THE SOUNDS OF *AGUANTE:* SONIC (ANTI)SOCIALITY, TRANSNATIONALISM, AND VIOLENT CONFLICT IN THE SOCCER CULTURE OF THE SOUTHERN CONE

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INTRODUCTION

I had been waiting for almost ten minutes when Miguel arrived at Vicente Valdés. A critical intersection in southern Santiago de Chile, the luminous metro station was overflowing with people, as usual. We decided to move away from the crowd while we waited for the other *hinchas* (soccer fans) of Universidad de Chile.[1] Nicknamed La U and founded by the nation's leading public university, U. de Chile is the second most popular and successful professional soccer team in the country.[2] I asked Miguel if he watched the 2018 World Cup's opening match, but he answered tersely that he rarely watches either national team or foreign club matches. "Well, I watch games of [Argentine soccer team] Racing Club sometimes," he added, trying to qualify his assertion.[3] He did not seem wholly invested in the conversation, constantly checking his phone and nervously observing the people walking around us. He became aware of his rudeness and told me that "the *barra* is tense." *Barras* or *hinchadas* are groups of organized hinchas known for their nonstop singing, musical performance, choreographic presentations, and participation in violent and anti-social practices. Miguel was specifically referring to Los de Abajo (The Underdogs), a massive group of working-class hinchas that, since the late 1980s, have cheered for U. de Chile by deploying fan practices initially taken from Argentine soccer

[1] Anthropologist Eduardo Archetti's (1984) divides fanbases into three groups. He calls *barrabravas* (hooligans or ultras) those who engage in violent and criminal activity, *hinchas militantes* (militant supporters) those who participate in non-violent fan practices, and *espectadores* (spectators) those who only attend games. I have decided to disregard these categories not only because they are not native but also because they muddy the fluidity of these social spaces. Instead, I have chosen to call these people *hinchas*—a term that all my informants would use for themselves—and assess ethnographically how they participate in the conflicts and organizations discussed in this dissertation.

[2] In order to differentiate the club from the university, I will refer to the former as U. de Chile (as it is often abridged in soccer parlance) and the latter as Universidad de Chile.

[3] All quotations in Spanish were translated by me.

fandom. Miguel explained to me that a subgroup of hinchas within a barra had stolen a cloth banner from Los Suicidas the night before. This clique is a frontline faction of Garra Blanca (White Claw), the barra of archrivals Colo-Colo, the country's most popular team named after a colonial-era indigenous warrior. Miguel explained to me:

> It's like if Garra Blanca had stolen a banner from No Importa el Estadio, Pintazul, or La Vida por los Colores—those who lead Los de Abajo. Los Suicidas are going crazy looking for revenge.

That day, I had seen a Facebook post showing a stolen banner outside Colo-Colo's Monumental Stadium. I had failed to grasp the theft's relevance.

Figure 1 Los Suicidas's stolen banner. Screenshot taken from the Facebook page Barra Brava Fotos Chile

Stealing rival banners is a core mechanism for gaining notoriety amid the intergroup hostility that characterizes the soccer culture of Latin America's Southern Cone. In order to raise the honor and reputation of their teams and barras, hinchas are in constant conflict with rivals, competing through practices ranging from vocalizing to murder. Stealing banners often leads to physical violence. Until recently, fistfights had arbitrated these thefts, but the radicalization of

intergroup conflict has normalized the use of firearms. That was the case of the banner stolen from Los Suicidas.

We were on our way to a meeting with hinchas and neighbors from Puente Alto, a populous working-class borough in southern Santiago. Miguel and the others were members of the Asociación de Hinchas Azules (Association of Blue Hinchas, AHA). This organization crystallized in 2014 in order to "recover the club" from Azul Azul—the Public Limited Sports Company (abbreviated to SADP in Spanish) administering U. de Chile. In 2006, influential right-wing businessmen and politicians bought the club's rights after the nonprofit Corfuch went bankrupt, following a controversial reinterpretation of the law taxing soccer clubs. Corfuch itself had been created in the 1980s to administer the club after decades of university management. In addition to recovering the club, AHA was also founded to "reconstruct the club's social fabric," eroded by the elimination of Corfuch's democratic assemblies, educational projects, sports programs, and other civic activities. In fact, the Puente Alto meeting was the third meeting aimed at creating an alternative educational space where kids from the vicinity could learn about the values of progressivism, comradery, and loyalty that AHA believes characterize the U. de Chile ethos.

Since I was wearing a blue U. de Chile sweatshirt, Miguel told me to cover it with my coat when we get off the train. I asked him worriedly if Los Suicidas were from Puente Alto. He answered that they were from La Pintana, an impoverished borough also in the south of the city. Miguel was particularly nervous as the meeting's flyer had circulated widely on social media. The fact that Chalo, the hincha who led the group that stole Los Suicidas's banner, had been attending the meetings of the AHA made the situation riskier. "They've burned and shot up houses," Miguel added, "they don't want to recover the banner, they want to kill someone."

When AHA members Joaquín and Andrea finally arrived at Vicente Valdés, Miguel reiterated his fears to them. “I hate this,” Andrea complained while boarding the overcrowded train.

Although it was not particularly cold, I zipped up my coat when we got off the metro in Puente Alto. While we walked to the meeting, Andrea told us that neither the police nor Los de Abajo had caught the U. de Chile hinchas who gang-raped a woman a month ago near the Nacional Stadium. “We strongly repudiate the act, and we won’t tolerate that those kinds of cowards wear our jersey,” the barra posted on social media after the incident, “if you are in fact La U hinchas, you must know that we’ll find you.” Andrea believed that the rapists would never be found and lamented that “they are probably still attending games.” But she also said that the victim, a U. de Chile fan, was very grateful for the support and care provided by Las Bulla, the feminist organization created by AHA women.

Approximately twenty hinchas were waiting in a cold white room. I tried to find a spot away from the windows, fearing a shooting. Everyone seemed worried yet relieved that Chalo did not come. Riva arrived when the meeting had just started. He was wearing baggy U. de Chile clothes, a chain with a big *chuncho* (a Southern Cone owl that stands for both the club and the university), and a substantial amount of hair gel. He sat to my right and told me that he asked some neighbors to be attentive to any suspicious activity. In a serene yet concerned tone, he claimed that he would get a phone call if Garra Blanca showed up. He noticed my nervousness and urged me to relax: “This is a blue neighborhood and, if they come, we’ll turn off the lights.” He then pointed to the hincha to his right and said: “Leeroy and I are part of Los de Abajo’s fighting group” He explained to me that they won their turf through combat while showing me his U. de Chile tattoos on his chest and arms. “La Pintana is a war zone right now,” he continued, “everything is going crazy over there, [U. de Chile hinchas] are fighting [with Colo-Colo

hinchas] over every meter." Leeroy added that he was in the city's southwest before the meeting and had to avoid La Pintana since it was "too dangerous to go there now."

After an hour of nervous waiting, we assumed that Los Suicidas were not coming, so we discussed the project's mission, vision, and values. Attendees agreed that the youth project Escuelita Libre Puente Alto should attract the barrio's children and drive them away from the drugs and violence dominating the area. They also agreed that the state was giving them neither civic values nor a holistic education. Someone argued that the school should complement official schooling with "the values and *mística* of La U." Mística signifies the ethos of U. de Chile, which is characterized by a romantic faith in progress and overcoming adversity through steadfast communal power.

When the meeting was over, Santi, an AHA member who arrived at the end of the meeting, asked us if we had talked about security measures for future gatherings. He said that we must be careful in the following days: "Garra Blanca are shooting up people's houses. We shouldn't wear La U clothes and be careful when going to the stadium. This is horrendous." Although Miguel agreed, he was also happy that the club's fanbase was still creating new "horizontal, participatory, and democratic spaces—*haciendo club* [roughly, making club come alive]."

Such thefts and violent retaliations have become cyclical, putting hinchas in a constant state of violent conflict. The intensification of anti-sociality among hinchas has coincided with the radicalization of the fandom's conflict. Jean and John Comaroff (2006) have argued that neoliberal deregulation and new modes of human transaction have bolstered violence and criminality in the post-colony. A direct consequence of the state's abandonment of impoverished spaces, this "dialectic of law and dis/order" (5) has entailed "less the suspension of the rule of

law than its Janus-faced corollary" (Birenbaum Quintero 2019, 139). Chile functioned as the global test case for neoliberal policy in the 1970s (Ganti 2014). In the following decades, the country not only maintained but rather exacerbated its commitment to privatization, deregulation, open markets, the abandonment of welfare programs, and the flexibilization of labor—policies whose effects have lasted through the present day. The Chilean neoliberal model has criminalized and marginalized hinchadas as part and parcel of further commercializing soccer. Because of these dynamics, drug trafficking syndicates have effectively colonized hinchadas. These processes partly explain the escalation in violence following the theft of Los Suicidas' banner.

The following night I attended a friendly match between former players of U. de Chile and Unión Española at the latter's Santa Laura Stadium. It took me one and a half hours to get to the northern borough of Independencia. Embedded in the neighborhood, tiny one-way streets separate the stadium from the paired, one-floor houses that make up this working-class barrio. I was jotting down notes on the stadium's rudimentary facilities when I got a WhatsApp message from Riva: "Bro, a guy from Los Suicidas has died. Things are going to get nasty. Don't tell anyone, just be careful." Los de Abajo had shot and injured many hinchas when they ambushed Los Suicidas. One of them allegedly died. I quickly checked news websites on my phone, but I could not find any information about the incident. Los Suicidas had posted the following on Facebook, though: "bullets will be shot, prepare coffins, you'll die."

U. de Chile hinchas began to populate the stadium slowly. After pulling their tightly folded banners from their underwear, they hung them on the barbed-wire fence separating the field from the stands. Fifteen minutes before the start of the game, dozens of banners covered the fence, making it nearly impossible to see the field. When the players were about to come onto

the pitch, U. de Chile hinchas began chanting and jumping in synchrony. Several blue-and-red flags eventually arrived alongside Los de Abajo's official banner. One of their big bass drums also entered the stands, which surprised me as authorities rarely authorize visiting barras to bring their instruments and official banners.[4] Unlike games in the Estadio Nacional, the barra was not allowed to bring their *bombos con platillos* (double-headed bass drums with mounted cymbals), brass instruments, and surdo and snare drums to play *murga porteña*,[5] a genre associated with the Buenos Aires carnival and usually played by Argentina's working class (O'Brien 2018).

U. de Chile hinchas sang and moved nonstop throughout the entire game, creating an atmosphere of deep affective sociality. Unlike U.S. professional-sports spectacles, which emphasize "top-down strategies for stage-managing crowd 'atmosphere'" (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009, 54), Los de Abajo trigger and lead their performances themselves. With their backs to the field and standing on the *para-avalanchas* (anti-stampede crush metal bars), Los de Abajo's frontline demanded more singing through insults and aggressive hand gestures towards fellow hinchas. Jumping and fist-bumping accompanied the vocalizations of their chants—contrafacta adaptations of melodies ranging from jingles to political marches to popular music songs (Herrera 2018). At some point, over the melody of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," they chanted "Les robamos la bandera, que la vengan a buscar [we stole your flag, come and get it back]," which was followed by ecstatic jumps and loud vocalizations of one of their top hits against Garra Blanca:

El Bulla[6] va caminando para Pedreros (¡Culiando zorras!)
El indio pide custodia porque es cagón (¡Cagón!)
Vamos a romper los baños y el alambrado (¡Al indio culia'o!)

[4] Hinchas are allowed to attend away games in Chile. This is not the case in Argentina, where hinchadas are forbidden from attending their teams' away games due to security concerns.
[5] Porteño and porteña mean "from the port" and signify anything or anyone from Buenos Aires.
[6] Nickname for both the U. de Chile and its fanbase.

Para ver cuál hinchada es la mejor (¡La del León!)[7]
Oh, porque el Bulla es un sentimiento
Oh, a balazos se van a tirar
Indio, sapo y la conch'e tu ma're
A balazos se van a tirar

El Bulla is walking to Pedrero (fucking zorras!)[8]
The Indian asks for police custody because he's a coward (coward!)
We'll destroy the bathrooms and the fences (the Indian fucker!)
To show which hinchada is the best one (the one of El León!)
Oh, because El Bulla is a sentiment
Oh, they'll shoot at us
Oh, Indian, mother-fucking snitch
Oh, they'll shoot at us

The drum began to play half instead of quarter notes in the second part of the chant. U. de Chile hinchas stopped jumping, raised their hands into the air, opened their arms widely, and forcefully clapped along, creating a slower yet charged atmosphere:

Porque soy de Abajo
Y tenemos aguante
A ese indio hueco
Lo vamos a reventar
Somos de la brava
Siempre te acompaño
A ese indio hueco[9]
Lo vamos a reventar

Because I'm an Underdog
And I have endurance
That hueco Indian
Will be destroyed
We're the bravest one
We're always there
That hueco Indian
Will be destroyed

[7] Nickname for U. de Chile.
[8] Pedrero is the location of Colo-Colo's stadium. Zorra is a misogynist nickname for Colo-Colo hinchas. Although this slur can be translated as "whore," I have decided to not translate it as the everyday use of these kinds of utterances does not have the same meanings and implications in Latin America as in the United States. I have decided to do this for most of the sexist and homophobic slurs present in this study.
[9] Homophobic slur.

Over the melody of "Verano del '92" by Argentine rock band Los Piojos, the lyrics pitted Los de Abajo against Garra Blanca (the indios, the zorras) through sexist and homophobic slurs. U. de Chile hinchas sang and jumped completely out of control, reaffirming through sound practice their professed supremacy over Garra Blanca. The stadium shook with the powerful wall of sound produced by their collective voice.

When the game was almost over, however, a teenage hincha began to ask for Los de Abajo's flags nervously. Everyone started to chat anxiously, but I could not understand what was going on. I eventually heard a guy telling a young woman "the zorras are outside." I panicked, hesitating between leaving immediately or waiting inside the stadium until the incipient combat ended. I decided to leave when I saw families fleeing away. As soon as I left the stands, I heard cries and chants of Garra Blanca rioting outside the stadium. The soundscape was cacophonic: cries and chants clashed with the police's gunshots and sirens. A guard at the gate yelled, "if you are with kids and women, run to your right—it's a mess on the other side!" I followed the mass and started to run along. I could hear the Colo-Colo hinchas on the parallel street running in the same direction we were escaping. The street sellers—usually promoting their food and homemade merchandising via chants—were also running away. When I got to the corner, I saw a firetruck driving against the traffic. They were trying to get to the car that Garra Blanca had set on fire—Chalo's automobile, I was later told. I kept running until I got to the bus stop. I missed one bus, but another one came right after so I could leave the area safely.

Such scenes of anti-sociality and violent conflict are not exceptional in *aguante* (roughly, endurance or stamina)—that is, the transnational culture of soccer fandom in the Latin American Southern Cone. Predominantly working class, hinchas belong to the demographics that have

been most viscerally affected by the neoliberal deterioration of working-class life in the region.[10] In Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, these marginalized subjects have relied on a shared set of transnationally circulating values and practices to create alternative cosmopolitan imaginaries in the midst of alienation, inequality, and violence. Through drumming, whistling, launching pyrotechnics, and singing soccer chants, fans not only cheer for their teams but also foster community bonds, denounce their social conditions, accrue honor and prestige, and compete over which fanbase is the most creative and intense one in the region. However, their hostile vocalizations, aggressive body movements, and disruptive chants—filled with death threats, stories of combat, and discriminatory slurs—have also contributed to violence, glorified criminality, and eroded social bonds with peers and rivals. How sound and transnationalism relate to conflict, violence, and (anti)sociality is at the core of this dissertation.

This dissertation examines how sound mediates (anti)social relations in aguante. I argue that anthropology, ethnomusicology, and sound studies should conceptualize sound practice as simultaneously social and anti-social in contexts of violent conflict. Sound functions as a source of expression of power among hinchas, working constructively and destructively in both centripetal and centrifugal ways. The transnationalization of sonic practices of aguante has fostered sociality and empowered subjects while simultaneously contributing to violence, reinforcing neoliberalism, and undermining community bonds between peers and rivals. While sound practice allows them to imagine cosmopolitan alternatives amid savage neoliberalism, these social imaginaries are spun in webs of anti-sociality. The social and anti-social natures of sound in spaces of violent conflict must be conceptualized as co-constituting, co-existing, and co-organizing forces with both utopian and dystopian affordances.

[10] There are some middle-class hinchas. Nevertheless, aguante insiders are overwhelmingly working-class and, more importantly, the fandom has been crucially shaped by proletarian values, practices, and experiences.

A purposely vague term, *sociality* seeks to foreground the processual modes of interaction that make up *the social*. As historian William Haver (1996) argues, sociality is "coextensive with, and as, articulation" (xiv). Anthropologists Nicholas Long and Henrietta Moore (2012) define sociality as a "dynamic relational matrix within which human subjects are constantly interacting in ways that are co-productive, continually plastic and malleable, and through which they come to know the world they live in and find their purpose and meaning within it" (41). Although its emphasis on process over product avoids static understandings of the social, this definition problematically assumes the existence of only one, all-encompassing matrix of social interaction.

Indeed, hinchadas entail an alternative mode of sociality—one that simultaneously fosters *anti-sociality*. Journalists, authorities, and club executives systematically define hinchas as *antisociales* (anti-social people), suggesting that their allegedly deviant behavior is incommensurable with the social (Améstica 2017). Likewise, human scientists tend to frame violence and anti-sociality as disruptions of the "parameters of social life" (Žižek 2008, 207). Criminologists similarly employ anti-sociality to discuss the disrespect of social norms (Horne and Mollborn 2020; Vigil 2003). However, although hinchas' values and behaviors are undoubtedly in contravention of social norms as defined by hegemonic discourses, their sonic practices also allow them to articulate alternative kinds of social bonds and customs, thereby simultaneously fostering sociality and anti-sociality. In other words, aguante's mode of interaction presents both social and anti-social effects. Hinchas foster community while dehumanizing subjects, eroding social bonds, and undermining the conditions sustaining their very own communities. Embodying this overlap of sociality and anti-sociality, sounded aguante

introduces a new anthropological understanding of the relationship between the sonic and the social in contexts of violent conflict.

Ethnomusicology has long defined music as inherently social. Underlying the emphasis on *culture* among the field's founding figures was the assumption that musical practices foster sociality. While Alan Merriam (1964) argued that music "cannot be produced except by people for other people" (6), John Blacking (1974) conceived of music as capable of either producing or sustaining social bonds and structures. The notion of music as social continued throughout the century, with ethnomusicologists defining musical practice as socially homological (Becker and Becker 1981), an expressive means for articulating communal feelings and emotions (Feld 2012; Seeger 2004), socially valuable due to its participatory components (Keil 1987), essentially dialogical (Titon 1988), and generative of social bonds and frameworks (Turino 1993, 2008). Contemporary ethnomusicology has reinforced music's sociality by presenting it as a phenomenon that fosters sociability (Fox 2004; Hirschkind 2006), transnational connections (Chávez 2017; Madrid 2008; Novak 2013), and social liberation (Steingo 2016).

The literature on sound studies has similarly conceived of sound as essentially social. Much of this scholarship has presented sound as a utopic force of unity and change (Cox 2009, 2011; Eidsheim 2015; Hainge 2013; Kassabian 2013; LaBelle 2010; Schrimshaw 2016; Supper 2016; Toop 2010). An unbounded, resonant force capable of traversing historical and spatial boundaries, sound can unite social bodies through space and time.

However, some scholars in sound and music studies have heard more sinister resonances. They have specifically described troubling uses of sound and music in detention centers (Chornik 2013, 2018; Cloonan and Johnson 2009; Cusick 2006, 2008; Ochoa Gautier 2017), wars (Daughtry 2015; Goodman 2010; Pieslak 2009; Pettan 1998), spaces loomed by terror and

exclusion (Araujo 1988; Birenbaum Quintero 2006; Daughtry and Ritter 2007; Fast and Pegley 2012b; Meintjes 2017; Ochoa Gautier 2006a; Ritter 2002), communities dominated by criminality (Simonett 2001; Sneed 2007), and radical nationalist circles (Teitelbaum 2017). Eduardo Herrera (2018) has underlined the role of chanting in aguante violence, convincingly arguing that collective sounding and moving in synchrony can help validate violent values and behaviors. These studies have highlighted the overlap of sound and violence, providing an important counterpart to studies underscoring the social affordances of musical practice. In certain spaces of violent conflict, however, conceptualizations of sound as *either* harmonic *or* dissonant, productive *or* destructive, mobile *or* constrained, social *or* anti-social are not entirely fruitful. This dissertation fills this theoretical gap.

In so doing, I revive Theodor Adorno's sometimes infamous theories of popular culture. His seemingly negative conceptualizations of sports would not surprise readers familiar with his writings on standardization, repetition, and alienation in popular music (Adorno 1941). Framing sports as rituals "in which the subjected celebrate their subjection" (Adorno 1996, 77), he defines fans as stadiums' "howling devotees" (78). These assertions have led some scholars to define his approach to sports as "narcotic pessimism" (D. L. Andrews and Loy 1993, 257). As sociologist David Inglis (2004) and philosopher William Morgan (1988) note, however, Adorno's position towards sports is more ambiguous and complicated than those sentences suggest. His overtly critical writing is a core precept of his negative dialectic (Adorno 1973). Adorno and his peers in the Frankfurt School contend that Hegelian dialectic—which sees the realization of the negative parts of a phenomenon as leading to its assimilation into positive purity—misses the coexistence of thesis and antithesis in every dialectical process. Both progressive and regressive, Adorno's negative dialectic seeks to underscore the contradictions present in every social phenomenon,

thereby illustrating the disparities between the promises of an entity's concept and the thing itself. Although Adorno frames sports as corrupted and debased, this does not mean that they are essentially negative. In criticizing sports, he aims to highlight their positive, emancipatory, and utopian potentials as modes of *autonomous play*—that is, not simply as a means to an end (Adorno 1997). For Adorno, this non-instrumental nature of games underscores that a wholly instrumentalized "reality is not yet real" (228). Sports, unconsciously, "rehearse the right of life" (228). Mass culture's instrumental presentation of sports as playful, then, points indirectly to a context in which they "might truly involve play rather than domination" (Inglis 2004, 93).

Like Adorno, I see both positive and negative affordances inhabiting soccer fandom. I contend that sound must be heard as concurrently utopian and dystopian in aguante. This dissertation illustrates how sound can simultaneously foster sociality while overloading subjectivities with anti-social meanings, how it can voice dignity while destroying bodies, how it can defy silencing while undermining political mobility, and how it can reinforce neoliberal structures while expressing dissent against inequality. It is thus a story about the co-constitution, co-existence, and co-organization of sonic production and destruction in contexts of violent conflict.

Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and the Southern Cone

Providing an approach to sound "*in* and *from* the South" (Steingo and Sykes 2019, 4), this dissertation also advances an argument about transnationalism. I demonstrate that the circulation of practices of fandom has created a multisited patchwork in which proletarians have configured cosmopolitan identities, subjectivities, and modes of sociality alternative to the values, imaginaries, and social norms favored by the Southern Cone's media, neoliberal states, and culture industries.

Sound studies scholarship has remained overwhelmingly ethnocentric (Feld 2012; Kane 2015; Novak and Sakakeeny 2015; Sterne 2015; Steingo and Sykes 2019; Steingo 2019; Ochoa Gautier 2014, 2019). As Gavin Steingo and Jim Sykes (2019) point out, this literature's emphasis on historical developments of sound reproduction technologies has resulted in problematic generalizations of listening subjects and urban soundscapes based on Euro-American practices, dynamics, and experiences. Examinations of sound in the Global South—that is, a set of global externalities produced through imperialism and (neo)colonialism (Steingo and Sykes 2019)—can complicate commonly held assertions in sound studies. This is one of the aims of this study.

Although Paraguay and Brazil's southern states are occasionally included within the Southern Cone, the term is mostly employed to discuss the space constituted by Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. Although flows of people, artifacts, and practices have characterized the region since before the colony, these countries are highly diverse and heterogeneous. Sociologist Alejandro Grimson (2005) notes that regionalization and globalization have not erased but rather altered the function and meaning of South American territorial borders. This dissertation does not argue for a cultural homogeneity in the region, but rather that various transnational circuits have connected and put hinchas in dialogue and conflict across the region.

Figure 2 Map of the Southern Cone. Screenshot taken from Google Maps

This dissertation thus addresses aguante as a *transnational patchwork*, underlining how the circulation of cultural practices have unsettled and built new cultural boundaries. In so doing, it converses with other studies examining "[t]ransnationality *within* and *between* Latin American spaces" (Palomino 2020, 22). It especially dialogues with writings on musical genres that have trespassed national borders, such as cumbia (Fernández-L'Hoeste 2007), danzón (Madrid and Moore 2013), calypso (Guilbault 2007), reggaeton (Marshall 2009), and huapango arribeño (Chávez 2017).

Soccer has been creating transnational connections at least since the second half of the nineteenth century (Elsey 2017; Giulianotti and Robertson 2009). Sociologists Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson (2009) argue that soccer has both reflected and advanced

globalization. In promoting alliances and conversations between Asian, European, and Latin American fans, soccer has become "one of the strongest realms in popular culture to facilitate transnational kinds of proto-sociality" (160). Internal migration, continental competitions, [11] and radio and TV broadcasts have long fostered cosmopolitan circuits in South American soccer. Sociologist Pablo Alabarces (2018) contends that the region's soccer cultures share common post-colonial histories, asymmetric developments, corrupt administrations, and practices of fandom. Although competitions, travel, migration, and media have advanced transnationality since the early decades of the twentieth century, the Southern Cone's multisited patchwork has become denser since the 1980s.

Albeit transnational, aguante is not a homogenous fandom. This dissertation demonstrates that transnational communications and miscommunications have fostered cosmopolitanism while simultaneously creating "disjuncture and difference" (Appadurai 1996, 27). Aguante began to crystallize in the late 1960s, fully conquering Argentine soccer fandom by the mid-1970s. These tropes and practices have also been circulating throughout the rest of the Southern Cone since the mid-1980s. Due to geographical proximity, Uruguayans adopted aguante even before Argentines outside Buenos Aires. In Chile, working-class teenagers began to appropriate aguante amid Augusto Pinochet's military regime (1973-1990). Consuming aguante practices mostly through TV broadcasts of Argentine soccer, they understood them as tools of empowerment and participation. Migratory processes, cable shows dedicated to specifically broadcasting the sounds of aguante, and DIY cassettes and CDs densified these transnational networks in the 1990s. The

[11] By continental competitions I mean tournaments in which local teams from different South American countries participate and compete against each other. The number of these kinds of competitions has significantly expanded in the 2000s. Although the Copa Libertadores de América (Liberators of [South] America Cup), founded in 1960, is still the most important competition in the region, several other tournaments have been added, such as Copa Sudamericana (South American Cup) and Recopa Sudamericana (South American Cup Winners' Cup). This increase in continental competitions has fostered in-person encounters between hinchas.

growth of social media, expansion of continental championships, and proliferation of cable and streaming services intensified aguante's transnationalization in the twenty-first century. These changes in the Southern Cone's techno- and mediascape—the global configuration of technology and the production and circulation of media, respectively (Appadurai 1996)—have decentered aguante from Argentine stadiums. Today, hinchas outside Argentina not only consume but also adapt and repurpose practices of aguante, sometimes bypassing or influencing Argentine hinchadas in the process. Although Argentina remains a crucial node, hinchas throughout the Southern Cone now see themselves as insiders to a transnational fandom that is constituted in "transformative cycles of feedback" (Novak 2013, 17). Aguante circulation, then, should not be understood as "something that takes place *between* cultures" (17) but rather as "a culture-making process" (18).

