Villa, Jaime, (complilación y edición), 2011 *LOF SITIADO Homenaje Poético al Pueblo Mapuche de Chile* Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones

Paatz, Annette & Reisenstadler, Janett (eds.) 2013 *Arpillera sobre Chile: Cine, teatro y literature antes y después de 1973* Berlin: Verlag Walter Frey

Parra, Isabel, 1985 El Libro Mayor de Violeta Parra; Madrid: Ediciones Michay, S.A.

Pinto Vallejos, Julio (editor), 2010 *Mujeres Historias chilenas del siglo XX* Santiago de Chile, LOM Ediciones

Ricoeur, Paul, 1990 *Time and Narrative, Volume Three* (Eng trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer); Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Semprún, Jorge, 1997 *Literature or Life* New York; Penguin Books

Sepúlveda, Emma 1996 *We, Chile: Personal Testimonies of the Chilean Arpilleristas* Falls Church, Virginia: Azul Editions

Corporación Patrimonio Cultural de Chile, 2007 *Violeta Parra, Obra Visual* Santiago de Chile: Ocho Libros Editores Ltda.

Young, James E., 1993 *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* New Haven: Yale University Press

Young, James E., 2005 "Living with the Fabric Arts of Memory" in Cooke & MacDowell (op. cit. pp. 31-36)

In addition to these referenced books dozens of testimonies and interviews taken by the curator between 1975 and 1995 were reviewed. Also several journals and magazines were consulted, as well as ad-hoc and relevant web pages. Newspapers from the Chilean dictatorship were consulted during 2010/11 in the “Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago de Chile” and phone as well as e-mail interviews took place in preparation for the exhibition at Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo/Pinacoteca do Estado São Paulo, Brazil and the ones that have followed since.