This is thus a story of *remediation*. David Novak (2010) defines remediation as the process "of repurposing media for new contexts of use" (41). A creative practice that "feeds circulating media into new expressions and performances," remediation "makes contemporary cosmopolitan subjects" (41-42). Thomas Turino (2000) defines *cosmopolitans* as those subjects who draw upon transnationally circulating resources to configure social identities and subject positions. Aguante functions as a form of cosmopolitan subject-making in the sense that its (anti)social expressions have allowed disparate subjects to participate in cosmopolitan circuits of communication and create alternative social imaginaries. Remediation has thus fostered cosmopolitan affinities while putting in contact transnationally circulating anti-social values with local conditions of violence.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism has become a catchword to discuss issues ranging from socio-economic structures to forms of governance to contemporary subjectivities (Ganti 2014). The rather vague and wide-encompassing nature of the term has raised legitimate concerns about its theoretical usefulness (Dunn 2017). However, as neoliberalism was first implemented in the Southern Cone, these countries' long experience with these policies can shed light on neoliberal formations elsewhere. Moreover, the fact that clubs work as neoliberally-organized sports-advertising complexes makes neoliberalism an important concept to understand aguante.

Neoliberalism is an ideological and philosophical movement that emerged among a network of Euro-American scholars and institutions in the first half of the twentieth century (Ganti 2014; Harvey 2005; Ong 2006; Steger and Roy 2010). These philosophers and economists sought to develop an agenda that challenged the postwar celebration of collectivism, state-centered planning, and socialism while simultaneously departing from classical liberalism. Aware of their isolation and political inconsequentiality, Friedrich Hayek established the Mont Pelerin Society to more effectively promote neoliberalism across the globe. The society's draft statement already contained central tenets of this political-economic philosophy: protection of individual freedom through private property and competitive markets, decentralization of the means of production in order to preserve individual liberty, conflation of consumption and freedom of choice, prioritization of individuality over centralized authority, and deployment of the law and the state in fostering competition (Plehwe 2009). As economic geographer David Harvey (2005) states, neoliberalism contends that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (2).

The Southern Cone worked as the original laboratory for neoliberal policies in the world (Ganti 2014). In the 1970s, Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman (MPS's president from 1970 to 1972) trained a group of Chileans economists at the University of Chicago's School of Economics (Han 2012; Valdés 1995). These so-called "Chicago Boys" turned the country into a successful example of the neoliberal mantra (Ahumada 2019). The University of Chicago also trained other Latin American economists who would radically restructure and transform the entire region's social and economic structures.

Neoliberalism has naturally shaped soccer fandom in South America. Hinchas have developed social norms and modes of sociality through which they have responded to neoliberal inequality, alienation, and commodification of human relations. But the cosmopolitan imaginaries that aguante has fostered are not only in opposition to but are also the result of neoliberalism. Noting a dialectic of law and (dis)order in post-colonial formations, the Comaroffs (2006) argue that neoliberal modes of governmentality have intensified anti-social relations. They contend that criminal violence has profited from the rule of law as well as the licit operations of the market, creating a parallel model of production, profiteering, governance, and taxation. Anti-social subjects have thus created "simulacra of social order" in which relations of obedience and transgression, regulation and deregulation have been transmuted to the point where "the means and ends of the liberal democratic state are refracted, deflected, and dispersed into the murkier reaches of the private sector" (5). This neoliberal dialectic of law and (dis)order has informed the transnational imaginaries that have crystallized around aguante. These communities have developed norms and modes of interaction with social and anti-social effects. Formed around sports companies, moreover, aguante has undoubtedly functioned as a community of consumption, ultimately reinforcing neoliberal structures. All in all, aguante's

social and anti-social, utopian and dystopian, conscious and alienated, empowering and violent dynamics cannot be detached from neoliberalism.

Conflict and violence

The relationship between *conflict* and *violence* remains rather undertheorized in music studies. In the introduction to the edited volume *Music, Politics, and Violence* (2012b), for instance, Susan Fast and Kim Pegley (2012a) explain that their choice of violence over the "more commonly used" conflict is a "deliberate departure from existing literature" (2). However, they neither define nor discuss how the concepts relate or depart from each other. Their contention that music and conflict should be reframed around music and violence illustrates that (ethno)musicologists tend to use the two terms interchangeably.

When prioritizing conflict, moreover, music studies tend to approach the concept rather statically. In the introduction of *Music and Conflict* (2010), for example, John O'Connell (2010) contends that music in contexts of intergroup hostility "occupies a paradoxical position, used both to escalate conflict and to promote resolution" (12). This either-or definition leads him to theorize conflict as a dyad: a tension that requires resolution. Underscoring the language surrounding music theory, O'Connell contends that music provides an exceptional medium to understand this dialectic: music, like conflict, is a phenomenon of tension and resolution, dissonance and consonance.

However, conflict can often function as a structuring, if not necessary, force. Political theorist Chantal Mouffe (2013) argues that competing hegemonic struggles "cannot and should not be eradicated, since the specificity of pluralist democracy is precisely the recognition and legitimation of conflict" (7). Social stability requires antagonism to be "sublimated" through a "conflictual consensus" (8). It is when this agonistic politics fails that conflict can "explode into

violence" (122). Sociologist Michel Wieviorka (2009) similarly notes the importance of conflict in society. Moving away from a dialectic of tension and resolution, he defines conflict as the "unequal relationship between two individuals, groups, or ensembles that compete within the same space, with the aim or purpose not liquidating an adversary, and the relationship itself, but of modifying the relationship, or at least strengthening their relative position" (10). Under this definition, conflict can be either stable or unstable, structural or ephemeral, structuring or transforming. This theory opens up fruitful relationships between conflict and violence, too. Although conflict entails the possibility of violence, the two should not be equated as the latter can sometimes signify the radicalization of the former. This is the case with aguante.

Recent studies have provided more theoretically grounded approaches to music and conflict. Luis-Manuel Garcia (2018) specifically notes that the continuous conflicts between nightlife venues and residents and authorities in Europe have not boiled "over into outright antagonism" (465). From wedding agonistics (Mouffe 2013) to *schismogenesis* (Bateson 1935),[12] he contends that these irreconcilable conflicts have become culturally generative through a non-antagonistic conflictive consensus. In these contexts, "new political roles have emerged out of conflict, opening up new avenues for remapping the city's flows of aggression into something less toxic and less destabilizing" (475). Unlike these agonistic tensions, however, aguante conflict must be heard as simultaneously productive and destructive. Because many hinchas see rivals as enemies instead of adversaries, antagonism is not always sublimated, thereby frustrating forms of conflictive consensus. When overloaded with anti-social meanings, aguante becomes

[12] Anthropologist Gregory Bateson's (1935) usage of the term differs from that of Steven Feld (1994), who uses the term to discuss the recontextualization of sounds that have been separated from their producing sources. Bateson employs schismogenesis to processes of cultural production that have been fostered by contact across social groups.

hostile and violent, making agonistics impossible.[13] Indeed, violence complicates these rather positive assessments of conflict.

Like conflict, violence is also an unstable concept. Having the capacity to make and unmake social worlds, it can be applied to countless phenomena (Das 2008). Anthropologists of violence emphasize the multi-dimensionality of violence, illustrating that it operates along a continuum that spans vibrational (Daughtry 2015; Goodman 2010), political (Nordstrom 2004), structural (Farmer 2004), symbolic (Bourdieu 1999; Žižek 2008), everyday (Scheper-Hughes 1992), and intimate dimensions (Bourgois 2001; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2003). Violence is situated, relational, and subjective (Schmidt and Schröder 2001) and can be stirred by a loss, overload, or even absence of meaning (Wieviorka 2009). I come back to this later, but it is important to mention here Wieviorka's *hyper-subjectivity:* violence stirred by the radicalization of a conflict due to a superabundance of anti-social meanings. This resonates forcefully with aguante: a fandom in which anti-sociality has violently radicalized a structuring yet originally symbolic conflict, turning it into a violent conflict.

Sound and music studies scholars have recently made significant contributions to the literature on violence. Steve Goodman (2010) has presented sound as part of a "vibrational ontology" that encompasses non-, pre-, and para-sonic materials and events. Martin Daughtry (2015) has grounded this proposition, illustrating that listening can orient subjects within warfare ecologies, connect them with affective intensities, and open their bodies and psyches to pain. In addition to drawing on these insights into the violent materiality of sound, this dissertation builds on Ana María Ochoa Gautier's (2006a) *acoustemology of violence*. Steven Feld (2003) coined the term *acoustemology* to underscore the intersection of the aural, sonic, and epistemological

[13] I come back to the necessity of an agonistic aguante later.

domains, investigating "the primacy of sound as a modality of knowing and being in the world" (226). Ochoa Gautier (2006) contends that contexts of violence can redefine understandings of voicing, sounding, musicking, listening, and silencing, and new types of sonic knowledges can emerge. As discussed later, an *acoustemology of conflict* with social, anti-social, and violent potentials has crystallized around aguante.

Soccer in the Southern Cone

Latin Americanists have amply discussed soccer's promises and dangers in the region. Echoing Eric Hobsbawm's (1990) assertion that for many Europeans, "the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (143), the literature on soccer in the Southern Cone has paid special attention to the role of soccer in consolidating nation-states, expressing nationalism, solidifying national narratives, and exerting social control (Alabarces 2006; Alabarces and Rodríguez 1996; Archetti 1984, 1999; Elsey 2011; Karush 2003; Moreira, Quitián, and Soto 2018; Nadel 2014; Rein 2014, 2015; Sibaja 2013; Sibaja and Parrish 2014). The emphasis on nationalism has moved scholars to focus on national teams,[14] leading one historian to assert that "national teams give us more insight" than local-level clubs as they bring "together rival fans from different clubs and cities, mobilizing entire nations across the very same social and political lines that clubs teams played a role in creating" (Nadel 2014, 7). However, this focus on national squads tends to flatten the varied ways in which the sport is "connected to many other parts of life, from the building of political movements to the region's position in the global economy" (Bocketti 2017, 157). This dissertation focuses on local clubs,

[14] National teams are squads that are made up of citizens who play for local-level clubs, representing a nation in international competitions such as the World Cup or the regional competition Copa América (America Cup).

illustrating their centrality in the everyday life of working-class citizens as well as their relationship with local dialectics of sociality and anti-sociality.

Sporting organizations have long functioned as civic associations in the Southern Cone (Elsey 2011; Frydenberg 2011; Nadel 2014; Rein 2014, 2015). Embedded in neighborhood relations, these associations have helped shape local identities, subjectivities, and communities. As historian Brenda Elsey (2011) writes, these organizations have "integrated working-class men into urban politics, connected them to political parties, and served as venues of political critique" (2). In addition to providing spaces for civic and democratic participation by allowing fans to elect administrators and decide on policies, these institutions have provided social networks and community bonding. They have also offered their members activities and services including access to multisport complexes, courses in computer science, afterschool tutoring, adult education, outreach programs, community kitchens, routine checkups and specialized healthcare, lecture series and theatre workshops, year-round sports clinics and summer camps for their children (Forment 2007).

These relations have created intimate connections between hinchas and clubs. Unlike fans of American professional sports, when South Americans talk about sports organizations, they do not refer to the group of players making up the teams but rather the institutions themselves. When they sing verses like "I love you, Bulla" or "Ciclón, I'd give my life for you," they do not address the players but rather the abstract entities that clubs represent. Although the existence of idols is undeniable,[15] hinchas see themselves as important as players, coaches, and club directors—they are all equal members of the institution. This is further illustrated by the way that hinchas verbalize club affiliation: "Soy de Palestino" (I'm from Palestino) implies a more

[15] The best example is Diego Armando Maradona, probably the most popular and admired citizen in the country's history (Alabarces 2006, 2007, 2014; Sibaja and Parrish 2014).

intimate membership than "I'm a Patriots fan." Tellingly, this is the same expression employed for origins and nationality; for example, "Soy de Santiago" (I'm from Santiago) or "Soy de Argentina" (I'm from Argentina).

But more problematic dynamics have also characterized these institutions. While soccer clubs have afforded belonging and participation, they have also allowed certain elites to exert control over working-class members (Alabarces 2018). Formal links between hinchas, authorities, and political parties have long existed in soccer clubs, and they have often fostered practices of clientelism, too (Hawkins 2017). The large sums of money that these institutions manage have also provided ample opportunities for corruption. As discussed below, the illegal networks that hinchas have developed have also been promoted by institutions and club workers themselves, providing certain subjects opportunities to have access to varied social, political, and economic goods (Alabarces 2012; Garriga 2007; Moreira 2008a).

Neoliberal policies have affected clubs differently in each country. Chile has seen the most dramatic changes, where the state's fervent endorsement of market logic has forced clubs to become public limited sports companies. Following the British model, where shareholders are club owners (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009), authorities are no longer chosen through democratic elections, but rather through stock ownership. The transformation of hinchas into consumers has affected these fan communities by stirring "a growing sense at some visceral level of disintegrating social bonds" (Putnam 2000, 287). In Argentina, presidents Carlos Menem (1989-1999) and Mauricio Macri (2015-2019), the former head of Boca Juniors, tried to impose a similar model, but hinchas impeded it through lobbying, democracy, activism, and violence.[16]

[16] Racing Club has been one of the few Argentine teams that have experimented with the model. Amid financial problems, the company Blanquiceleste (roughly, White-and-Soft-Blue) took over the club in 2012. After years of economic turmoil, the company went bankrupt, and Racing went back to the previous civic-oriented model in 2018. Under the administration of Mauricio Macri, Boca Juniors established a hybrid model: without terminating the

Even though soccer functions as a space of consumption, Uruguayan soccer has not faced such a dramatic neoliberalization. Cachila, an hincha of Uruguay's powerhouse Peñarol, explains:

> Here, we have sports clubs … they work with members and *auspicios* [i.e. sponsorship and advertising]. It's old school, we have democracy, elections. [But] the elections are not free of the godfather mafia common to South American soccer … No, the public limited companies won't make sense here, and hinchas won't allow it.

What is common to all clubs in the Southern Cone is that the globalization of soccer has put them in a neo-colonial position with European teams. Whereas South American leagues have been forced to trade "their talents to stave off creditors," European leagues have grown "aesthetically and financially stronger by absorbing the world's leading talents" (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009, 81). Recently, the owners of clubs like Manchester City have bought small teams in South America so as to get raw talent without paying either fees or the training compensations imposed by FIFA. Today, Latin Americans see their emerging stars wearing their jerseys for an extremely limited time. In fact, some of them never get to play in local soccer, such as Argentine superstar Lionel Messi.

Sports, sound, and music

"Have you ever entered an empty stadium?" Uruguay writer Eduardo Galeano (1998) asks, "Try it. Stand in the middle of the field and listen. There is nothing less empty than an empty stadium. There is nothing less mute than stands bereft of spectators" (xxx). Music and sound studies have also noted the importance of sound in sporting events and have begun to explore relationships between music and sports.

This scholarship has examined the synergies between music and sports, discussing how music shapes and is shaped by sports experiences and subjectivities. These writings have

member-owned civic model, he implemented a series of corporate, pro-market measures that established a more typical consumer relationship between hinchas and the club (Forment 2007).

examined musical celebrations of players and teams (Williams 2015; Westall 2015), musical commentaries on sports with national implications (Buchanan 2002), sports lifestyles affecting musical practices and vice versa (Cooley 2014), musical performances in sports events (Anderson 2014), sound practice stirring sports conflict (Jack 2013), sounding mediating hypermasculinity in stadiums (Herrera 2018; McCluskey 2019), performances of national anthems during matches (Muller 2001), music echoing racial segregation during games (McCluskey 2020), music contributing to the fetishization of sports (Westall 2009), the confluence of soccer fandom and youth subcultures (Back 2003; Laing and Linehan 2015), and the intersection of music and sports media and industries (Goldschmitt 2011; McLeod 2011). This dissertation dialogues with this emerging literature by arguing that sound not only mediates the soccer experience in the Southern Cone but also aguante's (anti)social and translocal relations.

Aguante

The literature on soccer fandom convincingly argues that the aguante discourse structures the soccer fandom of the Southern Cone (Alabarces 2012; Améstica 2017; Garriga 2007, 2010; Moreira 2007, 2008b). Even though *aguantar* (aguante in its infinitive form) means to endure, resist, or support something or someone, the concept also points to an honor code and prestige system that marks hinchas as tough, loyal, and passionate subjects.[17] Although sports scholars note that aguante can be accrued through expressions of loyalty and passion, recognizing that it is "polysemic category" (Alabarces, Garriga, and Moreira 2008, 114), they nonetheless

[17] Aguante scholarship has mostly focused on masculinity. Although it is undeniable that aguante is still dominated by men, women do participate in the fandom, especially in Chile. Tapia and Vergara (2017) have depicted notions of aguante among female hinchas of Santiago Wanderers, arguing that they have adopted "masculine schemes of perception and valorization" (282) in order to participate in the barra. Even though I have observed similar dynamics among some female hinchas of U. de Chile, I have also met women who have refused to accept these frameworks, re-signifying aguante as a source and expression of feminist power.

emphasize that hinchas mostly prove and accumulate aguante through violent practices. Enduring fights, displaying bravado, and exhibiting combat knowledge bestow them with status and reputation. Those who actively participate in aguante warfare have developed illegal networks with club directors, police, and politicians in which they exchange their aguante for economic, social, and political goods.

I contend that this emphasis on physical violence muddles aguante's dynamic, multi-layered meanings. Hinchas use the term interchangeably for different practices and behaviors. For example, Chico, the founder of Los Baisanos, the Palestino barra, defines aguante in sonic terms: "[aguante is] to sing nonstop, to play music all the time, to cheer all the time. Mainly, to sing nonstop. And if you have to travel for games outside Santiago, you just endure it—let's go. That's aguante." He further argues that Los Baisanos's performance of sonic aguante has made a significant impact on Palestino games by transmitting force, power, and intensity to the players:

> We're the player number twelve. We cheer. If we're losing, we cheer even louder so that the strength can be felt—that courage. It doesn't matter if you fail today. Get up and let's go for the next game—we'll overcome it. That's the idea: to play. To sing until the final minute. The players feel it a lot. In fact, now they greet us, they didn't do it before.

The indexicality of aguante is varied and compounded, pointing to different signifiers depending on contexts and subjects.

I further argue that an *acoustemology of conflict* has crystallized around aguante. Expanding the symbolic conflict that soccer entails (McLeod 2011), aguante has reframed fan practice as a space to exert dominance and community. This has thereby produced a mode of sonic knowledge in which practices of voicing, sounding, musicking, listening, and silencing have been redefined in terms of conflict. Understanding aguante as conflict permits a more holistic examination of its centripetal and centrifugal, inward and outward effects and ultimately a more nuanced theorization of the overlap of sociality and anti-sociality in sound practice.

The main tenet in this acoustemology of conflict is that sound functions as a source and expression of power. Sound as power entails two interrelated understandings: power as a dominating material force (Cusick 2006; Daughtry 2015; Goodman 2010) and power in Foucauldian terms (Foucault 1990, 1995, 2003). In stadiums, sound works as a viscerally-felt, subject-disorienting force—a phenomenon of "contact and displays" that modulates "the physical, affective, and libidinal dynamics of populations, of bodies, of crowds" (Goodman 2010, 10). It is a force through which hinchas express dominance within aguante, allowing them to silence, affect, and dominate other entities while constructing tough personae. Expressions such as "they can't endure our singing" or "we outshouted them in singing" exemplify the weaponization of sound's materiality. But sound is also a source of power in the sense that affords the empowerment of hinchas within the "micro-physics of power" (Foucault 1995, 26). For Foucault, power is not a privilege that is possessed by certain subjects: it is diffused, embodied, and distributed in a network of relations that is in constant tension and activity. Power is not only negative, coercive, and repressive but also productive, positive, and necessary. Drawing on Foucault, sonic power allows hinchas to exercise agency within the disciplinary forces shaping their everyday lives. These exercises of sonic power can have both constructive and destructive effects, empowering subjects, fostering sociality, and expressing dissent while simultaneously contributing to violence and neoliberalism.

Here, I return to the idea that violence sometimes materializes when an "excess of meaning" spills subjects out of their "frame of reference" (Wieviorka 2009, 151). Aguante violence erupts when anti-social meanings saturate and radicalize its conflict and subjectivities. This is not to say that violence is either mere irrationality or external to the fandom. My contention is that the potentiality of violence should not be located solely in aguante, but rather

in its confluence with local continua of violence. In addition to deindividuating subjects and leading them to anti-social behavior (Herrera 2018), lyrics and sound practice play a key role in overloading frameworks of interpretation. Although sound practice is not merely passive reflection of the radicalization of aguante, it is in its intersection with local conditions of inequality, marginalization, and alienation that it contributes to violence. These violent tropes, stories of violence, glorification of criminality, hostile vocalizations, and aggressive kinesthesia contribute to overloading subjectivities with anti-sociality only when they resonate with contingent conditions of violence. This anti-social saturation radicalizes aguante, transforming it into a violent conflict.

But centering aguante around conflict instead of violence provides more utopic scenarios, too. Competitive aesthetics are not necessarily negative if they remain in the realm of the symbolic. In his foundational study on soccer, anthropologist Roberto da Matta (1982) argues that soccer, in addition to enabling a symbolic representation of the dramas shaping Brazilian society, produces a transitory democratic space where the weak can defeat the powerful. Creating chants, playing music, and singing about passion, loyalty, and camaraderie are powerful tools for emotional expression, artistic creativity, and affective sociality. As Louise Meintjes (2017) points out, when conflictive aesthetics are "celebrated within the boundaries of performance," they infuse art forms "with extraordinary intensity," opening up "pathways in the world of social practice to responsible uses of power accumulated in [performance]" (58). For many, soccer fandom is the only space where they can experience these social, creative, and affective desires (Magazine 2007). Engaging in sonic conflict with rivals during a game is not harmful if this symbolic, non-violent competition ends once the game is over. This is what Alabarces (2012) calls a "culture of the fiesta" (132): an agonistic fandom that fosters its

carnivalesque affordances. This requires that the aguante conflict "does not take the form of 'antagonism' (struggle between enemies) but the form of an 'agonism' (struggle between adversaries)" (Mouffe 2013, 7). However, this agonistic form of aguante demands a disruption of the social conditions that have fostered inequality, marginalization, and alienation. If these continua of violence are not interrupted, anti-social meanings will continue to overload aguante, and agonism would remain a chimera.

Ethics and methods

This dissertation draws on seventeen months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted from June 2015 to January 2020 in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. It includes conversations and semi-structured interviews with hinchas and other actors; comprehensive media analysis; and extensive participant observation in games, protests, assemblies, meetings, rehearsal, and other spaces of fan socialization. In Argentina, I interacted with hinchas of Club Atlético San Lorenzo de Almagro (henceforth San Lorenzo), but mostly with members of Escuela de Tablones (School of the Stands).[18] In Chile, I mingled with two fanbases: Club Deportivo Universidad de Chile (henceforth U. de Chile) and Club Deportivo Palestino (henceforth Palestino).[19] With the former, I hung out with numerous organizations, including Los de Abajo, AHA, and Las Bulla. I also talked to hinchas of other teams and individuals not involved in soccer fandom. With the Palestino fanbase, I interacted with Los Baisanos, the team's barra. In Uruguay, in addition to conducting participant observation, I interacted with a small group of people, and just

[18] One of the Big Five of Argentine soccer alongside River Plate, Boca Juniors, Independiente, and Racing. Huracán, San Lorenzo's archrival, also comes up in this dissertation.
[19] U. de Chile is one of the big three of Chilean soccer alongside Colo-Colo and Universidad Católica. Like the Universidad de Chile, the Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUC), the country's leading private academic institution, also created a team in the 1930s. Just for clarity, I will refer to the team as U. Católica and the university as PUC. Palestino is a so-called "equipo chico" (small team) whose main rivals are teams also founded by immigrant communities: Audax Italiano and Unión Española.

interviewed the aforementioned Cachila. In order to ensure anonymity, I have changed names and amalgamated informants, only keeping the name of groups unchanged: Escuela de Tablones, Los de Abajo, AHA, Las Bulla, Garra Blanca, Los Baisanos, et cetera.

Working on aguante entails several moral and ethical dilemmas. Fetishism fills conversations about hinchadas in the Southern Cone. Outsiders constantly asked me for stories about and statements made by hinchas, as if my fieldwork had been filled with violence and criminality. Teaching a guest lecture at a local university, for example, a graduate student asked me, "What kind of drugs have you seen there? *Pasta* [cocaine paste]? Stronger Stuff?" The Netflix series *Puerta 7* (Gate 7) further illustrates the fetishization of aguante, presenting hinchas as embodiments of violence and corruption.[20] I am also to blame here: tropes of deviancy filled my initial papers and grant applications. Without denying the anti-social dynamics looming over aguante, these are not fair depictions of hinchas' lives. As this introduction's opening vignette illustrates, an intersection of violence and deep investments in community mark their everyday lives. Writing about hinchas thus forces the ethnographer to walk a thin line between condemnation and romanticization.

My own positionality complicates these ethical and moral dilemmas further. Although I have been actively participating in soccer fandom since childhood and have familiars who have participated in barras, I am by no means an insider to aguante. Furthermore, my upbringing both in Chile and Argentina was characterized by middle-class stability. Now, I am supported by elite American institutions, being able to bring U.S. dollars to poorer economies. However, does this make me an incommensurable Other to hinchas? I agree with anthropologist Matthew Gutmann (2006) when he criticizes understandings of the ethnographic process as constituted by "mutually

[20] Created by Martín Zimmerman, who also writes for Netflix's *Narcos*, the show basically presents barras as the Argentine equivalents of Mexican and Colombian drug cartels.

unintelligible relations" (46). As he states, "self-awareness on both sides of the research divide can reveal not only what we do not know about the other, but also how much there is to know" (46). The vast majority of hinchas never saw me as a complete stranger, finding commonalities with my sensibilities, politics, interests, and affiliations.

Reciprocity marked my fieldwork. U. de Chile has been a meaningful part of my life since my father took me to a *Clásico Universitario* in 1993.[21] Despite the awkwardness caused by my researcher status, my personal closeness with the club made U. de Chile hinchas see me as a *camarada* (comrade). Furthermore, I always saw the "recovery of the club" and the "reconstruction of its social fabric" as personally meaningful political activities. Although it is not depicted in any of these chapters, I volunteered in every activity I thought could help get them closer to those goals. And because they saw honesty in my involvement, my participation opened many doors to their everyday lives.

Commonalities also existed with hinchas of other teams. Although nationalistic animosities between Chileans and Argentines are well known, my positionality also facilitated my fieldwork in Argentina. In addition to having lived in Buenos Aires for years, the many affinities between U. de Chile and San Lorenzo eased my interactions with the latter's hinchas. San Lorenzo people wearing U. de Chile jerseys or celebrating Los de Abajo's participation in the 2019 social uprising illustrate that, despite the increasing nativism dominating the region, many people still uphold broad Latin Americanist sentiments.

[21] Matches between U. de Chile and U. Católica. The term *clásico* will come up throughout this dissertation continuously. It signifies a heated historical rivalry between two teams. In the U.K., these matches are known as *derbies* (e.g. Manchester United versus Liverpool in England and Rangers versus Celtic in Scotland). The rivalries between the Boston Red Sox and the N.Y. Yankees, and the Boston Celtics and the L.A. Lakers would be considered clásicos in South America. These matches often receive a nickname.

But how did violence and anti-sociality affect this reciprocity? Conducting fieldwork with people whose values and practices could potentially harm others raises several problems regarding ethics and morals (Teitelbaum 2019). While I have honored and respected my informants, I have neither endorsed nor defended violent and anti-social behaviors and expressions. Rather, I have sought to understand them. I have observed, listened, interpreted, and explained the causes, meanings, and effects of aguante's violence and anti-sociality. As a modest witness, I have thus sought to contextualize sociality and anti-sociality together, showing that they both relate to the same underlying social conditions. In so doing, I have tried to write a "good-enough ethnography" (Scheper-Hughes 1992, 30) of aguante, one that falls neither into unempathetic condemnation nor naive romanticization.

Chapters overview

Chapter one examines the crystallization and transnationalization of aguante, arguing that it has nurtured alternative cosmopolitan identities and subjectivities. It narrates the various processes that facilitated the emergence of chant-creation and arrival of murga porteña to stadiums in the first half of the twentieth century: developments in the production and circulation of popular culture, socio-sonic overlaps with carnival culture, and the empowerment of the proletariat during populist governments. It then explains how violence permitted the radicalization of soccer fandom and the emergence of aguante in the 1960s. The second half of the chapter narrates its transnationalization throughout the Southern Cone. It shows how migration, mass media, continental championships, specific border conditions, and eventually social media has put aguante into circulation since the 1980s, allowing hinchas to create alternative cosmopolitan imaginaries. The chapter ultimately demonstrates that social media has moved chant-competition

from Argentine stadiums to the digital world, allowing other Southern Cone hinchas to participate in aguante.

The second chapter focuses on creativity, ownership, and authorship by zooming in on the creative work of Escuela de Tablones, a faction within the San Lorenzo hinchada. I demonstrate that creativity is embedded in the aguante conflict, functioning as a tool to accrue honor and prestige. However, I also analyze Escuela de Tablones's unique approach to chant creation. I demonstrate that their chants tend to avoid the violent utterances present in most chants. Rather, their creations mostly focus on belonging, history, and place. Although their distinct approach to lyrics partly explains their ingenious reputation, their status is largely shaped by their aural talent for finding songs that could potentially function as chants by imaginatively projecting aguante's style onto them. Their drive to gain status through creativity has led them to divorce ownership from authorship—an ideology of textuality that is in both positive and negative feedback with intellectual property.

Chapter three moves to Chile, examining issues of affective labor among Los de Abajo. It narrates how after decades of civic, democratic, and university-led administration the club turned into a publicly traded sports company where participation is now mediated by stock shares. Pitting it against the for-profit actions of club executives, U. de Chile hinchas use their sonic practices to participate in the aguante conflict, affect the outcome of games, and carve out space for themselves in their clubs, from which they have been marginalized as mere consumers. But affective labor also has anti-social effects, being deployed to dehumanize others, voice violent expressions, and erode community bonds. Furthermore, as the club directors of these corporations have subsumed fan practice in their production of value, this chapter highlights not only the potentials but also the constraints of affective labor in communities of consumption.

The fourth chapter focuses on hinchas' ideologies of voice vis-à-vis the social uprising that erupted in Chile in October 2019. It examines the underlying social, political, and economic dynamics that lead to the social unrest—conditions that also permitted the very existence of Chilean barras. Alongside providing an overview of the social uprising and some of the sonic practices that accompanied it, the chapter narrates the active participation of hinchas in the protests and how authors of public opinion conceptualized their involvement. However, the chapter's primary focus is on the ways in which hinchas understand their sonic, material, and representational voices. It illustrates that hinchas see the destruction of the vocal organs as an expression of working-class agency and dignity. The chapter also contends that aguante's vocality was prophetic of the social unrest.

The final chapter illustrates the voice's potentials to mediate transnational imaginaries. It specifically focuses on Los Baisanos, the barra of Palestino, a team founded by Palestinian immigrants in Chile, illustrating how unexpected transnational circuits have densified the semiotics of aguante. Los Baisanos, a group of hinchas with no Palestinian heritage whatsoever, seek to embody and perform the feelings of struggle and resilience that they imagine that characterize the Palestinian experience in the Middle East. This mimetic process moves them to perform as a collective they imagine politically legitimate, socially conscious, and dominant within the aguante conflict. However, the chapter also illustrates the constraints of this expression of solidarity, especially due to aguante's hegemonic perception as unruly, violent, and alienated. The fact that Los Baisanos do not explicitly address the Palestinian cause in their lyrics reinforces these perceptions.

CHAPTER 1

The Crystallization and Transnationalization of Aguante

This chapter narrates the emergence and developments of aguante, arguing that it has become a transnational patchwork of practices and ideologies that has fostered cosmopolitan identities and subjectivities. I begin by narrating the emergence of chants in Argentina in the first half of the twentieth century vis-à-vis changes in the country's public sphere and its techno- and mediascapes. From the turn of the century until the 1950s, Argentina became South America's hub of musical, cinema, and radio production. The development of robust culture industries in Buenos Aires coincided with the sonic colonization of the public sphere by working-class and carnival culture. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the expansion of mass media overlapped with a succession of economic crises and bloody coup d'états. This social, political, and economic turmoil not only permitted the crystallization of aguante proper but also its radicalization. While this section ends by summarizing the current style of aguante in Argentina, the rest of the chapter discusses the three stages of aguante's transnationalization. It shows that the accrual of circulating sounds, media, and people sedimented a translocal culture, fostering cosmopolitan imaginaries that deviate from those favored by South American neoliberal democracies. I pay special attention to Escuela de Tablones, a group of hinchas of San Lorenzo that has employed social media to disseminate their chants. In stabilizing "relationships between sound, audience, and a kind of social capital that is understood in relation to transnational cultural savvy" (Tucker 2013, 12), Escuela de Tablones have become key mediators of aguante's cosmopolitan identities

and subjectivities. Their practices of remediation have turned aguante into a multisited fandom in which Argentina, despite its centrality, has become one more node of expression and path of circulation.

This chapter pays special attention to chants because they have played a crucial role in the crystallization and transnationalization of aguante. Argentine soccer chants are contrafactum compositions that range from liminal speech utterances to more conventional songs (Herrera 2018). The melodies of the songlike chants are drawn from sources including political marches, jingles, and the latest hits promoted by the culture industries. The lyrics often interweave tropes of loyalty and passion with hypermasculine expressions of strength, courage, and bravado. I define the practice of creating chants as *versioning*. Discussing the ways that dub challenges notions of musical uniqueness, originality, authenticity, Michael Veal (2007) explains:

> [I]n Jamaican musical parlance the noun "version" was gradually transformed into a verb; that is, "to version." The dub plate can be considered the first step in this process of "versioning," a method of serially recycling recorded material developed by producers desiring to ensure the longest commercial life for a given piece of recorded music despite economic constraints and a limited pool of musicians. The process of versioning was soon exploited to its fullest extent, as prerecorded backing tracks began to be used as a basis for a series of more distinct performances (54-55).

Hinchas similarly employ *version* to signify chant-creation. While *versionar* (versioning) refers to the practice of finding melodies and altering their lyrics, *re-versionar* (re-versioning) denotes the act of changing the texts of already existing chants. Unlike dub, however, intertextuality is rather ambiguous in aguante. Although intertextual relations between lyrics and sources' texts, melodies, and cultural significances sometimes help densify chants' semiotics, fans and commentators do not always hear new versions in relation to, or as a commentary on, previous iterations (O'Brien 2020). Nonetheless, chant creators have long sought to underscore sources and authorship. These attempts have remained largely unsuccessful until recently when social media has helped them to foreground intertextuality and attribute links to prior iterations.

Genealogies of aguante

Although Argentine stadiums have indexed loudness since the nineteenth century, the historical archive does not register melodic chants until the turn of the twentieth century. Historian Julio Frydenberg (2011) points to the emergence of *muchachadas* (bunches of boys) in the 1920s as the first atomized association of hinchas. These proletarian youths gathered in spaces of male sociability such as bars and proved their maleness through drinking, posturing, and fighting. Muchachadas rarely sang in stands, though, rather chanting non-melodic speech utterances such as "Bo-ca, Bo-ca" or the players' names (Bundio 2016). These chants competed with many other sounds, as this journalistic piece illustrates:

> From the top of the stands, the crowd seemed like a revolutionary rally: the voices, insults, swirls, stampedes, the back and forth of groups that momentarily break up and then signal to each other via shouting; the announcements of fruit, drinks, and magazine sellers; the rapid turmoil that causes a quarrel, quickly calmed by the neighbors, all this chaos of old and young, civilians and officers, people with shirts and pajamas rubbing shoulders with highly elegant spectators, produces a sensation of revolt, of a rally that is familiar to those who habitually attend the major sports events (Frydenberg 2011, 218).

In those same years, writer Roberto Artl (2002) defined the stadium's soundscape not only as cacophonous and modular but also material:

> Not even a bunch of machine gunners could have made more noise than those eighty thousand hands that were applauding the Argentine success. So many people were clapping for the Argentine success. So many people were applauding behind my ears that the wind created by their hands buzzed by my checks. Then enthusiasm waned down, and I began to take notes (263).

These accounts consistently lack references to contrafactum compositions, but there is some evidence of melodic chants in the 1920s. For instance, Leandro, a San Lorenzo hincha, chant historian, and member of Escuela de Tablones, found a version of the tango "Buenos Aires" by Manuel Joves y Manuel Romero with lyrics about San Lorenzo:

San Lorenzo, campeón de primera
San Lorenzo, mi club más querido
Escuchá la canción que hoy te canto como un amigo

Yo te he visto luchar con bravura
Contra cuadros que fueron campeones
Sin que jamás la amargura manchara tus corazones
Y en los partidos del campeonato
Más de un mal rato por vos pasé
Días ingratos en que la suerte peor que la muerte yo vislumbré
Y al terminar la lucha ruda con mucha calma te vi triunfar
Porque si querés jugar
Lo que te sobra es el alma
Y en la tarde linda de verano
Cuando vas a tu campo a entrenarte
Al contemplar tanto afán
No me canso de admirarte

San Lorenzo, first-class champion
San Lorenzo, my dearest club
Listen to the song that I today sing to you as a friend
I've seen you fighting bravely
Against great champions
Without letting the bitterness stain your heart
And in tournament games
I had more than one sad moment
Hard days when I faced a fate worse than death
And when the hard fight was over I calmly saw you triumph
Because if you want to play
The soul is enough
And in a beautiful summer afternoon
When you go to your field to train
Contemplating so much effort
I can't get tired of admiring you

Tango's bitter, resigned fatalism acquires new meanings here. The lyrics present soccer as a space where working-class subjects can compensate for the isolation caused by social inequality, love failures, and the inequities of modernity.[22] Although it is hard to know how, when, and where this piece was sung, it is an important antecedent of versioning practices.

The first journalistic references to chants can be found in the 1940s (Bundio 2016). Most of these compositions were rather pithy and focused primarily on players:

[22] It is worth mentioning that this symbolic compensation resonates with postwar musical scenes elsewhere, such as country music (Fox 2004). Although aguante and country differ in their socioeconomic sources, chapter four highlights the socio-musical resonances between them.

Tenemos un arquero que es una maravilla
Ataja los penales sentados en una silla

We have a wonderful goalkeeper
He saves penalty kicks sitting on a chair

The press employed these chants to spark discussion about the role of hinchas in soccer. As the most important sports magazines illustrate, the idea that they are protagonists of games began to crystallize then. For instance, Borcotó (Ricardo Lorenzo's pseudonym), the main writer of *El Gráfico*, stated: "It was there when Boca [Juniors] addicts could manifest their presence. Until then, 'the player number 12' had been quiet" (Borocotó 1943). A few years later, Américo Barros from *Mundo Deportivo* wrote:

> There's an invisible thread that unites every player with the crowd surrounding the playing field. It's a vital, sensible, conductor of images and sensations … The stadium configures a perfect unit, an indivisible organism … The player is just a performing element of this human organism, giant and sensible, and the audience is its heart, like a box of resonance that lives, beats, and vocalizes (Barrios 1950).

This idea of the stadium as a resonant assemblage of players, hinchas, and materialities would eventually become one of the main tenets of aguante's acoustemology of conflict: sound is a force capable of affecting games and entities.

The emergence of these chants is not surprising as versioning has long been a key component of Buenos Aires's carnival culture. Dating back to the eighteenth century, the city's carnivals followed the model of the Spanish celebrations of the time—which were modeled after Italian festive expressions (Liffredo 2015). But it was in the early twentieth century when *murga porteña*—a genre complex involving music, theater, song, and dance—took over the Buenos Aires carnival (O'Brien 2018). In these years, the Spanish troupe La Murga Gaditana toured the Rio de la Plata (a river that divides Argentina and Uruguay) extensively. Their satirical style—choral singing accompanied by snare drums and *bombos con platillo* (double-headed bass drums with mounted cymbals) playing a steady beat on the drum and a syncopated rhythm in the

cymbal—would become the model for murga practices in Buenos Aires and Montevideo (Uruguay's capital). As Michael O'Brien (2018) points out, the bombo con platillo has become an icon of murga and an index of working-class culture in Buenos Aires. Indissolubly tied to neighborhood life, murga ensembles began to grow exponentially in the early twentieth century, listing dozens of members by the 1950s (Martín 1997). In addition to the bombo con platillo, *astracanadas* (contrafactum compositions) have characterized murga and Buenos Aires carnival.

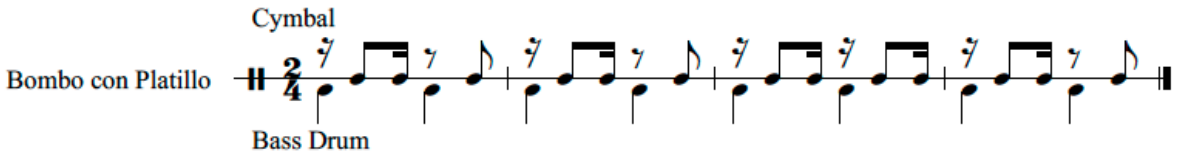

Figure 3 Murga rhythm

Due to their class and territorial affiliations, carnival and soccer have long overlapped in Buenos Aires's neighborhoods (Adamovsky and Buch 2016; Martín 1997; O'Brien 2018; Rossano 2009, 2012). Murga troupes rapidly developed close relationships with soccer clubs, adopting either their colors or shields and sharing members and instruments. As Coco Romero, an activist, composer, performer, and historian, explained to me:

> [Soccer and murga] are phenomena that touch each other. I see soccer as a performative space of carnivalization … When you historicize soccer and when you historicize murga, both are parallel phenomena, that came [to the country] in the 1890s. So, in the first twenty years, you have a link between the kid that plays with the *pelota de trapo* [ball made of rags] and the carnival's [social] base. Since their emergence in this society, they've been close to each other … Both cultural phenomena coexisted.

However, fandom and carnival have not only shared practices and people but also a "common sonic habitus," one in which sound has been used "strategically to occupy and stake claim to territory and contest rival groups" (O'Brien 2018, 451). Although the direct links between murgas and hinchadas have decreased in recent years due to the emergence of trans-

neighborhood ensembles, the genre and the bombo con platillo have nonetheless become aguante's musical beat.

Due to the establishment of state-of-the-art radio, cinema, and music industries in the first half of the twentieth century, Argentina concurrently became the center of mass culture in South America (Luker 2016; Karush 2007, 2010, 2012, 2017; Karush and Chamosa 2010; Nouzeilles and Montaldo 2002; Rios 2008, 2014). While many films, music, and radio programs sought to appeal to consumers eager for cosmopolitan symbols, a significant portion of these cultural productions also celebrated the dignity and solidarity of the proletariat—a moral superiority that they pitted against elites, whom they portrayed as selfish and immoral. As historian Matthew Karush (2007; 2010; 2012) contends, the images and narratives glorifying the working class created the conditions for the emergence of a populist movement that, as discussed below, would dramatically alter class, political, and economic structures in Argentina in the 1940s. The expansion of cultural consumption also helped to make popular culture available to larger segments of the population, thus expanding the number of versioning sources for hinchas and murga musicians.

These years are known as the Golden Age of tango (Archetti 1999; Karush 2010; Luker 2016). In the first half of the twentieth century, but especially from 1935 to 1955, tango took over Argentina's public sphere. Developed in the *arrabal* (the outskirt of Buenos Aires), its lyrics originally centered around male experiences in the underworld. This is conspicuously evident in tango's celebration of the *compadrito*, a tough, competitive, streetwise, and manipulative outlaw. Although tango's transformation into a mainstream urban popular genre tended to tame its emphasis on anti-sociality, its lyrics remained intensely bitter and ill-humored, discussing love and everyday life in significantly pessimistic, if not fatalistic, terms. The bruised

dignity of the poor systematically explored in tango ended up becoming the default experience of the Argentine working-class male subjects. This "coalescing of moralities and masculinities" (Archetti 1999, 124) foreshadows the later content of aguante.

Unsurprisingly, culture workers employed soccer and tango to extol proletarian life. Because film, radio, and music celebrated the cultural practices surrounding soccer "as the achievements of working-class Argentines" (Karush 2010, 30), hinchas became embodiments of proletarian dignity, solidarity, and passion. In so doing, the culture industries helped reinforce conceptualizations of hinchas as protagonists of soccer (Alabarces 2007; Archetti 1999). For example, the movie *El Hincha* (1951), directed by Manuel Romero and starring tango luminaire Enrique Santos Discépolo, portrayed hinchas as altruistic, steadfast, and passionate subjects. It also connected the idea of the hincha as the "twelfth player" to sound practice. As Discépolo's character contends, hinchas were subjects who must "romperse los pulmones" (break their lungs) and sing "hasta quedarse roncos" (until hoarseness). Using melodrama "to appeal to the non-elite audience that filled the barrio movie theaters" (Karush 2010, 42), *El Hincha* ultimately conflated working-class dignity with fan practice.

The rise of Colonel Juan Domingo Perón and his populist ideology coincided with these developments in carnival and mass culture. The country's Minister of Labor since 1930, Perón's prominence began to grow in the 1940s (D. James 1988a, 1988b; Nouzeilles and Montaldo 2002; L. A. Romero 2002). The several programs of public assistance he introduced gave him the support of labor unions and the working class while putting him at odds with the conservative elites, the radical left, and even his military colleagues. He resigned on October 9, 1945 and was arrested four days later. On October 17, hundreds of thousands of proletarians took over the Plaza de Mayo (the square in front of the palace of government) demanding Perón's release and

return to government. Facing a once-in-a-lifetime rally, the military released him and let him address the assembled mass of workers, which allowed him to launch a movement that granted him the presidential elections of 1946 and 1951. Karush (2007, 2010, 2012) has shown that Perón profited from the narratives of the poor's moral superiority widely circulating in mass culture in the 1930s and 1940s. In addition to appealing to the working class through melodramatic tropes of proletarian dignity, he and his wife, Eva Duarte, negotiated salary increases and established systems of health, pension, and education that directly benefited the proletariat. The confluence of these policies and his populist rhetoric gave him the steadfast support and affection of the working class.

Perón empowered the working class, motivating them to take over the public sphere, first at his rallies and later in other public spaces. The physical colonization of Buenos Aires's landscape was accompanied by a sonic occupation of the city's soundscape through the bombo con platillo. Historians Ezequiel Adamovsky and Esteban Buch (2016) note that the drum quickly became a synecdoche of Perón's supporters. However, the instrument was not only present in political gatherings but also in soccer games. Partly due to the proletarian appropriation of the public space—which coincided with an intensification of mass cultural consumption—stadium attendance skyrocketed in the 1950s (Alabarces 2007). As soccer became a sphere for the expression of proletarian culture, carnival sounds took over stadiums' soundscape.

In the midst of these media, social, political, and aural shifts, hinchas versioned two chants that are still sung in stadiums today. The first one is the "Marcha Peronista"—Perón's anthem. Recorded and performed for the first time by Hugo del Carril in 1949,[23] the march

[23] The origins of the melody are fuzzy, being sung in carnivals, soccer clubs, and a graphic workers union before the march was first recorded (Adamovsky and Buch 2016).

became a hallmark of every Peronist rally, where thousands of hinchas sang it collectively to the beat of the bombo con platillo (Adamovsky and Buch 2016). A telling example of the Peronists deployment of melodrama (Karush 2007, 2010, 2012), its chorus contains the song's main message:

Perón, Perón, qué grande sos
Mi general, cuánto valés
Perón, Perón, gran conductor
Sos el primer trabajador

Perón, Perón, you're the greatest
My general, you're priceless
Perón, Perón, great leader
You're the number one worker

Although the march might have been sung during games since the early 1950s, it began to dominate stadiums' soundscape after the coup that ousted Perón in 1955. Amid a ban on pro-Peronist expressions, hinchas of different teams changed its chorus to a simple "Dale, campeón" (Let's go, champion). Boca Juniors hinchas sang the chorus differently, though, uttering the now iconic "Y dale, Bo" (Let's go Bo). Boca Juniors hinchas are also the authors of the second versioning still heard in stadiums:

Sí, sí, señores
Yo soy de Boca
Sí, sí, señores
De corazón
Porque este año
Desde La Boca
Desde La Boca
Saldrá el nuevo campeón

Yes, yes, gentlemen
I'm a Boca fan
Yes, yes, gentlemen
From the heart
Because this year
From La Boca
From La Boca
The new champion will come

The source is the popular song "Sinceramente," a march with touches of Brazilian *marcha* by composer Santos Lipesker. These two examples mark the emergence of soccer chants as known today. Because both were readapted by hinchas of other teams, they also set the groundwork for the re-versioning practices that have characterized aguante. Indeed, hinchas began to copy and adapt the chants of rival fanbases in the 1950s. Since then, while they have been constantly adapting new jingles, marches, radio and TV theme songs, and music from different genres and periods, they have also been constantly (re)versioning previous adaptations, thereby producing a dense ecology of chants.

Rapid developments in media technologies in the 1960s accelerated these dynamics. In this decade, five TV channels were added, television sets were manufactured and imported in larger numbers, multinational recording companies established more offices in Buenos Aires, the number and reach of radio stations were expanded, the consumption of LPs rose steeply, and advertising became a crucial mediator of consumption (Alabarces 2007). All these developments saturated the country's public sphere with songs, jingles, and the theme songs of radio and TV shows. Unsurprisingly, many chants took their sources from advertisements in these years. See the following chant, for instance, which versions a jingle for a sheet fabric:

Vaya, vaya con el campeón
A todas partes vaya con el campeón
Si sos de Boca
Hacé el favor
Andate a la puta que te parió

Follow, follow the champion
Follow the champion everywhere
If you're a Boca fan
Do us a favor
Go fuck yourself

Although these kinds of jingles became the main source for chants, hinchas also began to adapt melodies of popular music, such this versioning of "Voy Cantando" by Nueva Ola singer Palito Ortega:

Despacito, despacito, despacito
Te rompimos el culito

Slowly, slowly, slowly,
We fucked you in the ass

These two examples also illustrate that attacks and profanities towards rivals accompanied the intensification of the chant ecology. Aguante scholars have argued that the social, economic, and political instability caused by the overthrow of Perón in 1955 radicalized soccer fandom (Alabarces 2012; Archetti 1984; Bundio 2016). In these years, tropes of rape, death threats, and misogynistic, homophobic, and racist slurs began to dominate chants. Concurrently, fights in stadiums began to skyrocket, allowing some hinchas to gain status and power within fanbases by configuring hypermasculine personae. Journalists began to call these people barrabravas (Alabarces 2012).

Game film from the 1960s also illustrates that the archetypical body technique to accompany chanting had already crystallized: a rhythmic, back-and-forth movement of the arm in a semi-horizontal position—an open-palm fist bump where the full extension of the arm coincides with the music's strong beat. Furthermore, hinchas were already accompanying their performance by jumping in synchrony. Other visual displays were already present in these years. In addition to using balloons, umbrellas, and shredded newspapers as confetti, cloth banners were already highlighting their presence behind the goals.

Hinchas have expanded this banner practice over the years. Today, hinchadas install four to eight vertical banners that go from the top of the terrace to the fence. Approximately three horizontal banners that deploy the name of the hinchada cross the vertical ones. Banners usually

show the team colors and distinctive drawings. Covered by these artifacts and immersed in their own performance, many hinchas do not see the game—or at least a significant part of it. Whereas music ensembles and many hinchas cannot see the game because of the banners, others stand with their backs to the field on para-avalanchas, encouraging other people to sing along.

Figure 4 La Gloriosa Butteler (the San Lorenzo hinchada). Photo by the author

But it was in the 1970s and 1980s that the aguante ideology fully crystallized (Alabarces 2012). Chant lyrics illustrate that hinchadas began to present themselves more openly as the protagonists of games in these years (Bundio 2016). The idea that they can affect games and players through their sonic practices underlines this idea:

Alentemos todos juntos
Para que pongan huevos nuestros jugadores
Que los partidos se ganan dentro de la cancha
Y acá en los tablones
Que griten los Cuervos para ser campeones

Let's cheer all together

So that our players grow some balls
Because games are won on the field
And here in the stands
The *cuervos*[24] must sing to win the championship

The chant suggests the emergence of one of the main tenets of aguante's acoustemology of conflict: sound as a material expression of power—a force capable of affecting, silencing, and disorienting minds and bodies. In these years, the term "aguante" started to signify expressions ranging from nonstop singing to pain resilience. Hinchas also began to pit themselves against those who lack aguante—failed embodiments of masculinity—through the construction of what anthropologist Javier Bundio (2016, 2017) calls *radical othering:* the construction of alterity through sexist, homophobic, racist, xenophobic, and paradoxically classist tropes:

Oh, no tenés aguante
Oh, oh, oh, oh
Oh, no tenés aguante
Cuervo puto, vigilante

Oh, you lack aguante
Oh, oh, oh, oh
Oh, you lack aguante
Cuervo puto, snitch[25]

Stories of combat, death threats, insults to the police, and other violent utterances began to fill the lyrics, as well:

Yo te quiero, Millonario
Yo te quiero de verdad
Quiero la Libertadores
Y un bostero matar

I love you, Millionario[26]

[24] Crows, the nickname for San Lorenzo hinchas.
[25] These two terms are difficult to translate. "Puto" literally means male-whore and functions as a homophobic slur. In aguante, however, it is more about gendered behavior than sexual inclinations. Simply put, a gay man is not necessarily a "puto" if he engages in combat and other hypermasculine practices. As one hincha told anthropologist José Garriga, "el culo podés ponerlo donde quieras pero tenés que aguantar, tenés que ser guapo" (you can do whatever you want with your ass, but you must have endurance, you must be tough) (81). "Vigilante" (vigilant) signifies someone with some kind of tie with the police: a snitch, an undercover, a policeman, et cetera.
[26] Millionaire, the nickname for River Plate.

I really love you
I want the Libertadores
And to kill a bostero[27]

But violence exceeded chant lyrics. In fact, hinchas created networks of corruption in which they exchanged their violent capital over social, political, and economic goods with actors ranging from players to executives to politicians. Moreover, violent clashes began to rise steeply, which caused a corresponding increase in the number of deaths—fatalities averaged six per year from 1984 to 2012 (Alabarces 2012).

The radicalization of soccer's symbolic conflict coincided with important transformations in Argentina's economy, politics, and society. After eighteen years in exile and banned from the 1973 presidential elections, Perón came back to the country and took office after Héctor Campora, the winner of the election, resigned so that the Colonel could be elected later that year. When Perón died in 1974, his vice-president and second wife, Isabel Perón, became president. In the midst of economic upheavals, left-wing insurgency, and reactionary activity from the far right, a bloody military coup abruptly ended her term in 1976. Led by General Jorge Videla, the regime (1976-1982) was characterized by terrorism, torture, and murder (Feitlowitz 1998). Through state terror, the military also imposed the first neoliberal policies in the country, centering the economic power in the market and financial sectors of the economy. Foreign indebtedness mediated this economic plan as privatizations, deregulations, and openings to world markets worked as the condition for loans from international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (Teubal 2004). Because neoliberalism was at odds with the Argentine tradition of governmental involvement in the economy and social policy, these changes furthered social exclusion, community fragmentation, and the erosion of the classic

[27] Manure-person, Boca Juniors hinchas' nickname.

forms of social integration. The post-dictatorial governments continued the regime's measures, favoring large companies and economic groups. As Grimson (2005) writes, "Foreign debt, impoverishment, and the destructuring of the productive system are the three keys to the first neoliberal chapter in Argentina, issues that reappeared in altered forms during the 1990s" (17). This neoliberal model collapsed with the crisis of 2001. Comparable to the Great Depression, the peso was devalued, wages drastically fell, unemployment reached 25 percent, and poverty escalated to 50 percent, ultimately transforming Argentine society.

The aguante literature posits that the regimen's imposition of neoliberalism and legitimization of violence caused the emergence of vicious lyrics, organized combat, planned corruption, and disregard of human life in soccer fandom (Alabarces 2012; Garriga 2007, 2010). Anti-sociality began to dominate hinchadas' forms of socialization during and after the dictatorship. Noting a dialectic of law and disorder in post-colonial formations, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (2006) point out that neoliberal modes of governmentality have intensified anti-social relations. They contend that criminal violence has profited from the rule of law and the licit operations of the market, creating a parallel model of production, profiteering, governance, and taxation. Some citizens have established "simulacra of social order" where relations of obedience and transgression, regulation and deregulation, have been transmuted to the point in which "the means and ends of the liberal democratic state are refracted, deflected, and dispersed into the murkier reaches of the private sector" (5). As Garriga (2007) concludes, the abandonment of the citizenry by the regime and later by the democratic state has led hinchas to see aguante as a space to foster sociality and accrue honor and power.

From the 1990s thorugh today, the core expressions and main dynamics of aguante have changed little. One exception is the incorporation of brass instruments. Another change is that

sources for versioning began to come almost exclusively from popular music genres. Leandro explains:

> Many chants of the 80s use the melody of "Sobreviviendo" [Surviving, by folk singer-songwriter Víctor Heredia] and the jingle "Bobby Mi Buen Amigo" [Bobby, My Good Friend]. That happened precisely because there were fewer songs than now. We have a larger production of everything, especially mass media. Until recently, when I was a kid, we only had five TV networks. Now, we have a different world. My nephew, for example, who's six years old is always [on his phone]. He spends his life in that … You have to consider that, especially in the 60s … 70s, and even the 80s a bit … many chants came from jingles—they didn't come from authored songs. TV and radio ads. With the passing of time, chants started to be taken from music bands. Because the advertisement world changed. And you also have there a link between soccer chants and everyday life. I mean that advertisement changed—you barely have ads with jingles. So, what I meant is that what evolves and happens in the world is always in feedback with soccer chant activity … life itself and soccer chants are in feedback, feeding everyday life, both in terms of creativity and lyrics.

His statement echoes Ana María Ochoa's (2006b) points on contemporary changes in the Latin American public sphere: "The intermediality of the sonic sphere—from face-to-face communication to radio, cinema and television, to the self-production of recordings to internet and cell phone communication—becomes an increasingly privileged site of constitution of a (contested) public sphere" (807). Due to changes in the country's media- and technoscape, the number of potential sources skyrocketed exponentially from the 1990s onwards.

All these changes have fostered versioning and re-versioning, densifying the chant ecology. Accordingly, the themes of the lyrics have been significantly expanded. Bundio (2017) divides lyrics into six different categories: self-praising, supporting, celebrating, insulting, teasing, and threatening. Although most chants fit in several categories at the same time, this model is useful to outline the different topics present in the current aguante songbook.

The self-praising theme is closely connected to the celebrating one. Glorifying group belonging, dominance, and participation, these lyrics establish affective ties between hinchas, hinchadas, and clubs. See, for instance, the following chant by Racing's hinchada over the

melody of “Esta Noche me Emborracho” by fusion rock band La Mosca Tse Tse:

Los momentos que viví
Las cosas que yo dejé
Por ser seguir a La Academia
Nadie lo puede entender
Yo no sé como explicar
Que te llevo hasta en la piel
Sos la droga que en las venas me inyectaron al nacer
Se me para el corazón
Cada vez que vos perdés
Me pongo de la cabeza
Y otra vez te vengo a ver
Muchachos, traigan vino, juega La Acadé
Que esta banda está de fiesta
Hoy no podemos perder
Muchachos, traigan vino, juega La Acadé
Me emborracho bien borracho
Y El Rojo se va a la B

Everything that I’ve been through
The things I left behind
To follow La Academia[28]
Nobody can understand it
I don’t know how to explain
That I’ve got you under my skin
You’re the drug that they injected when I was born
My heart stops beating
Every time you lose
I get crazy
And come to see you again
Guys, bring wine, La Acadé is playing
This band is turned up
We can’t lose
Guys, bring wine, La Acadé is playing
I get really drunk
And El Rojo[29] is relegated

Alongside a passing mention of conflict, the chant celebrates collective belonging through tropes of emotion, intensity, and viscerality. It also voices masculine modes of socioaffective release and bonding (Bundio 2017). Scholar Kam Louie (2002, 2003) argues that Chinese masculinity

[28] The Academy, Racing’s nickname. “La Acadé” is La Academia shortened.
[29] The Red, archrival Independiente’s nickname.

entails a balance of scholarly and physical, artistic and martial, literary and forceful, qualities. Although this model of manhood does not necessarily apply elsewhere, even in hypermasculine contexts such as aguante, masculinity usually demands emotional and creative expressions. In addition to sound practice, alcohol consumption often encourages affective homosociality. As in this example, many chants narrate alcohol and drug consumption, stressing the fact that hinchas usually cheer for their teams in altered states of consciousness. Aguante scholars link substance abuse to the idea of forging masculine, resistant bodies through damage (Alabarces and Garriga 2007, 2008; Garriga 2005). However, altered states of consciousness are also connected to the prioritization of affective states (see chapter three).

Related to these categories is the supporting one. Often simple and short, these chants seek to encourage players:

Oh, nosotros alentamos
Oh, nosotros alentamos
Pongan huevos
Que ganamos

Oh, we cheer
Oh, we cheer
Grow some balls
We're going to win

The "pongan huevos" expression (translated as "grow some balls") requires further discussion. *Huevos* (eggs) often stand for testicles in South American parlance. Common in soccer chants, the huevo trope signifies male endurance, intensity, and bravado.

Nevertheless, these chants of self-praise, celebration, and support can be more overtly conflictive in nature. For example, River Plate's hinchada sing the following over the melody of "Imposible" by Argentine rock band Callejeros:

Todos los domingos a la tarde yo vengo a alentarte
Venimos aguantando los trapos para verte a vos
Al fin va a decir la verdad el que escribe los diarios

Que River es el más grande todos y nunca abandonó
Aunque ganes o aunque pierdas yo siempre te sigo
Que me la chupen todas las hinchadas y el periodismo
Yo no me voy antes de que termine el partido
Banderas negras y parlantes no hay
Porque esta banda es puro carnaval
La Boca y Avellaneda vamos a quemar
Y como siempre La 12 va a correr sin parar

Every Sunday afternoon I come to cheer for you
We've been defending the banners to come to see you
The newspapers writers will finally tell the truth
That River is biggest of all and never abandoned
I always follow you even if you win or lose
All hinchadas and journalists can suck it
I don't leave before the game is over
There are neither black flags nor loudspeakers
Because this band is pure carnival
We'll burn La Boca and Avellaneda
And La 12 will run non-stop as always

The chant stresses the loyalty, passion, and endurance of the River Plate hinchada. But these utterances are intertwined with negative depictions of and violent threats toward rivals. In contrast to their own carnival—a trope that signifies an affective atmosphere (see chapter three)—other teams need external technologies to support their sonic displays—black flags mean bitterness here, that is, lack of aguante. In a rather dramatic turn, hinchas promise to burn La Boca and Avellaneda (neighborhoods of Boca Juniors, and Independiente and Racing, respectively). Common to these chants, too, is the idea of making other hinchadas run away after combat—in this case, La 12, the Boca Juniors barra. The chant presents other recurrent topics of aguante, such as the defense of banners, critiques of journalism, and the deployment of references to well-known events in soccer history. Albeit not present in this chant, enduring police repression is present in several chants, as well. These issues highlight the ways that conflict informs the aforementioned categories.

But while these three themes seek to aggrandize the self, the insulting, teasing, and

threatening categories aim to deride rivals. This chant by the River Plate hinchada illustrates this point:

Qué feo ser bostero y boliviano
En una villa tener que vivir
La hermana revolea la cartera
La vieja chupa pijas por ahí
Bostero, bostero, bostero,
Bostero, no lo pienses más
Andate a vivir a Bolivia
Toda tu familia está allá

How awful is to be a bostero and Bolivian
To have to live in a villa[30]
The sister sleeps with everyone
The old lady gives blowjobs somewhere
Bostero, bostero, bostero,
Bostero, don't think about it anymore
Move to Bolivia
Your entire family is there

Alongside the crude misogyny, the chant's radical othering relies on widespread assumptions about whiteness and poverty in Buenos Aires. While middle-class citizens are often presented as essentially porteño (and therefore white), working-class communities are frequently stereotyped as immigrants of color. Even though the River Plate fanbase tends to be associated with the middle class and the Boca Juniors hinchada with the working class, the chant's classism is nevertheless paradoxical as many of those who attend Argentine soccer matches—including River Plate hinchas—have proletarian backgrounds.[31]

Many chants narrate stories of death and violence. See, for instance, this one by La Gloriosa Butteler, the San Lorenzo hinchada:

Saltando paredes
Yo no sé a quién vengas
Viniste al barrio

[30] Impoverished neighborhood in Argentina.
[31] It worth mentioning, though, that the River Plate barra was led for years by Alan Schlenker, an upper-middle-class porteño who is now serving a life sentence for the murder of Gonzalo Arco, another River Plate hincha.

Te matamos a uno más
Y para el tercero
Te pido quemero
Que me vengas a buscar
Cumplieron cien años
Te volvimos a correr
Y ahora en La Boca
Nos volvemos a ver
Vos sos vigilante
Vos nunca la aguantaste
Con la Plaza Butteler

Jumping walls
I don't know where you come from
We kill you another one
And for the third one
I ask you *quemero*[32]
Come face me
You turned one hundred years old
We made you run away again
And now in La Boca
We'll face each other again
You are a vigilante
You never endured it
Against the Buttler Square[33]

The chant narrates and celebrates well-known acts of violence—specifically, the assassination of two Huracán hinchas. On the eve of a new encounter in La Boca, furthermore, La Gloriosa Butteler promises to kill another member.

Threatening chants are often constituted by a few verses and can be directed towards rivals, police, and players:

Jugadores
La concha de su madre
Mejor que pongan huevos
Si no, no queda nadie

Players
Sons of bitches[34]

[32] Roughly, people-that-burn, the nickname of Huracán hinchas.
[33] As discussed later, La Gloriosa Butteler takes its name from the square where its members gather.
[34] It literally translates as "your mother's cunt," though.

You better grow some balls
Otherwise, no one will remain alive

These kinds of chants rely on the violent ethos surrounding certain hinchas. As discussed later, these stories of violence played an important role in transnationalizing anti-social values and behaviors.

Although Argentina remains the most important node of aguante, the fandom is now a multisited patchwork. The following sections illustrate the gradual transnationalization of aguante. It begins in the 1980s, when television, migration, and continental matchups made Chilean and Uruguayan hinchas aware of aguante, leading them to appropriate and adapt its practices.

The first stage of transnationalization

When I asked Cachila, an hincha of Peñarol (the most popular team in Uruguay), if he agreed that aguante has become a transnational culture of fandom, he replied:

> You aren't making it up at all. In fact, what you say can be even extended to the larger Southern Cone, including Paraguay and Rio Grande do Sul. Today, in the case of hinchadas, for example, you can see that the Argentine phenomenon among Paraguayan hinchadas, and even in the *Grenal*, which is the most important *clásico*[35] in Brazil … In Rio Grande do Sul, they don't have *torcidas*,[36] they have hinchadas. They have bombos con platillo, they have banners, even the chants are the same as in Argentina … Paraguayan hinchadas are like the Chilean ones, like the Uruguayan ones, like the Argentine ones. With the umbrellas, banners, and here in Uruguay is the same. I tend to believe that we're more creative regarding chants—it's more creation than imitation. At least the Peñarol hinchada, which makes chants with Uruguayan popular music—either folklore, rock, or cumbia—instead of buying the melody or chant packaged from Argentina—a re-versioned chant. Well, we have both. We make our own versions, like San Lorenzo in Argentina, for example, that everyone ends up copying them … Although they do that here, too, the one of Peñarol, which is the one that I know the most, is famous for making their own chants. That's why they do it with local artists, for instance.

[35] Matches between the two most popular teams of Southern Brazil: Gremio and Internacional.
[36] Groups of organized fans in Brazil.

Cachila connects and mixes the entire Southern Cone when talking about aguante, using not only Argentina but also Chile and Uruguay as models. His statement illustrates the crystallization of a transnational patchwork of sounds and media that has gathered disparate groups of hinchas around shared practices of fandom. These loops have also constituted a translocal cultural formation that has fostered cosmopolitan subject positions through (anti)social "practices, material technologies, and conceptual frameworks" (Turino 2000, 7). As Alabarces (2014) states, aguante has become the default imaginary of "how an hincha should be" (56) in Latin America.

Due to specific border conditions, Uruguayan hinchas have participated in aguante since the early 1980s. Instead of dividing Montevideo and Buenos Aires, the Rio de la Plata rather unites the two cities as a *rioplatense* region. Soccer has accordingly functioned as a vortex of transnationality there. Cachila explains:

> It started in the 80s, and you have to consider that [aguante] arrived in Montevideo earlier than in [Argentina's] Tucumán, for example. It came earlier than in [Argentina's] Córdoba, which is like seven hours away from Buenos Aires. It's a movement where porteño culture is very present [in Montevideo]. The same in Asunción. I mean, [the TV shows of Argentines] Tinelli and Pergolini were aired live on TV at 10 on primetime. Here, you consume porteño culture. And sports, too.

It is unquestionable that Montevideo has more connections with Buenos Aires than with other Argentine cities. Game footage shows that the barras of Peñarol and Nacional (Uruguay's second most popular team) already sounded and looked like Argentine hinchadas in the 1980s. I will discuss the role of media further when talking about Chile, but it is worth mentioning that television has played a key role in the first two stages of aguante's transnationalization.

The specificities of South American soccer have densified this multisited patchwork. Because Peñarol and Nacional have been active protagonists of the Copa Libertadores de América since 1960, Uruguayan hinchas have repeatedly visited Argentine stadiums, and vice versa. Cachila states:

> [The circulation of aguante] has always happened. For example, [Uruguayan and Argentine] teams have been protagonists of international competitions since the beginning of South American soccer. So, they have been traveling, border-crossing, playing finals. The Peñarol hinchada has gone twenty thousand more times than those of Colo-Colo and La U to Buenos Aires.

By 2019, Peñarol had won the tournament five times and had been the runner-up on five occasions, while Nacional had won three times and had reached the final in three tournaments.[37] Until recently, these two squads used to play more games against Argentina's big five than the teams outside Buenos Aires. As discussed later, the creation of more continental competitions in the 1990s and especially in the 2000s would increase these continental matchups.

The use of murga porteña instead of Uruguayan murga further exemplifies the translocality of aguante. Although the melodic material of the Uruguayan genre also consists of borrowed melodies, it differs from murga porteña in terms of rhythm and percussion. Murga uruguaya is characterized by two interlocked rhythms played by cymbals and snare and bass drums: one syncopated march-like beat known as *marcha camión* (truck march), and a drumming pattern called *candombeado* (derived from the Afro-Uruguayan tradition known as *candombe*) (Kirschstein 2007).[38] In addition to these musical differences, Uruguayans perceive these genres as occupying different social spheres: murga uruguaya belongs to the carnival, murga porteña to the stadium. As Cachila states, "murga uruguaya represents satire, socio-political critique, and for Uruguayans, murga porteña represents soccer hinchadas. It's then a synonym of violence and aguante." A revealing example of the indexicality of murga porteña is "La Violencia" (The Violence), a song by the celebrated murga uruguaya ensemble Agarrate Catalina. A dystopic commentary on soccer, it criticizes the anti-social dynamics surrounding the

[37] Uruguay is the third country with the highest number of appearances in the tournament's final. The list is led by Argentina with 37 and Brazil with 34 appearances, respectively.
[38] They also differ in terms of presentation and performance.

sport. Instead of playing murga uruguaya rhythms, as in all their songs, Agarrate Catalina uses the murga porteña pattern in "La Violencia."[39]

Cachila believes that comparable socio-urban conditions made aguante seductive for working-class citizens across the Southern Cone. He states:

> The Southern Cone has similar socioeconomic, penitentiary, and police state realities, so in the end you have similar impoverished contexts: popular classes facing the same issues, the same pressures, and they're attracted by the sonority and color of an hinchada.

This is what Grimson (2005) calls Latin American "structural poverty" (82). Political economists have noted that South American countries share a "common peripheral condition" in which growth has been anchored in "sectors with low levels of technological complexity (from natural resources extraction to labor-intensive assembly) and lacking an internal industrial core" (Ahumada 2019, 4). These scholars have not only linked this kind of peripheral growth with economic fluctuation but also with segregation and inequality. Although Uruguay has significantly reduced poverty in the past twenty years thanks to efficient redistributive policies, urban marginalization and spatial segregation have remained steadily high in the country (Serna and González 2017).

Poverty, repression, and marginalization moved Garra Blanca and Los de Abajo, the hinchadas of Colo-Colo and U. de Chile, respectively, to bring aguante to Chile in the 1980s. Although combat has long occurred inside and nearby stadiums (Elsey 2011), and Chileans have for decades competed with rival fanbases in terms of creativity (Grumann 2013), these hinchadas altered the style of these conflicts considerably. These changes have been particularly evident in terms of sound practice as, until the 1980s, it was limited to the scattered performance of liminal speech utterances and drumming practices resembling Brazilian batucada.

[39] Despite these associations, nevertheless, Natalie Kirschstein (2007) has illustrated that murga uruguaya has had long ties with soccer, commenting on sports events and drawing on its lexicon to signify its practices.

Oral histories narrate that Los de Abajo emerged in the final years of the Pinochet regime. A group of teenagers decided to distance themselves from older fans, criticizing their stylistic choices, perceived inefficiency, connections with the club's administration, and endorsement of the military regime. Los de Abajo began to occupy the bottom of Galería Sur—the stadium's cheapest section. While their name literally pointed to the space they occupied in the stadium, it also signified their perceived social position: the underdogs of society. Accompanied by a small bass drum, these kids began to imitate the performing style of Argentine hinchadas.

The imitation of Argentine sonic practices was essential in establishing distinctions with older fans. Rogelio, one of Los de Abajo's founders, states:

> We were part of the official barra. As such, we sang and followed the team as part of the barra. Obviously, due to youth and friendship, a group got together and became unbreakable. And it started to cheer for the team with more madness … more or less fifty, sixty, seventy bullangueros who cheered differently began to gather here. Shirtless, naked torso, waving jerseys, close to the fence, sometimes on top of it … We were influenced by Argentine barras. At that time, we even sang with a "che" [a famous Argentine interjection] accent.

Deploying loudness and intensity through aguante practices marked the emergence of Los de Abajo. This desire to imitate Argentine hinchas was widespread among these teenagers, as Rogelio illustrates:

> We were against [the older fans]. First, we had a chant "las cajas por la raja" [shove your snare drums up your asses]. We didn't want snare drums. We wanted the Argentine style—just a bass drum. The official barra had a Brazilian influence, with snare drums … Not like us. We wanted something slower where the voice was the protagonist and the bass drum set the pace.

The centrality of the singing voice became a core value among Los de Abajo (see chapter four), an axiom that persisted even with the shift from the bass drum to the bombo con platillo. In these early years, these adolescents were not aware of the murga style that Argentine hinchas were actually playing. Rogelio narrates:

> We had an Argentine influence. In that time, Argentine soccer was broadcasted by [sports commentator] Tito Awad. That's when we started to see the Argentine barras. The chants, the atmosphere, started to call our attention. We put our ears on the TV [speakers] and we couldn't hear much. To understand the lyrics, the chants. Tito Awad only said stupid shit, and we wanted to listen to the barras—not the commentaries. And that's where we took our first chants. And Pablito Boca or Pablito Anormal [Abnormal] was among Los de Abajo's founders, who came from Argentina, from Harvard, from studies in La 12.[40]

Although immigration played an important role in the transnationalization of aguante, this aural miscommunication mostly happened due to the mediation of TV broadcasts. Michael Veal (2007) has shown that the fragilities, limitations, and low quality of certain technologies can enact contingent musicalities. This resonates with the adoption of aguante in Chile, where the limited sonic affordances of soccer transmissions, which made Los de Abajo only hear the lower sounds of bombos con platillos, mediated how they appropriated aguante.

The statements of Los de Abajo's founders also illustrate the early emergence of an acoustemology of conflict among them. Conceptualizing sound as a source and expression of power, sonic practices of aguante allowed them to claim spaces, dominate rivals, foster community, and exert agency. Rogelio states:

> Los de Abajo's first dream wasn't winning a championship: it was to see the entire Galería Sur singing and cheering for La U. Because at clásicos, the Colo-Colo hinchada started at [gate] 16: from the scoreboard, at 16, to Andes [gate],[41] [almost] the entire stadium. And La U [people] was the stadium's twentieth, thirtieth percent. Just one sector … La U people were quieter and didn't go [to the stadium]. We changed that. When we went to [gate] 14 [of Galería Sur] and took over the place, we started to generate that. Not with violence.

In a context of state repression and erosion of the social fabric, collective sounding afforded affective bonding, social affirmation, and political presence (see chapter three).

[40] Rafael Di Zeo, the leader of La 12 once said that they were the Harvard University of barras (*La Nación* 2007).
[41] A more expensive section of the stadium.

But this process was also spun in webs of anti-sociality. Alongside sound practice, fights with the embryonic Garra Blanca marked the emergence of Los de Abajo. In the late 1980s, the hinchas that later created the Colo-Colo barra began to attack the U. de Chile fans and steal their flags and banners. As most of these adolescents lived in poblaciones (impoverished neighborhoods) dominated by Colo-Colo hinchas, attending games as a group permitted them to leave these places safely. This necessity for self-defense further exacerbated Los de Abajo's generational and stylistic tensions with the older fans. As Rogelio explains:

> When there was conflict, we went directly to the clash. And [the older fans] said "no, don't mess with them." How wouldn't we go if they were attacking the blue family?! We were a little bit more extreme. It was diametrically different from what was happening before. If we saw that our people were being affected, we would defend them. We were not going to be passive agents—we were going to be active agents.

But these teenagers rapidly surpassed this self-defense stage and began to participate in banner warfare, as well.

While these circulating practices of aguante empowered hinchas, their tropes and stories of violence, intersecting with local conditions of violence, played an important role in transnationalizing aguante warfare. Los de Abajo's crystallization occurred in one of the most violent periods in the country's history. Rogelio explains:

> Politically, socially, we were coming out of something that was very heavy, which was the dictatorship. The Pinochet period was coming to an end. People really began to open up. In '87, when we started getting together, to know each other, we all come from school, from different places that repressed us. The dictatorship was really tough on us. We're the sons of the dictatorship. We were educated by Pinochet.

Los de Abajo's founders were part of the communities most violently affected by the repression of the military. As violence was not alien to them, accruing notoriety through fighting and stealing banners resonated with them forcefully. They learned about these practices and behaviors through the stories of warfare, stolen banners, death threats, and glorification of violence present in aguante chants. As the Comaroffs (2006) point out, media gives anti-sociality

a "communicative force" (21), allowing it to transverse social fields and populations. In addition to putting violence into circulation, these chants also reinforced anti-social sentiments among hinchas, thus helping radicalize the aguante conflict.

The second stage of transnationalization

Changes in the Southern Cone's media- and technoscape altered the circulation of aguante in the 1990s and early 2000s. This decade saw the emergence of cable television—which in South America has had a transnational character since its inception. Based in Argentina, TyC Sports, ESPN Latin America, and Fox Sports Latin America have aired the same materials to Chile and Uruguay. These transnationally transmitted shows began to dedicate a significant portion of their airtime to hinchas, depicting their rituals and values extensively (Salerno 2006). In so doing, they helped reinforce the idea that hinchas are not only spectators but also crucial actors in games (Alabarces 1996).

TyC Sports's *El Aguante* significantly mediated aguante for more than a decade (Salerno 2006). Martín Souto, Pablo González, and Mariano López originally wanted to create a show that discussed soccer vis-à-vis popular music, but since a similar show already existed, they decided to focus on sounded aguante. From 1997 to 2008, it interviewed Argentine hinchas and showed their fan practices to the entire Southern Cone. Through rankings and showdowns, the show pitted hinchadas against each other in terms of sound and versioning practices. The hosts systematically celebrated the aesthetics of musical aguante, applauding passionate singing and intense performances. The show also spent a significant part of its airtime highlighting connections between sources and chants as well as playing and interviewing the musicians who created the original songs. In foregrounding attribution links and original sources, *El Aguante* fostered intertextuality and re-versioning. A segment of the show also compared Argentine

hinchadas with those of other Latin American countries, thereby showing the practices of Uruguayan and Chilean hinchas. Although Argentine hinchas always emerged victorious in these comparisons, they also allowed hinchas abroad to participate in the aguante conflict. TyC Sports canceled the show in 2008 after they decided that it was inciting violence.

CONMEBOL (the South American Soccer Confederation) also expanded the number of continental championships in the 1990s. While the Copa Libertadores remained the most prestigious tournament, the addition of the Supercopa Sudamericana (1988-1997), the Copa CONMEBOL (1989-1997), the Copa Mercosur (1998-2001), the Recopa Sudamericana (1989-1998, 2003-), and the Copa Sudamericana (2002-) expanded the number of continental matchups significantly. This allowed more teams to compete with the Argentine, Uruguayan, and Chilean hinchadas that had already adopted aguante. In other words, not only would the Argentine big five and the two most popular teams in Chile and Uruguay compete transnationally, but also less popular teams.

During this period, these popular hinchadas began to more effectively disseminate aguante in their countries, too. Hinchas of other teams observed them vocalizing chants in stadiums and began to imitate these practices. Moreover, these pioneers began to record their contrafacta on cassettes and later compact discs. For example, Los de Abajo released *Dale León* in 1992 and the Boca Juniors hinchada *La 12 Canta* in 2005. These recordings had large circulation—some of them were even sold in record shops—being consumed not only by respective fanbases but also by hinchas of other teams. It is noteworthy that a Chilean recording was the first one to be released to the public, which points to the early transnationalization of aguante.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, to sum up, the media and technological processes of translocalization initiated in the 1980s were expanded and strengthened. In these years, however, Argentina remained the central node of aguante circulation. Despite their limited technological affordances, the aforementioned recordings would mark an important precedent for the third stage of circulation. The practice initiated in these cassettes and compact discs would be continued in the late 2000s on social media. As Cachila puts it, "Now the dispute is on the YouTube comments." Digital media would help decenter aguante from Argentine stadiums, turning the fandom into a multisited patchwork.

The third stage of transnationalization

The full transnationalization of aguante began in the late 2000s with the expansion of social media. With digital platforms such as YouTube becoming more accessible, manageable, and ubiquitous, videos of Argentine hinchadas began to saturate the digital mediascape. Social media permitted hinchas to disseminate their chants more effectively.

Escuela de Tablones, a collective made up of approximately a dozen hinchas of San Lorenzo dedicated to creating soccer chants, have become critical trendsetters of aguante due to their media and creative work. In expanding previous modes of chant pedagogy, they have fostered intertextuality and have turned social media into the key arbiter of aguante creativity. In so doing, they have allowed hinchas outside Argentina to participate in the fandom.

Escuela de Tablones's crystallization was indissolubly tied to the emergence of social media. Orti, a member of Escuela de Tablones, explains:

> We met creating new songs in previas,[42] an hour before games, early—[even] as away hinchas. And we were always the same, and we started to meet each other, and we created a group just for [creating chants]. Escuela de Tablones emerged in 2014, 2015. We realized that with social media it was easier to disseminate [the chants] than in

[42] Gatherings under the stands where hinchas sing chants until games start.

> previas. Because [in previas] people didn't know [the chants]. Before, you had to use your lungs and little flyers. Social media helped a lot. Now you circulate a chant, and everyone comes to the previa knowing it already. Before, you used to come to the previas an hour before under the stands with the drums and it was difficult to learn the long chants we created.

Digital technologies have allowed Escuela de Tablones to streamline a chant's insertion into the aguante canon. Leandro states:

> The process is: we create it, record it, and what we do with the guys is always singing it in what we call the previa, under the stands, where a lot of people attend with cellphones to record and sing. That's Escuela de Tablones's signature. Otherwise, it doesn't reach the stands, which is another step. Then, you have to take into consideration that one thing is to make those in the middle to sing it. Then, it has to become viral and expand to the sides. Then, it has to reach the *plateistas* [hinchas in the most expensive section of the stadium] … The hard part is to make the people to like the chant so that people appropriate it, and it ascends into the stands.

In the past, technologies with limited circulatory affordances such as photocopies mediated these pedagogies in the past, complicating the process even further. Leandro continues: "in the stands you found photocopies with the chant on the floor, or they handed them to you. And then we sang them. It was something more on the field, in situ … you learned them there." Escuela de Tablones have complemented this pedagogical tool by uploading digital recordings to Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube. Leandro adds:

> Unlike before, what we do with the guys of Escuela de Tablones is to record them, among us. A professional recording but homemade. It's not that it was recorded by producer of a super band in the U.S. It has nothing to do with that. But we disseminate it like that. So, when the people arrive at the stadium to what we call previa, which is under the stands—if you go to YouTube, you'll find thousands of videos of us under the stands—they already know the chant. Unlike in the past, when you learned it in the moment … You have to adapt yourself to the times and the speed with which information circulates—[everything] is online [now]. So, we have the tools of social media.

Escuela de Tablones oversaturate social media not only with recordings but also with live streams of their previas.[43] Chants are not solely read nowadays, but also heard, observed, and

[43] Their two most viewed YouTube videos—3.7 and 1.8 million views, respectively—are edited versions of previas.

imagined. Media scholar Zizi Papacharissi (2015) argues that social media allows users "to feel their own place in current events, developing news stories, and various forms of civic mobilization," inviting "observers to tune into events they are physically removed from by imagining what these might feel like for people directly experiencing them" (4). Precisely, broadcasting previas allows Escuela de Tablones to amplify this pedagogical space, allowing the participation of physically absent hinchas. Indeed, digital media "can bridge space and time, creating connections between dispersed and diverse human experiences" (Miller 2012, 4). These visceral and digital encounters simplify the circulatory and pedagogical constraints surrounding chants.

Saturating different platforms allow Escuela de Tablones's videos to keep circulating and accruing viral capital despite YouTube's attitude towards musical copyright. They simultaneously benefit from the participatory nature of aguante as other hinchas also post their own videos of Escuela de Tablones online. In fact, when YouTube took down their version of "Despacito" (see chapter two), it kept circulating on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Moreover, it was also rapidly uploaded to YouTube by several other hinchas. Particularly pertinent here is the media work of Musicuervo, a YouTube channel that uploads videos of San Lorenzo's hinchada. With millions of views and likes from hinchas from all over the world, it has played a key role in disseminating the creativity of San Lorenzo hinchas globally. As Leandro confirms, "Musicuervo helped a lot. But I insist, it also has to do with Internet waves, mass media, and virality. It undoubtedly helped."

Escuela de Tablones's use of social media has expanded the creative popularity of San Lorenzo's fanbase from the local to the global. Escuela de Tablones's social media shows that not only Argentine but also foreign hinchas consume and re-version their chants. In fact, videos

of Argentine, Latin American, European, and Asian hinchas vocalizing Escuela de Tablones's chants saturate social media. Orti reflects: "The uptake is surprising, even for us. Every time we upload a new video, we have more reproductions. More and more. Foreign news programs make segments about us." The views, likes, shares, and comments on their videos have become the main arbiters of Escuela de Tablones's dominance within aguante. Lucas, a San Lorenzo hincha, notes:

> Hinchas of other teams greet … the San Lorenzo hinchada. They somehow recognize us: "respect from the hinchada of [Brazil's] Corinthians, respect from the hinchada of Colombia's Atlético Nacional." In those comments, you can tell the popularity of these groups due to social media circulation. They also show how other teams recognize the inventiveness, the creativity of San Lorenzo's hinchada. You can go to the videos and the comments illustrate that process.

Escuela de Tablones have thus become a trendsetter, mediating aguante both locally and globally. Lucas continues:

> San Lorenzo is recognized as the most creative hinchada in Argentina. As the creator of music, lyrics, chants … A song emerges, "Despacito," for example, as one of the most famous ones, as one of the examples of a song that becomes popular. The lyrics are changed, and then other teams adapt them … San Lorenzo's hinchada, as a collective, is praised for its imaginative and creative capacity by other teams—despite soccer rivalries, problems, and teases. As long as I can remember, San Lorenzo has a strong tradition of soccer chant creation. In terms of circulation, too. At first, this mostly circulated among Argentine hinchadas. Now, with globalization, you realize that everything crosses borders faster, so you can find chants versioned by San Lorenzo's hinchada in other countries.

The often-repeated phrase "la hinchada que escuchan las hinchadas" (the hinchada that other hinchadas listen to) has now acquired a global dimension. And Escuela de Tablones are fully conscious of this transnational phenomenon. Statements like "esta es la que escuchan en el mundo entero" (this is the one that the entire world listens to) are now often present in their lyrics and statements.

Figure 5 Comments from foreign fans on Escuela de Tablones's YouTube videos. Screenshot taken from Escuela de Tablones's Youtube Channel

But while they have become global trendsetters, their media work has simultaneously decentered aguante creativity from Argentine stadiums. As social media has become the key arbiter of creativity, hinchas outside Argentine can now participate and claim dominance in this competition. The (re-)versioning and repurposing of chants have densified the now digital and transnational chant ecology, fostering remediation. Although Argentina remains as the most important node in aguante's translocal patchwork, Argentine stadiums have been degraded to just another source of creativity.

As mentioned earlier, attribution links have often been broken in aguante. Digital media has helped to change these dynamics. Lucas states:

> Many times, the boundaries of the original version [are blurry]. One could think that each chant has three stages. The first would be the original song, not associated with soccer and sung by musicians—either popular, independent, consecrated, or musicians who don't sing it anymore. That would be the original version. Then, you have the first time an hinchada took the song and versioned it. And then you have the re-versionings of the soccer chants. I think that the boundaries and authorships are always blurry there. What often ends up happening and makes San Lorenzo's hinchada different is that San Lorenzo

> hinchas created the chant … and you also have the role of social media. Because these groups many times upload the versioned soccer chants with lyrics before singing them in the stadium. There's a capacity to unite the creator with the chant that didn't exist before.

Like an archive, social media highlights authors and indexes dates. Mentions of the original sources and the use of hashtags for pedagogical purposes has helped to reinforce attribution links. However, the fact that social media has underscored intertextuality does not mean that these are new concerns among hinchas. They have long sought to credit sources and include attribution links. See the photocopy below, for example, which includes the title of the original source. Intertextuality has always been a part of (re)versioning as chants have often contained phrases from original sources and versions. In this sense, social media has realigned issues that were already present in previous modes of media work.

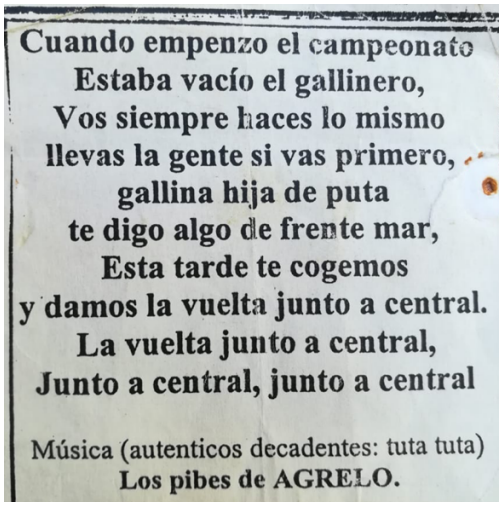

Figure 6 Photocopy with a chant's lyrics, authors (Los Pibes de Agrelo), and source ("Tuta Tuta" by Los Auténticos Decadentes). Picture kindly shared by Leandro

Hinchadas now compete in the digital world. In addition to the aforementioned deployments of social media, the website *Barra Brava: Hinchadas de Fútbol* has played a key role in putting fanbases in translocal conflict. The website revolves around a transnational ranking of Latin American hinchadas where each fanbase receives a *respeto* (respect) score. This grade is based on the votes that users give to each hinchada. Videos are the most important

mediator and, since the administrators are constantly uploading new films, the ranking is highly "dynamic"—to paraphrase *Barra Brava* itself. While the website remains fairly active, social media has become an important site for user engagement. On Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, *Barra Brava* uploads and pits videos of different South American hinchadas against each other, asking users to decide the winners through likes, shares, comments, and polls.

This transnationalization has altered drumming practices outside the Rio de la Plata. If in the late 1980s media technologies only made the lower sounds of bombos con platillos audible, YouTube has underlined the cymbals and therefore the murga porteña rhythm. Los de Abajo have been one of the first hinchadas in Chile to adopt murga and the drum. Scooby, the founder of La Banda de la Chile, explains:

> [I created the ensemble] to make the people sing. Because, in the 1990s, the style was with a bass drum, shirtless, everyone singing. It was beautiful, it was spectacular. But singing stopped for a while … So, what was the murga trying to do? To put the fiesta together. Nothing more than putting the fiesta together. And we threw the fiesta. Yes, we did it with murga. Singing murga to pep the people up. It didn't have any other purpose but to liven up … We also added some brasses. Just trumpets. The trumpets' function was to sing the same that the hincha is singing … To give the pitch to the people. So, the murga was a carnivalesque accompaniment so that people sing.

Throughout the years, U. de Chile hinchas have steadily conceived of music performance as a means to elicit collective singing. Both the bass-drum and the murga styles have understood instruments as secondary to vocal practice.

Digital media has also fostered the establishment of new hinchadas. Los Baisanos, the hinchada of Palestino (see chapter five), is a prime example. The team's fanbase did not participate in aguante until 2008. Max, a member of Los Baisanos, defined this period as "the boom of the bombo con platillo." Sharing a beer in a dive bar on República Avenue in Santiago's downtown, he explained to me his involvement in sonic practices of fandom as well as the role of digital media in learning them. A cumbia drummer, he told me that he became fluent in murga

by watching videos of Argentine and Chilean barras on digital platforms: "watching videos. First, I was a fan of Argentine barras, of all barras. Also, my brother is a La U hincha and he was playing [murga] all day long. And I got the rhythm." He repeatedly told me that he admires Argentine barras: "musically, I like La 12, the barra of Boca. San Lorenzo's, which is creative with the songs. Another is the one of Aldosivi, which is a small team but has a good ensemble. It has good brasses, good percussion, everything. I like that ensemble. And regarding spectacle, I like Rosario Central's and Boca's, too. Racing's barra [as well]. Regarding spectacle."

Social media has thus decentered aguante from Argentine stadiums, allowing hinchas elsewhere to participate in the fandom's conflict, either bypassing or influencing Argentine hinchadas in the process. Since they adopted aguante, Uruguayan and Chilean hinchadas have seen themselves as cosmopolitan insiders to aguante, challenging the supremacy of Argentine groups. As Cachila states:

> [Aguante] has taken root in hinchadas. For example, the hinchadas of Peñarol and Nacional have bigger crowds and more aguante than any big [hinchada] in Argentina. They see themselves as bigger than many Argentines. They are exceptional when competing with other hinchadas … We all believe that we're the spectacle and not those twenty-two fuckers on the field … here, we have the concept that "we're the owners of the fiesta, of the carnival." When Peñarol plays they open an account so that people can deposit money for the shredded paper. Everything is super organized … They take it very seriously. Also, this is a decades-old *futbolero* [roughly, invested in soccer] country. I remember when Peñarol was losing 4-0 against [Colombia's] Atlético Nacional de Medellín at [Montevideo's] Centenario Stadium for the Copa Libertadores group stage, and the stadium was falling apart. Every time [Atlético Nacional] scored, we sang louder. We couldn't lose both games [that is, on the field and on the stands]. That idea of being the protagonist.

His statement illustrates that an acoustemology of conflict has fully crystallized outside yet in conversation with Argentina. Sound is a source and expression of power that is deployed vis-à-vis the global mirror. Aguante has thus become a cosmopolitan and transnational formation. David Novak (2010) contends that "the productive miscommunications of circulation" can provide remedies within the misalignments and inequalities of a "global society" (42). Aguante

circulation has helped transnationally dispersed subalterns to develop alternative cosmopolitan imaginaries amid the deterioration of proletarian life in the region. In so doing, however, it has also put anti-social images, behaviors, and values into circulation. Aguante has ultimately nurtured cosmopolitan subjectivities and identities that are embedded in relations of (anti)sociality.

Conclusion

This chapter has mapped the genealogies of aguante. Although carnival practices, sounds, and instruments played a key role, their influence was facilitated by larger socio-political changes in Argentine culture and society. Specifically, the proletarian occupation of the public sphere promoted by Perón's populism. These processes coincided with the constant expansion of media technologies and the densification of Buenos Aires's aural ecology in the twentieth century.

Sounded aguante has long been embedded in anti-social dynamics. While sound practice has fostered and been fostered by proletarian empowerment, it has also contributed to violence and criminality. In the midst of various social, political, and economic crises, chants have gradually become more aggressive. The death threats, stories of combat, glorification of criminality, and discriminatory slurs filling the chants have resonated with local conditions of violence, radicalizing crowds throughout the entire Southern Cone.

Aguante has been circulating translocally since the 1980s. Several processes have facilitated the configuration of this multisited patchwork: border conditions, developments in media technologies, intensification of media circulation, and expansion of continental championships, among others. But social media has been essential in transforming aguante into a fully transnational culture of fandom. Thanks to social media, hinchas outside Argentine can now participate in the fandom's competition, allowing them to configure cosmopolitan social

identities and subject positions. However, digitally circulating aguante has not produced homogenization but rather friction and miscommunication, densifying the fandom's meanings and practices. The following chapter begins by discussing the contingent meanings of aguante by examining issues of creativity, ownership, and authorship among Escuela de Tablones.

CHAPTER 2

Authorship, Ownership, and Creativity Among Escuela de Tablones

On February 16, 2017, after reaching one million views in ten days, YouTube took down the video "Tema Nuevo 2017 – "Despacito" – La Gloriosa Escuela De Tablones" (2017 New Chant – "Slowly" – The Glorious School of the Stands) due to copyright violations. The video was an audio recording of a dozen male hinchas singing their own lyrics over the melody of the recently released hit "Despacito" by Puerto Rican singer Luis Fonsi and reggaeton star Daddy Yankee. With a static red-and-blue flag as background, the video started with a trumpet playing the melody. A syncopated murga porteña pattern played by a bombo con platillo accompanied the instrument—sounds that merged with clapping, whistling, and shouts. Once the trumpet finished the first melodic phrase, the hinchas began to sing while the lyrics rolled down:

Ciclón, vos sos mi locura, no puedo parar
Y cada domingo me enamoro más
Por estos colores doy la vida entera
Oh, vamos, San Lorenzo, vamos a ganar
Este año la vuelta queremos dar
Para que Boedo vuelva estar de fiesta
San Lorenzo, es inexplicable todo lo que siento
Estaré contigo en todo momento
Porque la azulgrana yo la llevo adentro
Pongan huevo y vayan al frente para ser primero
Esta es la gloriosa banda de Boedo
Es la que escuchan en el mundo entero
Yo llevo una vida a tu lado siguiéndote
Desde que nací junto al Ciclón
Sé que no hay distancia que nos pueda separar
Vayas donde vayas voy con vos

Cyclone, you are my madness, I can't stop
And every Sunday I fall in love even more

I give my life for these colors
Oh, let's go, San Lorenzo, let's win
We want to win the championship this year
So that Boedo can celebrate once again
San Lorenzo, I can't explain everything I feel
I'll always be there with you
Because I carry the blue-and-red inside of me
Let's grow some balls and fight to be the number one
This is the glorious band of Boedo
The one that the entire world listens to
I've been following you all my life
Since I was born, I was with the Cyclone
I know that no distance can separate us
I go wherever you go

Prioritizing power, intensity, and participation over vocal precision, the men sang in a loop for over four minutes. While the video kept circulating on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, various users re-uploaded it to YouTube. Comments from Latin American, European, and even Asian hinchas filled the videos. Weeks later, hinchadas in Argentina and abroad would begin to adapt the chant to cheer for their own teams.

The video belongs to Escuela de Tablones, a group of hinchas who create soccer chants to cheer for Argentine soccer team San Lorenzo, also nicknamed Ciclón (Cyclone). Escuela de Tablones's lyrics merge tropes of aguante with nostalgic statements about Boedo, a neighborhood they understand as home even though they lost their stadium there during the last military regime. Hinchas in Argentina and abroad often signal San Lorenzo's hinchada as the most creative one in the continent in terms of chant-creation.

Notwithstanding the video's short life, it generated significant debate. The day after Escuela de Tablones uploaded the chant to YouTube, Luis Fonsi praised it on Twitter: "This is incredible! I want to witness this in person." A couple of days later, Escuela de Tablones began a contest on social media asking other hinchas to upload their own versions of the chant. The day after YouTube took down the video, Escuela de Tablones released the following statement:

> Yesterday, YouTube decided to remove the video due to copyright, which got more than one million views and made San Lorenzo's hinchada travel around the world through its creativity. Outraged by the situation, but stronger than ever, because "they could never stop this hinchada," we'll keep uploading videos and making chants, despite the censorship, as we've been doing it for the past ten years.

Participatory understandings of auditory culture explain this perceived censorship. Aguante chants constitute a shared songbook from which hinchas can draw regardless of their affiliation. The mere existence of this corpus relies on the idea that the sounds circulating in the public sphere are public property. But the statement's defiant tone also foregrounds that a particular acoustemology of conflict shapes the authorial and creative values surrounding this collectively owned repertoire.

This chapter discusses notions of authorship, ownership, and creativity among San Lorenzo hinchas. I argue that they understand chant-creation in terms of conflict, conceiving of musical creativity as granting status within aguante. Hinchadas compete with each other in order to be known as the most creative ones in Argentina and abroad. However, creativity not only points to lyrical originality but also to the imaginative capacity to discover songs that could potentially work as chants. This aural imaginativeness entails an in-situ ability to diagnose which melodies could become chants by imaginatively projecting aguante's style onto them. But although these chants are embedded in relations of competitive authorship, they are also understood as part of a public ecology that is open to local and foreign hinchas. The fact that Escuela de Tablones promote the adaptation of their own chants to accrue authorial and creative reputation complicates straightforward assumptions about authorship, ownership, and creativity. In order to promote their creativity, they separate authorship from ownership, valuing the former while downplaying the latter. This participatory yet competitive ethos illustrates the existence of a set of social norms regulating authorship and ownership—a shared code that is at odds with strict deployments of copyright law.

Creativity is often defined as a "solitary, ex-nihilo" process carried out by "highly exceptional and gifted individuals" (Wilf 2014, 398). Grounded on Romantic thought, however, these definitions tend to obscure the diverse social components that converge in the creative process (Cook 2018; Menger 2014; Perlman 2019; Pickering and Negus 2004; Silbey 2014; Wilf 2014). Creativity involves interactive, communicative, distributed, and improvisational dynamics as well as the constant reworking of genres, conventions, and constraints. Although a social phenomenon, the creative process can also be embedded in anti-social relations—especially in spaces shaped by conflict and violence.

Creativity is a sphere to claim and exert dominance in aguante. However, it is not only creating innovative lyrics not only that affords the accrual of creative reputation but also, if not primarily, a particular aural technique (Sterne 2003). Music studies have highlighted the creativity of listening, illustrating how listeners engage with the sounded-ness of music (Perlman 2004; Sakakeeny 2015), how composers aurally evaluate their materials during the creative process (Cook 2018), how producers and engineers reimagine the sounds created by musicians (Meintjes 2003; Porcello 2004), and how musicians engage with their colleagues during performance (Monson 1996). But this chapter pushes this literature to think of aural creativity differently: an attentive, imaginative, and generative auditory disposition to the sounds circulating in the public sphere as potential aural images. This is not a reaffirmation of the myth surrounding canonical composers—the idea that the work of art exists as a nonsonic auditory image in the heads of composers (Cook 2018). Enacted through, not despite, sound, this creative process occurs while actively listening to existing, sounding melodies.

(Re)versioning involves contingent understandings of authorship and ownership. Chants constitute a public ecology from which all hinchas can freely draw sources. The intersection of

collective ownership and the fact that authors have remained largely anonymous has led commentators to assume that authorship is incidental to aguante (Alabarces 2015; Bundio 2017; Parrish and Nauright 2013). This assumption resonates with what Marc Perlman (2019) calls *peripheralized authorship:* a meta-ideology of textuality that ideologically contends that a community attaches little or no significance to "authorial individuality, originality, or ownership" (266). This chapter argues that authorship, ownership, and creativity are far more ambiguous than the aguante literature suggests. In order to accrue creative reputation, Escuela de Tablones seek to highlight attribution links while promoting the re-versioning of their chants. Because imitation implies recognition, ownership is secondary to authorship in aguante.

The massive circulation of contrafacta has unsurprisingly created tensions with intellectual property. Music scholarship has often criticized copyright as ethnocentric in nature and incompatible with communities where musical creation is the outcome of dynamic, collective, and sometimes anonymous creative practices (Cook 2018; Fossum 2017; Manuel 2006, 2010; Manuel and Marshall 2006; McCann 2001). Communities ranging from chefs to tattoo artists to street artists and graffiti writers have developed social norms that contradict the IP axioms "that creativity cannot thrive without legal rights of exclusion, that widespread copying is inevitable without legal intervention, and that law dictates the way the public interacts with creative works" (Darling and Perzanowski 2017, 2). This chapter illustrates that norms of authorship and ownership can exist without intellectual property. More importantly, it shows that creativity can thrive regardless of strict copyright law, thus contradicting the idea that intellectual property represents a threat to the existence of noncommercial economies of musical creativity.

The biggest neighborhood club in the world

San Lorenzo's history is indissolubly tied to Boedo, a working-class neighborhood in the heart of Buenos Aires. The team was established in 1908 when Salesian father Lorenzo Massa offered the teenage squad Los Forzosos de Almagro (The Forceful Ones of Almagro) a field in Almagro (a bordering neighborhood of Boedo) and gave them *azulgrana* (blue-and-red) jerseys. After some victories, the kids renamed the team San Lorenzo de Almagro in honor of the Battle of San Lorenzo in the War of Independence. But since the Almagro field did not meet the requirements for competitive tournaments, the team wandered through different arenas for years. In 1916, San Lorenzo built a stadium, the Gasómetro, on Boedo's 1700 La Plata Avenue. The building was a few blocks away from the stadium of Huracán, or El Globo (The Balloon), creating a fierce rivalry between them. Huracán later moved to the adjacent neighborhood of Parque Patricios (also known as La Quema due to the trash incinerations occurring there). San Lorenzo's main rivalry is still with the *quemeros.* More importantly, as anthropologist Matthew Hawkins (2017) points out, Boedo became "synonymous with San Lorenzo" (121).

Argentines often define Boedo as a typical *barrio porteño*. The neighborhood was mostly established by Italian and Spanish immigrants during the city's explosive urban expansion in the early twentieth century. Boedo gradually turned into a center of carnival, tango, literature, and Buenos Aires's idiosyncratic café culture. However, the historical presence of San Lorenzo is what makes Boedo different from other porteño neighborhoods. Iconography merging the club and the neighborhood fills its landscape nowadays: bars, cafés, libraries, and cultural centers named after the team and murals depicting musicians, writers, and artists wearing San Lorenzo jerseys saturate Boedo. Erudite yet fervent hinchas of San Lorenzo include Pope Francis, musician Vicentico from Los Fabulosos Cadillacs, Viggo Mortensen (who lived in Buenos Aires during his childhood), and his friend, writer Fabián Casas, who has written extensively about the

relationship between club and neighborhood. The barra's name, La Gloriosa Butteler, also points to this relationship: Butteler is a square in Boedo where San Lorenzo hinchas gather.

Figure 7 San Lorenzo's headquarters. Photo by the author

The picture below (see Figure 8) illustrates the intersection of proletarian soccer and erudite art. Painted by the Grupo Artístico Boedo (Boedo Art Group), the mural depicts the neighborhood alongside an angelic drawing of renowned writer Osvaldo Soriano and a quote that reads "One is always looking for the origins, our identity!" Although soccer is a prominent topic in his oeuvre (Kunz 2001), he only writes about San Lorenzo in a short story where he fictionalizes the late years of the club's founders:

> Among the San Lorenzo hinchas who ecstatically celebrated the 1972 championships, a seventy-nine-year-old man, with a face dry like a nutshell, with faded eyes that only

> permitted a faraway look, walked along. He didn't feel the usual pain in his liver and nose, broken by a ball seventy years ago. His back pocket kept a worn-out leather wallet, which sheltered two hundred pesos, a San Lorenzo lifetime membership, and a gold medal. No one recognized him, no one thanked him for anything. When he came back to his nursing home at 3700 Monte Street, he locked himself up in his three-by-three room, put out his kerosene pot, peeled three potatoes, and boiled them. He sat in the only chair, turned on the radio, and listened to how a group of men who lived comfortably from soccer experienced glory (Soriano 1996).

Literary scholar Marco Kunz (2001) argues that Soriano tends to prioritize nostalgic and defeated characters in his writing—examples of scarcity, bitterness, yet dignity. But the text's sense of loss and melancholy are also key traits of the San Lorenzo ethos.

Figure 8 Mural of writer Osvaldo Soriano in Boedo. Photo by the author

Although San Lorenzo has become one of the most successful and popular teams in the country, its ethos has been mediated by traumatic events that occurred during the military regime. Lucas, a friend who convinced me to conduct research on San Lorenzo instead of Racing, explained to me:

> One thing that makes San Lorenzo different in relation to other teams is that it connects two almost antagonistic characteristics of the so-called big and small teams. It has the history, tradition, people, and strong culture and history of the big teams. It shares that with the big teams. And also, sports success … But at the same time, it has something strongly linked to suffering, which is more common among small teams. And it's not only the suffering related to sports issues, but it has to do with the suffering of a very particular epoch … which started at the end of the 70s and was consummated with the loss of the stadium and the relegation in 81 … This put San Lorenzo in a place where it had never been before. Neither San Lorenzo nor any other big team, obviously. And that, I think, makes San Lorenzo different: with no stadium, in the second division, there was a soccer revolution of accompanying San Lorenzo and somehow *refundar* [relaunching, reestablishing] the club … And also, which is connected to what I said, there's a phrase … "San Lorenzo is the biggest neighborhood club in the world." And so, that marks the team's characteristic or stamp. It's connected to the place where it grew up.

In 1976, the military-ruled Buenos Aires government closed down the Gasómetro due to safety concerns. Four years later, amid economic difficulties, the San Lorenzo administration reached an agreement with the Buenos Aires authorities to grant the city part of their land on La Plata Avenue. In return, San Lorenzo received recognition of their ownership over a lot in Bajo Flores—a neighborhood close to Boedo where they wanted to build a massive sports complex. In 1982, the courts ordered San Lorenzo to sell a second portion of the Boedo terrain to cover unpaid debts. Later that year, San Lorenzo sold most of the remaining land to a corporation based in Uruguay, which later sold them to French supermarket Carrefour. San Lorenzo hinchas overwhelmingly blame the loss of the stadium on the regime, even claiming that the military controlled the Uruguayan-based company. That same year, San Lorenzo was the first of the big five to be relegated to the second division. While a massive supermarket was built where the Gasómetro once stood, the team wandered through Buenos Aires's stadiums for years.

Although it came back to the first division the following year, San Lorenzo did not win a tournament for twenty-five years. Two years before the 1995 title, San Lorenzo inaugurated a new stadium, the Nuevo Gasómetro, in the Bajo Flores lands. Since then, the club has won several national and international competitions.

However, Boedo and the lost stadium have remained haunting presences in the imagination of San Lorenzo hinchas—even for those who were born after the stadium was lost. Listening to the memories of those who actually socialized in the old Gasómetro motivated young hinchas with the idea of *La Vuelta a Boedo* (The Return to Boedo): a campaign to buy the terrain back from Carrefour and rebuild a stadium in Boedo. Lucas explains:

> I didn't inhabit that cultural and soccer space, and I still haven't inhabited it, because the stadium is not there … In my case, there's a discursive thing that came to me from my dad. I'm a San Lorenzo hincha because of my old man. It's about imagining what he did as a kid with my grandfather. With that grandfather starts my family tradition with San Lorenzo … The stories that my dad tells me: going to the stadium—he always told me that they took the train, brought food, watched minor leagues games until they finally watched the first division game. [That] connects me to the territory, to Boedo. Which, again, I haven't personally lived in. But I somehow feel I belong to that space.

Shared past experiences of and in the stadium "produced a narrative from the club's past, using and transforming the memories of older *cuervos*, that in turn influences how *hinchas* of San Lorenzo understand their relationship with their club" (Hawkins 2017, 327). The Return to Boedo became an affective longing for a place of socialization, cultural activity, and political engagement. Lucas continues:

> [The Return to Boedo] is not just about building a stadium where we can play every fifteen days, but rather about recovering those dynamics, those social bonds that were at some point stolen. The loss of the stadium caused by the military regime. It's a defense of that cultural tradition.

Escuela de Tablones's chants have merged these meanings with aguante tropes. In so doing, they have mediated and amplified the Return to Boedo.

Tropes of place and aguante

Escuela de Tablones is a collective made up of approximately a dozen hinchas dedicated to creating soccer chants. Established in 2007, men of different ages and backgrounds constitute the group. Although they often mention La Gloriosa Butteler in their lyrics, Escuela de Tablones members are not part of the barra. In fact, none of them participate in aguante warfare. Although the references to the barra are an elusive topic among Escuela de Tablones, my hypothesis is that, because La Gloriosa Butteler decides what chants are sung during games, Escuela de Tablones strategically mentions them so that their chants are performed. Despite these references, their lyrics tend to avoid the stories of violence dominating aguante chants. Juan, a member, states:

> Within so much dirtiness, we try to put some color and carnival … I remember when I was a kid when my old man used to bring me, that it was a big thing for fathers to teach the chants [to their kids]. We want the family, the kids, everyone to learn the lyrics. That's why we're very careful with the words we use, to not sing about the violence that much … even though we have topics like those because they belong to the stands.

Although Escuela de Tablones do not glorify aguante warfare, they do engage in its conflict through their chants.

Their first chant to reach the stands was a version of "Se Me Ha Perdido el Corazón" by Argentine cumbia singer Gilda:

Y dale, dale, Matador[44]
A todas partes voy con vos
Hasta que me muera
Yo siempre te voy a seguir
Dejando el alma en el tablón
Ganes o pierdas
Volver a Boedo
Esa es mi ilusión
Quiero la vuelta
Quiero verte campeón
El sentimiento que hay en mí

[44] Nickname for San Lorenzo.

No te lo puedo explicar
Es algo que se lleva adentro
Volver a Boedo
Esa es mi ilusión
Quiero la vuelta
Quiero verte campeón
A dónde vayas, Matador
Contigo siempre voy a estar
Por los colores de este amor
Vamos, Ciclón
Vamos a ganar
Y La Gloriosa va a festejar
Por la Azulgrana voy a morir
Sin el Ciclón
No sé vivir

Let's go, Matador
I go everywhere with you
Until death
I'll always follow you
Leaving the soul in the stands
Win or lose
To return to Boedo
That's my dream
I want to come back
I want to see you winning the championship
The feeling inside me
I can't explain it to you
It's something you carry inside
To return to Boedo
That's my dream
I want to come back
I want to see you winning the championship
Wherever you go, Matador
I'll always be with you
For the love for these colors
Let's go, Ciclón
Let's win
And La Gloriosa will celebrate
I'll die for the Azulgrana
Without the Ciclón
I don't know how to live

Although it contains tropes commonly found in aguante chants, this first hit presents two characteristics that distinguish Escuela de Tablones's lyrics from others. First, they are long,

including choruses, breaks, and different verses. Secondly, Boedo and narratives of place are central in their lyrics. This is one of the first instances in which the Return to Boedo became audible in stadiums.

Many chants make references to the neighborhood without explicitly mentioning the Return to Boedo. Their version of Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Bad Moon Rising" illustrates this:

Vengo del barrio de Boedo
Barrio de murga y carnaval
Te juro que en los malos momentos
Siempre te voy a acompañar
Dale, dale, Matador
Dale, dale, Matador
Dale, dale, dale, dale
Matador

I come from the Boedo neighborhood
A neighborhood of murga and carnival
I swear to you that in the bad moments
I'll always be there for you
Let's go, Matador
Let's go, Matador
Let's go, let's go, let's go, let's go
Matador

Escuela de Tablones often signal this pithy chant as their favorite one. Throughout this chapter, I will come back to this creation as it nicely illustrates their ideas about authorship, ownership, and creativity—issues that partly explain their predilection.[45]

The lost stadium often works as a synecdoche of the neighborhood in their lyrics. See, for instance, their version of "I'm Yours" by Jason Mraz:

Avenida La Plata 1700
Ahí nació este amor
Ahí nació San Lorenzo

[45] It is ironic that Creedence Clearwater Revival was at the center of one of the most notorious copyright lawsuits in intellectual property history. Fantasy Records, the label owning the rights for Creedence Clearwater Revival's songs, accused John Fogerty of plagiarizing himself in a solo album recorded after the band broke up (Decurtis 2005).

Ahí vamos a volver
A levantar la cancha otra vez
Las casas, Muñiz, Inclán, José Mármol, Salcedo
Encierran este sueño del Gasómetro nuevo
Tus calles mis venas son
El barrio mi corazón
Boedo es un festival
Todo el año es carnaval
Toda mi vida te di
Por vos yo voy a morir

1700 La Plata Avenue
This love was born there
San Lorenzo was born there
We'll come back there
To lift the stadium again
The houses, Muñiz, Inclán, José Mármol, Salcedo
Enclose this dream of a new Gasómetro
Your streets are my veins
The neighborhood my heart
Boedo is a festival
It's carnival all year long
I gave you all my life
I'll die for you

This conflation of bodies, landscapes, and the lost stadium is common in Escuela de Tablones's chants. These visceral, spatial, and material entanglements differentiate their poetry from that of other hinchadas. Leandro, another member, explains:

> Other teams have pretty chants … but they're limited to singing to their team, or to do some sort of revisionism with the team's achievements, or the love for the colors. We have a history of creativity that has pushed us to create lyrics not only about winning a championship—which we have—not only about winning the clásico—which we have … San Lorenzo sings about the exile, the return, the comeback, loyalty.

Other chants also stress the lost stadium's location and materiality. See their version of "Y Dale Alegría a Mi Corazón" by Argentine rock star Fito Páez:

Y dale alegría a mi corazón
La Vuelta para Boedo es mi obsesión
Tener una cancha como la de tablón
Y en Avenida La Plata salir campeón
Vamos a volver
Al barrio que a San Lorenzo lo vio nacer

And give happiness to my heart
The Return to Boedo is my obsession
To have a stadium like the wooden one
And to be champions on La Plata Avenue
We'll come back
To the neighborhood where San Lorenzo was born

The usage of wood as a metaphor is common in their chants, as well. Although *tablón* (wooden stand) tends to mean "stand" in Latin America, in the case of San Lorenzo it also points to the old Gasómetro's rustic materiality.[46]

Although the Return to Boedo has influenced their lyrics, Escuela de Tablones have simultaneously mediated the emotional component of the narrative. Lucas explains:

> You've probably seen it. It's in the chants: "I come from the Boedo neighborhood, a neighborhood of murga and carnival" … the carnivals in the 50s, the carnivals in Boedo were the most popular in Buenos Aires. The biggest idols of the time's popular music came to sing. It's also very associated with tango. To Homero Manzi, to the corner of San Juan and Boedo.[47] This generates a popular base that has had an obvious impact throughout time. But it also generates the idea of defending this. It's also very present both in chants and the general idea about the Return to Boedo among the San Lorenzo hincha … It's impossible not to go to see San Lorenzo without that sense of belonging: it's in the songs, in the banners, in the chants … In the reaffirmation of San Lorenzo … When San Lorenzo left Boedo, it wandered throughout different neighborhoods, renting other teams' stadiums. Then, the new stadium in Bajo Flores was built. There's always a belonging that remains in Boedo, but also in the … chants … It still happens today. You attend a game in San Lorenzo's stadium, and "Return to Boedo" is always present. The statements about Boedo, the flags, they're always present.

As Hawkins (2017) shows, two modes of activism have characterized the Return to Boedo: public demonstrations and lobbying and litigation. In the former, Escuela de Tablones have helped amplify and imbue the Return to Boedo with emotion.

Despite their strong emphasis on place, conflict is nonetheless present in some of Escuela de Tablones's chants. Leandro admits:

[46] This emphasis on stadium materiality is a common phenomenon. See, for instance, how American fans talk about Fenway Park, Wrigley Field, or Madison Square Garden.
[47] Name and location of a famous tango bar.

> We try to tell San Lorenzo what happens to us with San Lorenzo—that we love it. Now, obviously, there're songs [like] "Huracán, you'll be relegated," "Racing you sold your sentiment," "you're our son." Aggressions in lyrics or ironies, jokes, or black humor, which is part of soccer fandom and will always be present.

See, for instance, their version of "Una Guitarra y Una Muchacha" by Argentine balada singer Sandro:

Si pasa el tiempo y no te veo
Yo pierdo la razón
Y no me digan de ir un loquero
Soy hincha del Ciclón
Te conocí un domingo a la tarde
Y de vos me enamoré
Pasan los años, pasa la vida,
Y siempre te vengo a ver
Yo llevo tus colores desde Boedo a la eternidad
Para que lloren todos los de la Boca y los Huracán
Y los de Avellaneda son amargos de verdad
De River mejor no hablemos, prendieron fuego el Monumental

If time goes by and I don't see you
I lose my mind
And don't tell me that I should see a shrink
I'm a Ciclón hincha
I met you on a Sunday afternoon
And I fell in love with you
Years pass by, life goes by
And I always come to see you
I carry your colors from Boedo to eternity
So that those of Boca and Huracán cry
And those of Avellaneda are really bitter
Let's not talk about River, they set the Monumental [Stadium] on fire

Leandro explains:

> That chant is mine and I like it. In fact, people are starting to sing it. People like it because you tease everyone. And it has the right phrase: "let's not talk about River, they set the Monumental on fire."[48] That's it. You can't come back after that.

Although they engage in the aguante conflict, Escuela de Tablones do not use violent threats towards rivals. As they state in a newspaper interview: "We never insult, we try to put some

[48] River Plate hinchas set their stadium on fire when they were relegated to the second division in 2011.

creativity to the typical 'we'll kill you'" (Gavira 2016). Although Leandro's chant draws on common tropes of aguante, it does not construct radical others via hypermasculine expressions (Bundio 2017).

However, this is not the case of their version of "Algo En Tu Cara Me Fascina" by salsa singer Elvis Crespo:

Hay una banda de putos
En el barrio de La Quema
Son poquitos y boludos
Nunca la tribuna llena
Globo no hagas reír
Te lo pido por favor
Yo sé que te gusta mucho
La poronga del Ciclón
A los quemeros les fascina
A los quemeros les fascina
Chuparme la pija
Chuparme la pija
Hay una cosa en tu escudo
No me para de asombrar
Cada boludés que pasa
Vos te ponés a bordar
Globo, no me hagas reír
Te lo pido por favor
Nunca vas a ser un grande
La puta que te parió
Algo en tu escudo me da risa
Algo en tu escudo me da risa
Son las estrellitas
Son las estrellitas

There's a band of putos
In La Quema neighborhood
They're not many and they're dumbasses
They never fill the stands
Globo, don't make me laugh
Please, I beg you
I know that you really like
The Ciclón's cock
The quemeros love
The quemeros love
To suck my dick
To suck my dick

There's something in your badge
It never stops surprising me
Every dumb thing that happens
You start embroidering
Globo, don't make me laugh
Please, I beg you
You'll never be a big team
Son of a bitch
Something in your badge makes me laugh
Something in your badge makes me laugh
It's the little stars
It's the little stars

In addition to provoking Huracán hinchas in terms of manliness and fan practice, Escuela de Tablones make fun of their rivals because they sewed a star on their jersey to celebrate a minor local cup—a practice reserved for major international victories. Leandro explains the use of such hypermasculine tropes as follows:

> Some sing that "they'll kill them four," that "they'll set fire to La Bombonera [Stadium]," that "they'll kill them all." But be cautious, I always say that in the stadium, in the chant culture, everything is valid. When the game is over, as you can imagine, I come back to my house. I wouldn't even think about fighting someone or saying something. Actually, that's kind of fascist. To tell someone with La U jersey "hey, we'll kill you" is stupid. I don't like what happens when barras fight. In fact, I get very scared when barras fight. I can't see them … But I find it funny when you sing "we'll kill you" to another team.

Like Leandro, many hinchas claim that these kinds of utterances are harmless components of soccer fandom. They often argue that listening to misogynistic, homophobic, racist, xenophobic, and classist expressions does not really affect them. This also recalls Herrera's (2018) point on the role of collective sounding in normalizing out-of-the-norm behaviors: "that authentic feeling of joy and sharedness might ultimately work to create a group subjectivity that can potentially contradict individual values and habits of thought and practice" (489).

Nevertheless, the presence of rivals in Escuela de Tablones's chants is rare. Leandro links this absence with the fact that hinchas of rival teams cannot attend away games in Argentine soccer[49]:

> In Argentina, [soccer fandom] has changed a lot with the issue that away hinchas can't come. A lot was lost there. That's key for me … When I was a kid, in the 80s and 90s, when we had away hinchas, a really fun competition occurred. Really fun, and that doesn't happen anymore. Because when we play against Huracán and Boca, the clásicos, none of them are there. I'm a fervent advocate for [having away hinchas]. I want them to come, and I want to go to La Boca and Parque Patricios. If I lose, I lose. If I win, I win. That's the fandom: the laugh, the jokes. That doesn't exist anymore … The soccer chants have changed a bit. In fact, I rarely make chants to make fun of a rival team. Because, why? If they don't come, whom do we sing against?

As a result, Argentine soccer chants are turning increasingly inward in nature, mostly addressing their own history, identity, and club in their lyrics. Although journalists and scholars contend that the prohibition has only exacerbated internal conflicts within hinchadas, it can also be argued that it has also helped to partly move chants away from violent conflict. However, that does not mean that aguante's acoustemology of conflict no longer informs musicking. As the following section illustrates, the competition has shifted from lyrics to versioning itself.

Aguante creativity

Aguante creativity is now less about teasing rivals through lyrics than standing out as more resourceful in finding and versioning sonic sources.[50] Although poetry is still important, the aural ability to discover songs that could potentially work as chants is crucial. This aural imaginativeness entails a capacity to listen to and imagine the sounds circulating in the public sphere as future soccer chants.

[49] In 2013, the Argentine soccer federation prohibited the attendance of away hinchas, arguing that it would stop aguante violence.

[50] This neither implies that versioning was not seen as a creative practice nor that hinchas did not compete over originality, but rather than creativity and competition, once centered on lyrics, now mostly focuses on versioning, intertextuality, aurality, and musicality.

San Lorenzo hinchas seek to foreground their creative domination over rival hinchadas relentlessly. For example, Leandro states:

> When you talk to an hincha about soccer chants in Argentina, you talk about San Lorenzo. The thing is that in recent years … journalism is creating the notion that in Argentina only two clubs exist … We don't have a big five anymore. It's Boca, River, and the rest. In that terrible pedagogy that they're making with soccer, they're precisely trying to suppress, censure, and close down everything that's not about Boca and River. But when you talk to an hincha, he's going to tell you that when you're talking about soccer chants you're talking about San Lorenzo.

The historical nature of the San Lorenzo fanbase's creative dominance is a point that they stress systematically. Leandro continues:

> The truth is that, humbly, we're the avant-garde of Argentine soccer chants—and worldwide because many copy us. And among all of those [San Lorenzo] schools [of versioning], I generally like the chants of the 70s a lot. They're not sung anymore, but, for example, I sing them when I'm the shower. I don't care. Or sang them to my friends. At the end of the 80s, a group called Los Pibes de Devoto [Devoto's Kids] appeared … They also invented a lot of songs that I love.

Linking their originality to San Lorenzo's history and social fabric allows them to tie their creative practices to Boedo. Leandro continues:

> There's a rich history. [Versioning] was born in the Boedo neighborhood, which is a very special neighborhood … [Our creativity] has [also] to do with the Boedo neighborhood. A neighborhood of tango, on one side, of poetry, on the other, of tradition, of carnival, of murga … Boedo has always been a tango neighborhood. You have what's called the Boedo Generation in literature. It has always been a neighborhood of protest … historically, San Lorenzo has been an avant-garde team against the powerful. That's in the essence of the Boedo neighborhood. A neighborhood of murga—there're many chants that come from murga songs. I don't think that [our creativity] is just sharpness and rapid creativity. It seems to me that there's a history behind it that's related to the neighborhood, which boosts that creativity. Even in exile.

Matías Lammens, the former president of the club, thinks similarly:

> It has to do with San Lorenzo's history. San Lorenzo was always the club that created more chants created. The most creative one. There's history here. And having kids [creating chants shows] that this passed down from generation to generation … It also has to do with the neighborhood. San Lorenzo is a national club, with four million hinchas, but it's also a neighborhood club. That's why we say that we're the biggest neighborhood club in the world: because it belongs to Boedo … This is a middle-class neighborhood. From the middle class that built Argentina, from the public education that [produced] the

> poets, writers that made a big part of Argentine culture. And San Lorenzo is the most important one because of that: it's the club that exposes the *porteñidad* [Buenos-Aires-ness] (Gallo 2017).[51]

As discussed above, San Lorenzo hinchas understand their neighborhood as a vortex of arts, politics, popular culture, and Argentine exceptionalism. Although the fanbase no longer socializes in Boedo, Escuela de Tablones imagine that these creative traditions have remained in San Lorenzo hinchas themselves, who have transmitted them to younger generations. The neighborhood, club, and fanbase constitute a circuit that distributes creativity. This allows them to make the claim that creativity is a natural quality among them.

These associations between San Lorenzo, Boedo, tango, and carnival culture are partly strategic. Morgan Luker (2016) argues that tango works as a strategic signifier in Buenos Aires, functioning as a commanding discourse of place and history that elevates "certain figures, instances, or subjectivities while silencing others" (38). Interweaving tango's discursive power with references to the neighborhood's carnival and literary traditions also allows them to insert themselves in larger economies of musical and poetic creativity in Argentine culture and society. Through this operation, San Lorenzo hinchas manage to distinguish themselves from rival hinchadas through practices and traditions imbued with power and cultural capital in Argentina. This could be seen as a less violent form of radical othering: an infusion of the self with Argentine exceptionalism without attacking others through discriminatory tropes.[52]

[51] Lammens is Argentina's Minister of Tourism and Sports under the presidency of Alberto Fernández.
[52] Huracán hinchas make similar connections when they assert that Parque Patricios is a "barrio de guapos" (a neighborhood of tough guys) (Garriga 2007). At the turn of the century, this place used to be an *arrabal,* a liminal space located in between urbanity and rurality and where early tango emerged (Archetti 1999). Huracán hinchas tend to establish imaginary connections with the compadrito.

Although conflict is disappearing from lyrics themselves, poetry is still an important tool to demonstrate creativity. As chant poetics are rather accessible, innovation becomes the main issue. Leandro explains:

> I mean, it's easy to create a soccer chant. The quality is a different thing. Humbly, I can write ten soccer chants in one day. The simple ones. "Boedo" rimes with "poner huevo" [grow some balls and] "cantemos todos juntos para salir primero" [let's sing together to be the number one]. Then you have each person's talent in how to say what you want to say. But watch out, some of the chants that say "hay que poner huevo" [let's grow some balls] are good … In that sense, it's easier to write a chant denigrating rivals than talking positively about San Lorenzo … I like something smarter, an amusing observation. A different way … it's not easy to be creative in a world with two thousand chants. Because, to a point, it's to say more or less the same in innovative ways.

Although Escuela de Tablones tend to use the same tropes employed by rival hinchadas, they argue that their lyrics deploy them more creatively. This is obviously subjective, but I would say that Escuela de Tablones's chants tend to avoid cliched expressions of aguante, trying to create novel metaphors of loyalty, passion, and toughness. Furthermore, their chants tend to be longer than rival chants, which tends to index sophistication. These issues, plus the Boedo theme, make their poetry stand out within aguante.

Leandro also points to impromptu chants as another expression of poetic creativity. These compositions consist of short, improvised lyrics added to dominant melodies within the chant ecology. A good example is the one they sang in front of the Buenos Aires government during a one-hundred-thousand-person demonstration in support of the Return to Boedo:

A ver si lo escuchan
A ver si lo entienden
La Vuelta a Boedo
La banca la gente
Pedimos al gobierno
Que nos restituya
Lo que nos robaron
En la dictadura
Va a volver, va a volver
San Lorenzo, va a volver

Let's see if they hear it
Let's see if they get it
The Return to Boedo
Is supported by the people
We ask the government
To return
What they stole from us
In the dictatorship
It'll come back, it'll come back
San Lorenzo will come back

Leandro explains:

> That chant was never sung in the stadium. That is, there are chants that are sung once, due to a particular situation, even outside the stadium. Which also demonstrates that the San Lorenzo hincha has a natural talent to create chants. We can create a chant for everything. It comes out naturally … they show a creativity in situ.

His statement further illustrates the essentialist nature of their creativity. As Leandro concludes, making songs is part of the San Lorenzo "idiosyncrasy … It's activated naturally."

However, creativity not only signifies poetry but also, and most often, aurality. Hinchas and media usually discuss the San Lorenzo fanbase's creativity in terms of the innovative sources they find. Indeed, one of the most celebrated characteristics of Escuela de Tablones is their ability to find unexpected melodies that, once versioned, rapidly catch on among Argentine and foreign hinchas. Note this journalist's emphasis on the musical and the aural, for instance:

> Creedence Clearwater Revival's members would've never thought when they became famous in the 60s and 70s that one of their songs would be a hit in the stands. Much less that this melody, adapted for the occasion, would travel the world thanks to the Argentines who turned it into an anthem during Brazil's 2014 World Cup forty years after their breakup. Enrique Iglesias, accustomed to break chart records, didn't think that part of his playlist would proliferate throughout the world as a soccer chant. Peculiarities that San Lorenzo hinchas have achieved … Yes, the Ciclón, through its people, *hace escuela* [creates tradition]. Escuela de Tablones in this case. Because a group of normal neighborhood kids, who study and work, dedicate their free time to keep the soccer world's largest Spotify always updated. The hinchada that other hinchadas listen to … Their last creation, Enrique Iglesias's "Duele el Corazón," crossed all borders: it reached [sports] newspapers such as Spain's *Marca* and *As* or Greece's Web Sports 24. In South America, their verses were played on every website or sports channel, while our country's hinchas, regardless of the club they support, have found themselves humming the sticky San Lorenzo chant (Paulich 2016).

This emphasis on the chants' sources and musicality is not aleatory as Escuela de Tablones themselves stress the role of finding suitable melodies when creating viral chants. Leandro explains:

> When you're creating a soccer chant—you're a musician—seventy percent of the work is done with the melody … I think that there are two keys to soccer chants. Not only the ingenuity and creativity when writing lyrics but also knowing what melody would hit and what melody people would like.

Escuela de Tablones link creativity to a listening ability to recognize songs that would work as proper soccer chants by projecting aguante's sonic style onto them. Leandro continues:

> The songs I choose are those that … I think might work for a San Lorenzo chant. It could even be a song by [Uruguayan pop singer] Natalia Oreiro. With this, I'm not making an homage to the history of music. It's not that I'm saying "OK, I like [Led] Zeppelin, so I use a song by Zeppelin because it's an amazing band." No, I like Zeppelin, and if someday I find a song by Zeppelin that could work as a soccer chant, I'd start writing … I have lyrics with songs by The Beatles [and] Natalia Oreiro—whose music sucks. I don't have prejudices. If I feel that a melody sounds well and could become popular [I use it].

This aural imaginativeness implies an in-situ evaluation of a particular melody's contours, range, pitch, rhythm, phrasing, tempo, and register vis-à-vis collective singing, stadium acoustics, and other aguante features. But this is not merely an imaginative process: it is an active, generative reflection through and in sound of musical structures and potentialities.

Music scholars have long examined the relationship between listening and musical structures (Dell'Antonio 2004). Adorno (1989) defines "structural listening" as a "fully adequate mode of [musical] conduct" (5). He writes:

> Its horizon is a concrete musical logic: the listener understands what he perceives as necessary, although the necessity is never literally causal. The location of this logic is technique; to one whose thinks along with what he hears, its several elements are promptly present as technical, and it is in technical categories that the context of meaning is essentially revealed (5).

In consonance with his aesthetic project, Adorno contends that unreflective modes of listening could lead to alienation and submission. He sees an ethically responsible technique of listening

in the aural analysis of musical structures. For him, structural listening is an active mode of listening that provides "the listener the sense of composing the piece as it actualizes in time" (Subotnick 1988, 90). However, Rose Subotnick (1988) notes that, by exclusively focusing on both the composer's intentions and the music's structures, Adorno ignores the sounded-ness of music as well as the contingency of meaning and emotion. Escuela de Tablones's disposition to the sounds populating the public sphere illustrates that modes of critical listening can also occur outside art music spaces. Adorno would likely argue that they listen in much the same way that pop fans listen to music—that is, for interesting details instead of structural integrity. But although San Lorenzo hinchas do not explicitly listen to parts of songs in relation to a total whole so as to understand their inner structural logic, they do listen analytically. Through their aural reflections, songs actualize as new virtual artifacts and new meanings emerge. As discussed later, Escuela de Tablones's critical listening also makes them more aware of popular music's patterns of consumption and circulation—a knowledge they strategically deploy to accrue creative status.

However, versioning is not solely an aural process: it entails different mediums, practices, and senses. As this aural imaginativeness—a knowledge developed through multisensory experience—sometimes fails, this diagnosis requires multimodal certifications. Leandro explains: "[When I create a chant] I sing it with the [Escuela de Tablones] guys. We often realize that we're not going anywhere, and we save them for later." Both in-person and digital collaborations are fundamental. Every time a member comes up with a potential chant, he shares it on a WhatsApp group where the entire collective discusses it.

Nevertheless, although the creative process is distributed throughout different senses and mediums, having a creative auditory stance towards the sounds populating the public sphere is essential. In this sense, this aural imaginativeness is a mode of soundwalking, a "process of

moving through urban space while actively listening" (Galloway 2015, 134). As Escuela de Tablones explain in a media interview, "you must be attentive—you could run into a hit at any time" (Gavira 2016). Aural imaginativeness is then a kind of flaneur-esque, fully auditory version of Hip-Hop DJs' "digging in the crates" (Schloss 2004).

Like sampling, chants can come from wide-ranging sources. As they state in the aforementioned newspaper interview, supermarket music is one:

> The one by Enrique Iglesias ("Duele el Corazón") came up in a Chinese Supermarket. They put it on the speakers, and I proposed an initial idea to the group, everyone liked it, and we began composing. Now it's sung every weekend (Gavira 2016).

Bus musicians—a common busking practice in the Southern Cone—are another:

> I was on the 126. A musician got onto [the bus] and began to sing "Mi Historia Entre Tus Dedos" by [Italian balada singer] Gianluca Grignani with a ukulele, and I thought that it would be a great soccer chant. During the trip, which lasted half an hour, I came up with two stanzas. Once at my place, and during three weeks, I finished it and sent it to the WhatsApp group, where we all fixed it (Gavira 2016).

TV shows and movies, too: "We have one that never got popular with the opening of Mirtha Legrand's show ("Mirtha is here, she's here again"), [and] another one with [the main theme of] the movie *The Godfather*" (Gavira 2016). Even other people's aural imaginations can function as sources:

> A friend of mine gave me the Creedence audio. He told me that I should put lyrics to it, and then I started creating. Once I finished it, it took years to be sung in the stands. Social media helped a lot in making the whole stadium sing it from one day to the other (Gavira 2016).

Ranging from reggaeton to rock to balada, genre, style, and deeply personal connections are secondary to the sources' virtual potential. Escuela de Tablones's creative listening resembles that of musical producers, whose work—in addition to "enabling the artist to achieve a form of empathetic attunement: hearing himself or herself through someone else's ears" (Cook 2018, 47)—entails listening to songs as virtual products.

Buenos Aires's sonic geographies and media conditions crucially mediate the perception of potential sources. Although Escuela de Tablones try to be attentive to the plurality of sounds populating the public sphere, certain sounds are naturally more prominent than others. Joshua Tucker (2013) argues that changing conditions in the Latin American public sphere complicate attempts to "align one system of symbols and meanings with a single class, culture, and nation," underscoring that consumers can be "promiscuous and fickle, using different media forms for different purposes at different moments" (9). Escuela de Tablones's use of the sounds populating the public sphere exemplifies these complexities. Although the power dynamics shaping soundscapes and circulation undoubtedly inform people's musical consumption, subjects do have certain agency within this sonic and media saturation. But users not only appropriate symbols based on either identitarian or emotional pulsations. Escuela de Tablones demonstrate that listeners can also approach these circulating sounds with economic yet noncommercial purposes. San Lorenzo hinchas profit from the circulatory excesses promoted by the culture industries, using them to accrue creative status within aguante's multidimensional conflict. However, they not only take advantage of the larger number of potential sources but also of the strategies of circulation employed by the culture industries.

The fact that personal taste is secondary does not mean that their choices ignore popular music's patterns of consumption and circulation. Juan explains:

> We're always talking about the new songs, what's trending everywhere, and "Despacito" [was] the hit of the year, so we said that we must make a song with it… we're all attentive to the new songs, of the phrases you can put, of how new songs are made.

Escuela de Tablones uploaded their video of "Despacito" almost exactly a month after the song was released. As the creative process takes several weeks, it means that they noticed the hit's potential immediately after its release, which suggests an acute understanding of consumption and circulation of popular music. Some members of Escuela de Tablones put special emphasis

on finding sources among popular music hits, seeking to profit from their viral affordances. Leandro explains:

> A lot of the younger guys … are a bit influenced by virality. And the songs that they present are usually those that are current hits. And many are good. Many have managed to become soccer anthems. Not all, but they tend to choose songs based on that. I approach it differently. But listen, I've written lyrics with [songs by] Maluma.

However, they discuss these hits' potentiality more in terms of circulation than musicality. The final section elaborates on issues of authorship and ownership vis-à-vis the issues of conflict, place, and circulation discussed throughout this chapter.

Authorship and ownership

The relationship between authorship and ownership is neither transparent nor straight forward among Escuela de Tablones. While aguante's acoustemology of conflict informs their understanding of versioning and creativity, they also conceive of chants as publicly owned. "They aren't San Lorenzo's property," Leandro believes, "the chants belong to everyone." Escuela de Tablones understand chants as part of a public ecology which rival and foreign hinchas can freely exploit for re-versioning purposes.

Aguante's simultaneously conflictive and participatory nature explains this apparent tension between competitive authorship and public ownership. Being recognized as more creative than others requires being known as the authors, not the owners, of the chants. More than owning chants, hinchas want to be known for being the creators of viral chants. Once chants are versioned, they are part of a public auditory culture, and rivals are free to re-version them. In other words, being imitated by rivals reinforces the creative rank of an hinchada. As Escuela de Tablones state in a newspaper interview:

> We're proud. With so many chants out there, they take the ones we created, that is, they liked them so much that they have to replicate them. We have a motto every time we create a new chant: keep copying us (Gavira 2016).

Therefore, it is creativity and authorship, not property, that imbues hinchadas with status and reputation.

These notions of authorship, ownership, and creativity have an ambiguous relationship with copyright law. I exemplify these tensions with the controversies surrounding Escuela de Tablones's version of "Bad Moon Rising"—their most beloved composition. Three issues make this chant their favorite. First, it simply yet powerfully reiterates the unsevered ties between San Lorenzo and Boedo. Secondly, it romantically indexes the unique moment in which it reached the stands: the 2011-2012 season when San Lorenzo was almost relegated to the second division. Thirdly, it proves their centrality within the chant ecology.

During the 2014 World Cup, a video of hundreds of Argentines collectively singing in Rio de Janeiro's Avenida Atlântica (Atlantic Avenue, Copacabana Beach's main street) went viral. They were outside the hotel of the Argentine national team, which was debuting the following day. Their hopes for this tournament's edition were particularly high—especially due to Lionel Messi's record-breaking performances in the years leading to the event. The chant sung publicized this optimism:

Brasil, decime qué siente
Tener en casa a tu papá
Te juro que, aunque pasen los años,
Nunca nos vamos a olvidar
Que el Diego los gambeteó
Y el Cani los vacunó
Están llorando desde Italia hasta hoy
A Messi los van a ver
La copa se va a traer
Maradona es más grande que Pelé

Brazil, tell me how it feels
Having your daddy here at home
I swear that all these years later
We're never going to forget
That Diego [Maradona] dribbled you
And [Claudio Caniggia] banged it home

You've been crying since [the 1990] Italy [World Cup] still today
You're going to see Messi
He's going to bring the cup home
Maradona is greater that Pelé

This chant is a re-versioning made by the Boca Juniors hinchas of Escuela de Tablones's versioning of "Bad Moon Rising." The Boca Juniors hinchada iteration mocks River Plate's historical relegation to second division:

River, decime qué se siente
Haber jugado el nacional
Te juro que, aunque pasen los años,
Nunca lo vamos a olvidar
Que te fuiste a la B
Quemaste el Monumental
Esa mancha no se borra nunca más
Che, gallina, sos cagón
Le pegaste a un jugador
Qué cobardes Los Borrachos del Tablón

River, tell me how it feels
To have played in the second division
I swear that all these years later
We're never going to forget
That you were relegated
You set fire to the Monumental
That stain will never be erased
Hey, chicken,[53] you're a coward
You hit a player
Los Borrachos del Tablón are so cowardly

The World Cup version defiantly narrates a hypothetical scenario in which Argentina occupies Brazilian territory and wins the tournament, thereby humiliating the host. The chant strategically picks a game from a previous World Cup to exemplify a supposed sports dominance of Argentina over Brazil. In the round of sixteen of the 1990 iteration held in Italy, the Argentine national team defeated the Brazilian squad with a late goal by striker Claudio Caniggia and an outstanding performance by national hero Diego Maradona—who also allegedly gave Brazilian

[53] River's nickname.

left-back Branco a bottle of water spiked with sedatives. The chant conveniently forgets recent victories of the Brazilian national team over the Argentine squad—including two Copa América finals in the 2000s. The lyrics reinforce this dubious dominance by restating the Argentine argument over who is the greatest soccer player of all time, either Maradona or Brazilian icon Pelé.

The chant quickly turned into Argentina's second national anthem during the tournament. Even videos of the Argentine players singing it began to circulate on social media. The Argentine excitement grew exponentially as the national team kept passing stages, eventually reaching the tournament's final. By the eve of the decisive game against Germany—the same nation that defeated them in the 1990 World Cup final—the chant had acquired a prophetic character: Messi would finally become Maradona's successor. However, the Argentine aspirations were painfully crushed by an extra-time goal by German midfielder Mario Götze. Defeated Argentines saw how the Germans lifted the cup in their faces for the second time.

Nevertheless, "Brasil, Decime Qué se Siente" fulfilled a long desire among Argentines: a chant to cheer for the national team. Until the 2014 World Cup, Argentines consistently complained about the lack of singing during Argentina games, signaling the lack of creative chants as the core of the problem. "Brasil Decime Qué Se Siente," then, finally brought local fandom's creativity to games of the national team. Alabarces (2015) contends that the chant presents common themes and tropes of aguante: narcissistic men claiming and occupying space while homoerotically dominating rivals. However, many issues complicate its inscription within the fan culture.

"Brasil, Decime Qué Se Siente" was actually versioned by outsiders to aguante. Upper-middle-class porteños Ignacio Harraca and Patricio Scordo created the chant on the eve of the

2014 World Cup. Possessing the money and liberty to spend thirty-five days in Brazil, these young fans printed four-hundred copies of the lyrics and distributed them among Argentines in Copacabana. Seeking to profit from Argentine copyright law, Harraca and Scordo quickly registered the chant in the Dirección Nacional de Derechos de Autor (National Office of Copyright) once they were back from Brazil. The move was incredibly successful both in economic and media terms—Harraca and Scordo became habitual guests on sports and morning shows, amassing large sums of money every time such shows reproduced the chant. The media overwhelmingly focused on the copyright moves made by these fans: more than their musical creativity they celebrated their entrepreneurial imagination.

The hegemony of intellectual property in neoliberal formations informs these copyrighting moves. Anthropologist Alexander Dent (2012) argues that neoliberalism has fostered the notion that innovators must either profit from or refrain from exercising their creativity. Intellectual property has imposed an "ethics of accumulation" (31), according to Dent, a moral scheme in which those who respect intellectual property's social, legal, and economic norms can fully maximize their creative and economic potentials. This is the case of Harraca and Scordo's economic success.

These events stirred convoluted feelings among Escuela de Tablones. As they state in a newspaper interview: "What happened with the Creedence one made us mad at first, but then you feel some sort of pride. The reality is that if San Lorenzo hadn't sung it first, it wouldn't had been sung in Brazil" (Paulich 2016). Leandro explains further:

> What happened, specifically, was that it was a spectacular chant—which, as I told you, took years to become popular … People started to sing it. I remember, maybe I'm confused, that teams in Brazil, like Gremio, began to sing it before Argentines … It was a total success. Then, Boca sang it. They made a catchy chant about River's relegation, and it became a Boca anthem. And, from Boca's chant—which had some of San Lorenzo's chant, some of San Lorenzo's lyrics—a group of Argentines made a song for the World

> Cup, maintaining some of San Lorenzo's chant and some of Boca's chant, but more associated with Boca's than San Lorenzo's lyrics … A chant that deserves only one point. But you can imagine that people sang it. And also, during the World Cup, as always, with the World Cup fever, it was sung by TV anchors who never attend games, models who never attend games. They made sketches with the chant. They created an entire circus, and "Brasil, Decime Qué Se Siente" got popular.

Unlike their reactions to other hinchadas copying their chants, Escuela de Tablones's reactions to Harraca and Scordo's moves are more ambiguous. On the one hand, they index certain resentment, linking "Brasil, Decime Qué Se Siente" to notions of appropriation, fetishization, commodification, alterity, and unoriginality. On the other hand, they also see them as a reaffirmation of their creative reputation. Since social media had already registered their first versioning, the media prominence of "Brasil, Decime Qué Se Siente" eventually allowed Escuela de Tablones to reach the mass media, too. In fact, the two newspaper interviews quoted in this chapter occurred when journalists realized that Escuela de Tablones were the first group to version "Bad Moon Rising."

Aguante versioning can thus be seen as simultaneously threatened and fostered by copyright. It might be tempting to use the controversies surrounding their versions of "Despacito" and "Bad Moon Rising" to support the argument that "[c]ontrary to the neoliberal ideologies that have driven the exploitation of copyright as an instrument of privatization, there are contexts in which a culture of ownership is no culture at all" (Cook 2018, 187). Alabarces (2015) reaches such a conclusion in discussing Harraca and Scordo's copyrighting moves: "it seems that, once again, the populist temptation to celebrate [reinvindicar] the anonymous, collective, and popular authorship of mass phenomena must recede to the capitalist, spectacular, and industrialized organization of mass culture" (8). However, although aguante presents social norms that are at odds with IP conceptualizations of authorship and ownership, such assertions do not fully grasp the ambiguities and tensions surrounding creative practices that are both in

tension and consonance with consumption. Because Escuela de Tablones's chants kept circulating in stadiums and social media, rather than stopping re-versioning processes, the controversies actually augmented them, allowing them to accrue more creative prestige. While Harraca, Scordo, and Universal Music Latin profited economically, Escuela de Tablones accrued creative capital, allowing them to claim victory in aguante's noncommercial contest of musical creativity.

The affordances of digital media have played a key role in diminishing the negative impact of intellectual property on (re)versioning and aguante circulation. Dent (2016) notes that the unstable materialities of digital media have raised several problems for those who seek to enforce laws governing intellectual property. As Perlman (2014) points out, digital technologies will probably continue to unsettle the policy regimes regulating music. Escuela de Tablones's media work discussed in chapter one has dramatically altered the circulation of aguante contrafacta. In so doing, they have posed new problems to the subjects and institutions policing and regulating musical consumption.

A final note on "Vengo del Barrio de Boedo": Alabarces (2016) misses a point when he argues that the chant illustrates a lack of creativity among San Lorenzo hinchas. He argues:

> The reiteration *ad nauseam* of 'let's go let's go Matador, let's go, let's go Matador, let's go, let's go, let's go, let's go Matador' demonstrates, in spite of the fans' mythical creativity,[54] a certain poetic shortsightedness. If in the elaboration of the first verse there is no significant change in the poetic tradition of the crowd, the chorus is evidence of a regression (153).

Alabarces overlooks the sociality of creativity and musical practice. First, lyrical simplicity does not necessarily imply a lack of creativity—especially when texts establish meaningful connections between place and identity. Second, he reduces creativity to lyrical innovation,

[54] That is, that the San Lorenzo hinchada is the most creative one in Argentina.

dismissing the creative modes of listening discussed throughout this chapter. Finally, he reduces chants to static texts, focusing on fixed products instead of creative processes. As this chapter illustrates, (re)versioning is a social practice that accrues meaning through performance, circulation, and socialization. All in all, "Vengo del Barrio de Boedo" demonstrates the unique creativity of San Lorenzo hinchas.

Conclusion

On July 27, 2019, Peter, an U. de Chile hincha, invited me to his house to talk about his musical project Trovazules. U. de Chile was playing at noon, so we met very early. It was my first time visiting his parents' house in La Granja (a proletarian neighborhood in southern Santiago), so he sent me a map to avoid the territories dominated by U. Católica and Colo-Colo hinchas. It was a cold morning, and his room—a homemade second floor—was freezing. Although I wanted to ask him about his ideas about (re)versioning, we ended up watching videos of Escuela de Tablones for almost an hour. "They feed all the barras in the word," he told me, "we [also] want other teams to imitate us. Every hincha wants its hinchada to be known as the most creative one. [Also] there's a resonance between the Return to Boedo and our recuperation of the club." Peter not only underscores the role of (re)versioning in aguante's conflict but also Escuela de Tablones's unmatched dominance. His statement also illustrates that Escuela de Tablones have amplified the Return of Boedo.

This chapter has contributed to theories of creativity, ownership, and authorship in music studies. In addition to pushing (ethno)musicology to think of musical creativity as enacting and contributing to conflict, I have promoted a novel understanding of auditory creativity: an active, generative, and reflective mode of listening in which new creations emerge by imaginatively projecting a style onto sounding melodies. I have also underscored that the relationship between

authorship and ownership is not always straightforward, thereby illustrating the contingency of textuality (Perlman 2019). In order to accentuate creativity and acquire honor and prestige within aguante, hinchas detach ownership from authorship. Put differently, although they want to be known as the authors of their versions, they do not see themselves as owners of these compositions. Finally, I have illustrated that copyright law, although it has sometimes momentarily silenced them, has not really threatened Escuela de Tablones's accrual of creative capital.

Escuela de Tablones's chants have mediated the Return to Boedo not only in Argentina but also abroad. Peter illustrates that these chants have put this campaign into circulation, creating resonances with political projects elsewhere. However, these circulating chants have also contributed to anti-sociality. As the following chapter illustrates, although these practices of fandom have empowered proletarian Chileans, they have simultaneously intersected with local conditions of violence, overloading subjectivities with anti-social meanings, radicalizing the aguante conflict, and ultimately leading hinchas to violence and criminality.

CHAPTER 3

The Affective Labor of Los de Abajo

Dozens of red flares lit up the Ester Roa Stadium of Concepción, Chile in March 2019. The hundreds of fireworks and firecrackers launched by Los de Abajo forced the referee to stop the game between U. de Chile and Universidad de Concepción. The stadium's architecture amplified the collective voice of the hinchada, who sang loudly and intensely over the explosions:

Que se vaya Carlos Heller
Que se muera Azul Azul
Que se vayan esos buitres
Que no aman a La U

Carlos Heller must leave
Azul Azul must die
Those vultures must leave
They don't love La U

The cacophony of voices and pyrotechnics saturated the stadium's soundscape, silencing the local team's petite barra. Los de Abajo also put up two blue-and-red banners: "Fuera Carlos Heller, Fuera Azul Azul" (Leave Carlos Heller, Leave Azul Azul) and "Azul Azul, Pasión por el Dinero" (Azul Azul, Passion for Money). The match broadcast reported that Carlos Heller, the largest stockholder of Azul Azul, left his luxury box and ran away to the dressing rooms. When the pyrotechnics were over, the referee recorded the event, waited until the smoke faded away, and resumed the match. U. de Concepción ended up winning the game, a defeat that kept U. de Chile in the relegation zone.

Heller resigned the board's presidency once the game was over, stating the following:

> Delinquency has won again in this country—the soccer delinquency. I have death threats on my phone. A long time ago, I received death threats. Graffiti in my workplaces. You watched the poor spectacle done by the corrupted hinchas … The delinquents have won again.

U. de Chile's recently hired coach, Uruguayan Alfredo Arias, sympathized with Heller: "He's a good guy … It's ok if he has to go because the people are hurt because the team is losing. But, beyond cheering, what else have they done [for the club]?"

U. de Chile hinchas celebrated Heller's resignation, signaling it as a small victory towards the "recovery of the club." After the game, Los de Abajo posted the following statement on social media:

> [This was] the day [when] our voices were heard stronger than ever. Thousands of hinchas demonstrating their love for their colors. But also, thousands of hinchas demonstrating their discontent with the Azul Azul administration. Discontent with the country's hegemonic powers, which have done whatever they want for years with only one goal: profit … That's real delinquency. But since they own every business in the country (soccer channels, retail stores, soccer security, other soccer teams, among others) they have the voice of power, and they can confuse the people with their media. But listen, gentlemen, this is La U, and La U people have a huge heart. You, not even with all your power, will be able to silence us. And this is not delinquency … We're showing our discontent with the [club's] current administration. We have knowledge, identity, principles, and values. We're not delinquents. But also remember that we're hinchas, and to be an hincha means fighting for the colors we love and respect until the end.

The text then blasted the coach's rhetorical question by framing their performances as expressions of affective labor:

> Arias asked what we do besides cheering. Maybe this is his first time in a big team … Here we give up our lives for La U, and we're there when we're needed the most. Ask your players … We don't want to start our relationship badly. We forgive you this time, but we also remind you what a coach that was very successful in Chile once said: "the hinchas are the only irreplaceable ones in soccer." You'd leave eventually—we'll be here forever.

Plan Estadio Seguro (PES, Safe Stadium Plan), the state policy on soccer violence, punished Los de Abajo for their "bad behavior" and "grave incidents," prohibiting them from bringing their musical instruments to stadiums for the next six months.

U. de Chile hinchas see themselves as a central component of the club, asserting that "La U is big because of its people" and "La U is its people." Miguel, an hincha leading a campaign against Azul Azul, explains:

> If La U wouldn't have such a level of fandom, passion, organization, and everything, it practically wouldn't exist. That's why the CDF [soccer channel] pays what it pays. That's why international stars want to play in La U. It's not because La U has won a lot of titles. We must realize that we are La U's true owners … we're La U's essence, we're the original popular power that makes it what it is.

In the mid-2000s, two controversial reforms challenged this sense of ownership. A new law that forced clubs to become Public Limited Sports Companies (SADPs) coincided with U. de Chile's bankruptcy due to a polemical reinterpretation of the tax code regarding player bonuses. In 2006, the conglomerate Azul Azul took over the club's management, ending decades of civic and democratic administration. The SADP reframed U. de Chile hinchas as consumers and excluded them from the club's spaces and decision-making process.

This chapter discusses ideologies and uses of sound among U. de Chile hinchas, arguing that they conceptualize sound practice as affective labor. Understanding their sonic practices as crucial components of games, they see themselves as essential members of the club—an idea significantly shaped by years of civic and democratic administration. Amid a turn to a market-oriented model of soccer, U. de Chile hinchas seek to carve out space for themselves in the institution's current neoliberally-organized sports-advertisement structure. As they also use their affective labor to foster sociality, empower themselves, and defy larger disciplinary forces, they pit sound practice against the economic imperatives upheld by the club administration. But as these *fiestas*—how they define their communal exertions of affect—do not correspond to a uniform emotional or ideological disposition, they can also have anti-social effects, such as densifying continua of violence and eroding community bonds. Moreover, although they frame their affective labor as not commercially motivated, Azul Azul has effectively subsumed it in the

club's production of value as consumer surplus. The ideologies surrounding sound practice point to a clash of two conflicting conceptualizations of soccer clubs: one that sees them as civic institutions and one that frames them as spaces of consumption.

Defining affect as the capacity to affect and be affected, scholars frame it as an unqualified intensity that, functioning at the level of the visceral, intertwines different sensory domains (Hirschkind 2006; Goodman 2010; Gregg and Seigworth 2010; Massumi 2002). These theorists differentiate affect from emotion by stressing the unmediated character of the former: affect is pre-subjective, pre-cognitive, pre-linguistic, and pre-cultural without being pre-social. Problematically, however, this separation of affect from cognition and meaning ends up supporting structuralist semiotic models and classic body-mind dualisms (Leys 2011; Lutz 2017; Navaro-Yashin 2009). I found affect a useful analytical tool only if we overcome its "romantic (and complicit) attachment to a fantasy of immediacy" (Mazzarella 2009, 294). U. de Chile hinchas describe their fiestas as intertwining intensity and signification, thus "always moving between immanence and qualification" (Mazzarella 2009, 304).

With that caveat in mind, affect is a fruitful category to understand the role of sound in binding and bonding entities. Ethnomusicology has emphasized the affordances of sonic affect in cultivating alternate modes of sociality and activism (Garcia 2015; Gill 2017; Gray 2013; Hofman 2020; Miller 2017; Riedel 2019; Tatro 2014). Building on the idea that sensorial and intimate experiences are essential to the fabric of social relations (Raffles 2002), I contend that the affective intensities produced by sound practice have empowered and fostered sociality among U. de Chile hinchas. But sonic affect has also enacted more destructive domains, fostering anti-sociality, contributing to violence, and reinforcing neoliberal structures.

Sound practice functions as a form of affective labor—that is, "the creation and manipulation of affect" (Hardt and Negri 2000, 293). U. de Chile hinchas understand sounding as a form of labor capable of affecting games and the other entities present in the stadium. Much of scholarship on affective labor notes that the exertion and management of affect have become essential to the neoliberal production of value (Freeman 2015; Hardt 1999; Hardt and Negri 2000; Hochschild 2012; Muehlebach 2011; Wharton 2009). Although affective labor tends to revalue "dispensable populations as indispensable" (Muehlebach 2011, 71), Azul Azul does not value the practices of U. de Chile hinchas as labor but rather as indispensable consumer surplus—that is, the "willingness to pay" for a commodity (Hausman 1981; Hanemann 1991)—subsuming it without fostering social inclusion. In consequence, the affective labor of U. de Chile hinchas ends up reinforcing the socioeconomic conditions that have allowed the SADP to disenfranchise them and turn them into mere consumers. All in all, this chapter aims to underscore the limits and potentials of affective labor in communities of consumption.

The biggest university club in the world

The club's history is indivisibly tied to the Universidad de Chile, the most influential public institution in the country. Although club historians disagree about the team's founding dates, they nonetheless agree that they are connected to the desire of the student the body to play soccer (Rabi and Villafranca 2017). Accordingly, university values such as camaraderie, secularity, democracy, progress, and reason indubitably shape the club's ethos.

Economic, administrative, and sports volatility marred the club in the twentieth century. Although it emerged on university campuses, U. de Chile eventually gained traction among noncollege educated citizens (Matamala 2015). The team's popularity skyrocketed among the proletariat in the 1960s when the squad known as the *Ballet Azul* (Blue Ballet) dominated local

soccer by winning six league titles. In this decade, working- and middle-class youths left their amateur and neighborhood clubs and began to participate in university soccer. Although the sports success of U. de Chile and U. Católica partly explained this shift, it also reflected the increase of working- and middle-class students in universities, which also worked as sites of political participation (Elsey 2011). By 1969, U. de Chile had similar, if not larger, attendance than Colo-Colo. But the 1970s would mark the beginning of the club's sports, financial, and administrative debacle. The intervention of the Pinochet regime in the university only dramatized the club's crisis as the institution had to reduce the budget reserved for sports. The soccer team's financial necessities forced the university to create a nonprofit known as Corfuch to manage the club. However, the corporation's administrative inefficiency only exacerbated U. de Chile's financial and sports difficulties. The team would not win a league title in twenty-five years and would be relegated to the second division in 1989. During these years, Corfuch also lost its lands in Parque Araucano—a place where they planned to build the club's first stadium. Still today, U. de Chile does not have a sports home, playing in the state-owned Estadio Nacional. Despite this ceaseless crisis, the team kept accruing popular support, especially among young proletarians as the right-wing populists that managed the club in these years explicitly targeted popular sectors. The Corfuch's president Ambrosio Rodríguez said that they would fight with Colo-Colo over working-class hinchas "neighborhood to neighborhood, street to street, and house to house" (Matamala 2015, 150). These young hinchas founded Los de Abajo in 1989.

U. de Chile's increasing popularity in poblaciones have moved the main rivalry from U. Católica to Colo-Colo. Today, they frame the former as upper-class and lacking passion—nicknamed *cuicos* (wealthy people), *pinguinos* (penguins), and *monjas* (nuns). Colo-Colo hinchas are dubbed as *indios* and *zorras*, working-class yet favored by hegemonic powers. U. de

Chile hinchas link Colo-Colo to the right and to Pinochet, who was their honorary president until 2015. They also allege that the dictator built their stadium—an accusation already debunked by several journalists (Matamala 2015). While they link U. Católica to the elites and Colo-Colo to the right and hegemonic powers, U. de Chile hinchas present themselves as left-wing underdogs.

The mainstream meanings of *bullangueridad*—how U. de Chile hinchas define the set of values that characterize the club and its fanbase—crystallized during the relegation to and season in the second division—the waning years of the Pinochet regime. The aforementioned values of camaraderie, romanticism, and progressivism merged with aguante's notions of loyalty, passion, and toughness. Rogelio explains:

> Los de Abajo is an ideal … we were all one. We didn't have a boss, we didn't have a leader, everything was democratic. If something was decided and you were in the minority, you ended up supporting and rowing in the same direction, even if the decision wasn't what you wanted. That's what helped us grow. That *mística* [defined at the end of the paragraph], that brotherhood.

The formation of Los de Abajo occurred in one of the most violent periods in the country's history. These working-class adolescents found in aguante a space for empowerment, sociality, belonging, and the articulation of democratic and anti-neoliberal ideals. Cheering for U. de Chile became a quixotic act of steadfastness, camaraderie, and romanticism. In their discussion of twentieth-century youth, historians Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto write:

> Universidad de Chile's "relegation" was a "historical echo" of everything that was happening to the youth. It thus had a *symbolic* character: crying for that relegation was the only way of crying for *everything*. And because swearing boundless loyalty to the blue identity … it implied swearing loyalty to their own identity (Salazar and Pinto 1999, 274).

Rogelio contends that they "were born with mística, from a rebellion"—a romantic uprising that points to their departure from older hinchas and their opposition to the military regime. U. de Chile games were one of the first spaces of public protest against the Pinochet regime (Matamala 2015; Nadel 2014; Rabi and Villafranca 2017). Rogelio explains:

> The typical one, which characterized us, and the entire stadium, was "y va caer" [and he's going to fall]. That shit was unstoppable. Usually, not always, it started where we were. A lot of us were coming from high school with that burden. And also, many college students gathered there. Guys who came from college, who were studying, chanted with us, who were younger. A really important social movement against the power of the Pinochet regime started there.

This confluence of loyalty, progressivism, and collective sounding infused the team and its fanbase with *mística:* an ethos characterized by a romantic faith in progress and the overcome of adversity through communal power.

The return to democracy marked the sports and social revival of U. de Chile. Under the successful administration of professor of medicine Dr. René Orozco, the club finances improved, and important players were signed. In addition to the 1994 championship, which ended the twenty-five-year drought, the club won four other league titles.

Orozco's approach to Los de Abajo was characterized by inclusion and participation. As he explained in a media interview:

> Do you know what they used to tell me about "the bandits," as they define Los de Abajo? … The cops told me: "doctor, your kids are behaving well." That's what we achieved: we stopped the drug consumption, we built the *escuelita* [see below], fifteen kids who were living in the streets studied and got college degrees—from state universities, of course … Those things happened in La U. We built it again. We gave it new values. Some didn't like that we treated the barra as people … Los de Abajo made La U. They helped make it. They were able to end their drug addiction, study, and leave the streets (Fernández 2019).

The post-dictatorial state replaced repression with marginalization, and working-class citizens, key actors in recovering democracy, were largely left out of the post-dictatorial political debate (Gómez 2017; Moulian 1997; Stern 2004; Paley 2001). Salazar and Pinto (1999) have contended that exclusion and alienation particularly affected the youth, signaling barras as spaces where working-class adolescents created their own spaces of participation. Orozco was aware of these social dynamics and argued that the club, as an extension of the university, should care about these youths. He gave Los de Abajo access to Corfuch's headquarters and helped them establish

the Escuela Libre Los de Abajo (Los de Abajo Free School), an alternative school administered by the barra where U. de Chile hinchas could finish their high school education. Orozco, in short, made U. de Chile hinchas feel like owners of the club.

However, the Orozco administration was also marked by instability. First, he did not completely drive Los de Abajo away from anti-sociality. With the retirement of those who founded Los de Abajo, four hinchas imposed an organizational structure modeled after Argentine barras. Second, the Orozco administration started to crumble economically in the 2000s—a period in which Colo-Colo also faced economic difficulties. The financial instability experienced by the country's most popular teams functioned as an excuse to approve a law that would force clubs to become SADPs.[55] Concurrently, a controversial reinterpretation of the tax code mandated clubs to start paying taxes on player bonuses retroactively. This forced Corfuch to declare bankruptcy in 2005 over a 5.4 billion pesos debt (approximately, ten million U.S. dollars). It was the first nonprofit forced to cease activities. Azul Azul got the club's license, rights, and administration in 2006 and went public in 2008, allowing right-wing businessmen—who had tried to win Corfuch's elections for decades—to take over the club's management.[56] Still today, U. de Chile hinchas claim that the Corfuch's collapse and the consequent rise of Azul Azul was a conspiracy orchestrated by the country's business and political elites.

These years were marked by the rise of ticket costs, lack of participation, and repression in stadiums. Some U. de Chile hinchas began to voice the idea that Azul Azul wanted to impose

[55] The bill was introduced by the then-senator Sebastián Piñera, who was later elected as Chile's president in two nonconsecutive presidential terms (2010-2014 and 2018-2022). A U. Católica fan, Piñera eventually bought the 13.7 percent of Blanco y Negro's (White and Black) stocks, the SADP administering Colo-Colo (Matamala 2015).
[56] Two of Azul Azul's major stockholders have been Carlos Heller—a member of the billionaire Solari family, owners of the multinational chain Falabella, among other businesses—and José Yuraszeck—a former member of the Pinochet regime who was infamously convicted of fraud during the privatization of Chilectra, the country's former state-owned electrical energy company (Matamala 2015; Ravi and Villafranca 2017).

"fútbol de mercado" (roughly, corporate soccer) and frame hinchas as clients. As Miguel explains:

> Participation in sports is not understood as a social right. Right now, for legal purposes, we're consuming Azul Azul's tickets. That's the only relationship [between us and them]. Azul Azul is an event producer. Azul Azul produces events. The events are called "La U games." And the rules are set by the producer, like with any producer that brings a music band … And Azul Azul owns the spectacle. It has all the rights. Because those who participate aren't understood as having the right to participate in what's happening … that's something that in the 60s-70s the state not only supported but also encouraged.

Aware of the long history of civil and democratic relations surrounding soccer clubs, these hinchas claimed that fútbol de mercado, by imposing a consumerist logic and defining hinchas as consumers, eroded the club's social fabric. Miguel explains: "To wear La U jersey was no longer enough to have camaraderie with another hincha. In those years factions atomized and started to have problems with each other." These dynamics also endangered the meanings of bullangueridad values. Miguel adds: "La U no longer means the same for everyone—for some, it's just the *pilsen* [i.e. drinking beer]."

Moreover, internal and external tensions erupted in this period. With Corfuch's bankruptcy, the four leaders simply negotiated with Azul Azul and adapted their networks of corruption to the new corporate imperatives. However, a group of young hinchas began to request more participation and to cut ties with the SADP. These demands led to massive fights between the leaders and the younger hinchas. These internal disputes coincided with the implementation of PES—a project that significantly relies on criminalization and repression in order to exert social control (J. C. Pérez 2017). Scooby explains:

> In a Machiavellian plan by PES and fútbol de mercado, the hincha has been stigmatized as a delinquent … They treat us as delinquents, as violent. We were marginalized. We were criminalized. They punish us over nothing. Just because you give a cop a bad look, they punish you. And that punishment means a year banned from stadiums … So, the hincha is stigmatized. If you ask an average person, "would you come with me to Los de Abajo?" They would probably say "no fucking way! They could rob me. They could

> assault me." [But] now, not even a wallet gets lost [in Los de Abajo]. But we're completely stigmatized. By the press and the soccer mafia.

PES has given the police complete freedom to repress hinchas regardless of their actual involvement in criminal or violent activity. Cops tend to conceive of any proletarian citizen wearing a soccer jersey as a potential criminal.[57] Experiences of aggressive touching, groundless detentions, strip search, baton hitting, and indiscriminate use of pepper spray and tear gas are now common in stadiums. Media scholar Eduardo Santa Cruz argues that the plan creates a space of temporary obliteration of constitutional rights (quoted in Pérez 2017). In its first iteration, PES forbade the use of musical instruments. The presumption was that drums allowed hinchas to bring drugs, alcohol, and weapons to the stadium as well as raising the status of barras and their leaders. Unsurprisingly, U. de Chile hinchas began to demand, sometimes violently, the return of the instruments. These internal and external conflicts as well as lack of instrumental support made collective singing decrease significantly in these years—an index of corroded sociality among hinchas.

Recently, hinchas from different sections of the fanbase have created AHA, a political organization that has "fought against fútbol de mercado" in two ways. First, they have sought "to recover the club" from Azul Azul and reinstall more democratic modes of participation. They have accordingly met with hinchas of other teams to create a larger political movement, litigated the dismissal of Corfuch's bankruptcy in courts, and lobbied politicians and university officials to make changes to the stock-market model. Second, they have sought "to reconstruct the club's social fabric" so as to unify the U. de Chile fanbase and stabilize the meanings of bullangueridad. To do so, they have reached factions to disseminate the club's history and publicize their project.

[57] In Chile, skin color indexes class. While middle- and upper-class people tend to be whiter, working-class citizens tend to present browner skin. Accents are another indicator of class. It is noteworthy that the police never harassed me in or nearby stadiums due to my middle-class appearance and accent.

They have paid particular attention to the creation of *escuelas populares* (popular schools): alternative, community-led schools in which children could learn about the values of bullangueridad.

AHA's female members have concurrently created Las Bulla, the organization's feminist commission. They have asserted that the recovery and future of the club must have a feminist perspective. Andrea, a member, explains:

> The female comrades realized that female participation in the assemblies was really low … After many attempts, a group of comrades with a lot of energy and push finally got together. And, as we were all feminists, we believed that AHA, when it recovers the club, it must have a feminist perspective. When we recover the club—because we will recover it—it must be for men and women. For everyone.

Although some women previously participated in Los de Abajo, their involvement was mostly limited to invisible labor as male hinchas did not let them be part of the decision-making process. But some of these first female hinchas found ways to navigate these hypermasculine networks. Emma, one of these women, expresses:

> Even if you're a woman, you're inserting yourself in a world of men. So, you have to act like them more than expressing what's being a woman or feminist. Because everyone will always judge you. If a man fools around with ten different girls, no one will say anything. But you'll always be a whore. You have to be careful about not being like that so that they consider and respect you. That's why a La U woman who wants to be considered has to start acting like a man. But in the good stuff: supporting, cheering, being there, fighting.

Tapia and Vergara (2017) have noted similar dynamics among female hinchas of Santiago Wanderers, many of whom have adopted male behaviors in order to participate in the barra. But if these women had to follow hypermasculine standards, Las Bulla have sought to empower female hinchas of U. de Chile and encourage them to express their fan identity freely.

Meanwhile, the new generation eventually managed to expel Los de Abajo's four leaders, opening the barra for new actors while cutting relations with Azul Azul. With the internal disputes over, the barra currently works in a more decentralized way. They usually state that

"Los de Abajo have neither capos nor bosses" and that "we all are Los de Abajo." Today, several factions configure the barra's frontline, making the decision-making process significantly more democratic and participatory. Since Los de Abajo no longer receive funds from Azul Azul, resources are gathered through donations and other DYI activities. Legally turned into a judicial entity, Los de Abajo no longer work as a space of corruption, pitting their democratic imperatives against the SADP's consumer-based approach.

But this does not mean that members of Los de Abajo have stayed aloof from anti-sociality. Combat has remained a crucial practice among them, as Tuto, a frontline member, explains: "Singing, traveling, toughness, and kicking the Indians' asses. That's it. That's what makes you a La U hincha and gain prestige within a barra." In fact, anti-social behavior has increased since the 2000s. If combat mostly consisted of fistfights in the 1980s and 1990s, gunfire, kidnapping, torture, and murder have become habitual today. Although the Chilean neoliberal model has stirred steady macroeconomic growth, it has simultaneously produced massive inequality and the deterioration of proletarian life (see chapter four). As PES has only sought to prevent violent acts in and nearby stadiums, aguante warfare has silently expanded and radicalized in poblaciones. Criminal syndicates have noted the potential of these marginalized and criminalized groups and have effectively co-opted them. Although Los de Abajo have ceased to work as a space of corruption, the overlap of fandom and organized crime has nonetheless intensified in recent years.

Sound is embedded in this dialectic of sociality and anti-sociality. Sound practice is a form of affective labor through which they seek to reestablish control over their community and carve out space for themselves within the club. However, this affective labor is connected to both anti-sociality and neoliberal dynamics.

The (anti)sociality of affective labor

In October 2018, I presented a paper at the 7th International Symposium of Aesthetics, organized by the Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUC). That year's theme was sports and aesthetics. I was excited to talk about aguante and affect in the same halls where I studied musicology and classical guitar years ago. But since my paper was scheduled on the last day's final panel, and I was the last person to present, not many people stayed for my presentation. I was disappointed because I wanted to offer an alternative, more nuanced understanding of aguante to the one that had dominated the conference. In the previous days, scholars had contended that the consumption of Argentine practices of fandom had brought vandalism, delinquency, and condemnable practices to Chilean soccer. A paper depicting the multidisciplinary performances of the 1960s Clásicos Universitarios led to an erudite lamentation on the state of contemporary soccer fandom.[58] Someone argued that universities should take over pregame performances so that artists and intellectuals could elevate the artistic quality and moral status of soccer.

The next day, I attended the Clásico Universitario at the Estadio Nacional. Cops on foot, horses, motorcycles, and cars; hinchas from different ages, genders, and socioeconomic backgrounds; and street sellers vocalizing their products populated the stadium's surroundings. The smell coming from *choripanes* (chorizo sandwiches) and the infamous *sandwiches de potito* (cow rectum sandwiches) filled the air. Hundreds of people came out from the new subway station—located right next to the human rights organization that organizes guided tours and supervises the monument memorializing the stadium's past as a torture center during the Pinochet regime.

[58] Until the 1960s, U. de Chile and U. Católica students and professors competed with each other and commented on contemporary politics during halftimes shows that included dance, music, theater, and parade-like floats (Elsey 2011; Grumann 2013).

Graffiti stating “Los de Abajo Anti Azul Azul,” “Volveremos” (We’ll Come Back), and “No al Fútbol de Mercado” (No to Corporate Soccer) covered the walls of the southern entrance’s dusty parking lot. I could already hear the sounds coming from the *túnel* (tunnel)—the space underneath the stands where Los de Abajo gather before games. Two guards thoroughly searched me before allowing me to go through the first security checkpoint. After buying a t-shirt from Los de Abajo stand, I showed my ID to a female guard outside Gates 14 and 15. From the bottom of the concrete stairs that led to the túnel, the sounds from the brass instruments, bombos con platillo, and other drums felt impressively loud. On the top, two guys guarded a five-foot bass drum with monetary contributions.

The Police’s Special Forces observed the performance defiantly. Red and blue fabrics separated the barra’s frontline from the other hinchas. The brass instruments, bombos con platillos, and surdo and snare drums of La Banda de la Chile, Los de Abajo’s murga ensemble, were located on each side of the rectangle. The musicians wore shirts with the ensemble’s motto, “Cantar para Ganar” (Sing to Win). In the middle, two teenagers held a big bass drum while two hinchas wearing work gloves played a steady tempo with two mallets each. The drummers raised their hands as high as they could and then hit the instrument hard—impacts that made their arms elevate immediately. Although their faces denoted strength and effort, they also indexed enjoyment and camaraderie as they made friendly eye-contacts with other hinchas while playing. Meanwhile, the frontline jumped, sang, and hugged while documenting the performance with cameras and recorders. They also demanded more loudness and intensity from those outside the rectangle, who sang, jumped, and recorded with their phones while the concrete space amplified the volume. Closer to the game, U. de Chile hinchas opened a passage for the instruments so that the ensemble could get to the stands. It was impossible to go through Gate 14, so I ran through

Gate 15. Thousands of hinchas already packed the stands, but I found a spot to the right of the ensemble.

Los de Abajo had raised more than four million pesos (nine thousand U.S. dollars, approximately) and worked for weeks on the *recibimiento* (reception, term used to signify hincha-organized pre-game performances). Hundreds of flags filled the already crammed stands. At the bottom, Los de Abajo's official banner covered the wall separating the field from the Galería Sur. U. de Chile hinchas strapped several perpendicular banners from the end to the middle of the stands. Other banners covered the fences surrounding Gates 14 and 15. Eight yellow cranes guarded by a dozen hinchas were on the track field. Several TV cameras pointed at the Galería Sur where a 100-foot-long, folded piece of fabric lay on the ground. Shirtless hinchas stood on the *para-avalanchas* facing their backs to the field while singing and smoking weed. Some young women wearing U. de Chile clothes and red-and-blue flower crowns populated the stands, as well. Meanwhile, the stadium chanted "Oh, sale León" (Oh, come out, Lion) over the chorus of "Estrechez de Corazón" by local rock stars Los Prisioneros.

The stadium was shaking with the collective voice when the players came onto the field. Flares were ignited, fireworks were launched, and shredded newspaper filled the air as the cranes started to stand erect, raising the long fabric resting on the track field. After a few seconds, a gorgeous thirty-foot-tall piece of art faced the Galería Norte. Six all-time U. de Chile soccer idols stood for canonical moments of the club's history. The three iterations of the club's badge were in the center of the piece. The stadium sang even louder when La Banda de la Chile raised their drums, each with a letter forming the sentence "play like them." I remembered what Tuto had said a few days ago at an AHA meeting: "young hinchas must learn about our history." Giant banners began to cover other sections of the stadium. The guards began to expel the

hinchas that supervised the performance on the field. While most left the track field jumping and celebrating, one hincha blasted an imaginary shotgun at one of the guards. Meanwhile, a clearly emotional hincha to my right hugged me. I felt a lump in my throat while singing. The players came to the Galería Sur and applauded the hinchas, who clapped back at them. U. de Chile would win the game.

After the match, current and former U. de Chile players enthusiastically congratulated Los de Abajo on social media. Although some journalists questioned that "some delinquents were on the track field," most commentators define the performance terms as "outstanding," "spectacular," and "touching." An hincha who had gained prestige for writing short stories about Los de Abajo on Facebook, and who had been critical of the recent influence of Escuela de Tablones on Los de Abajo, posted: "I was moved to tears. It was truly beautiful. I heartfully thank all of those who were behind this enormous effort. A [Facebook] page that is made for emotion can only stand up and applaud." The manager of Barra Brava Foto Chile, the unofficial arbiter of Chilean aguante on social media, commented on Los de Abajo's photos on Instagram: "The number one—that's it. Light years ahead from everybody else."

Figure 9 Clásico Universitario's recibimiento. Screenshot taken from game footage

This vignette depicts the utopic potentials of Los de Abajo's affective labor. But as their performances do not correspond to a uniform emotional or ideological disposition, they can be deployed for various ends and point to different meanings. Hinchas could employ the same performance to engage in conflict, dehumanize rivals, influence games, stage ideological messages, foster sociality, or carve out space for themselves in the club. In other words, their production and manipulation of affect can simultaneously have social and anti-social effects.

Because they prioritize ecstasy, sensation, and participation, aguante aesthetics place an emphasis on affective states. U. de Chile hinchas use the term *fiestas* (parties, celebrations, festivities) to define their performances.[59] Involving steadfast loudness, sonic intensity, and kinesthetic participation, these performances saturate the senses and create affective ties between the different entities populating the stadium. Hinchas use *descontrol* (out of control) to signify the ideal state to experience fiestas. Although this word refers to an altered state of consciousness—hinchas usually consume alcohol and drugs before games—it also points to a

[59] They sometimes call their affective performances *carnavales* (carnivals).

saturation of the sensorium. As discussed below, however, cheering in descontrol during fiestas not only fills their bodies with affective intensities but also enacts contingent meanings and emotions.

Their evaluations of the Clásico Universitario's recibimiento exemplify the affective dimensions of fiestas. Tuto, one of the performance's organizers, states:

> We want to have the fiesta everywhere. What we did against Católica … was to show historical moments against Católica … We tried to capture and express those three historical heroic deeds. I remember when I was with my dad in the stadium [in the 1994 Clásico Universitario], I was eleven, and the stadium fell apart after [Marcelo] Salas's goal. Everybody cried, you must remember it … It was insane, nobody could believe it, everybody cried. And that's what we tried to do: *estremecer, emocionar a la gente de La U* [to make La U people shiver, to shake them up with emotion] … We want to show pure history. We want to teach La U history because Azul Azul doesn't do social work. As I told you before, we gather the largest social force of La U hinchas, that's why we believe that we have a social role. Alongside the fiesta and everything, we must teach history.

His statement illustrates that fiestas interweave visceral intensities and subjective meanings, thus challenging stark, stubborn separations between immanence and qualification:

> La U—and that's what we wanted to do with the recibimiento—*emociona, weón, es una weá de piel, de sentimiento* [moves you, man, it's visceral shit, it's feeling]. This is not a trend that comes and goes. It's for your entire life, it encompasses all society, beyond education, everything. There're La U hinchas everywhere. We know that Colo-Colo has more fans, but we are more loyal. That's why we bring more people to the stadiums than them, even though they have more fans. Those who support La U are die-hard hinchas … We want the center of the barra, [Gates] 14 and 15, to be descontrol. That shit has to be insane. Why? Because we have to inject everyone else in the stadium. It must be a descontrol. That's why a lot of people who were going to the codos [the sides of the Galería Sur]—you know that older people go to the sides—are coming back. They have come back to [Gate] 14. Emblematic singers, people we've seen exciting others for years and making that space a space of craziness, carnival, chaos. Without hitting each other, there must be chaos and disorder.

While Tuto underscores the intense, sensorial, and bodily dimensions of fiestas, he simultaneously stresses the social, communal, and personal conditions that drive him to support the team. As discussed later, however, the fact that bullangueridad has become increasingly murky and heterogeneous makes the qualification of fiestas highly unstable.

Los de Abajo conceive of this production and manipulation of affect as a form of labor. Tuto continues:

> This is like every project you carry out in your life. It needs planning. It needs labor. As everything. Sometimes we are late … But we all work for the same objective, and that's the priority … In the end, it's everyone's labor.

The fact that they see themselves as protagonists of games as well as essential members of the club's social fabric inform this ideology of labor. Their axiom "players should play like hinchas" not only illustrates their perceived centrality within the club but also the ethical dimension of their affective labor. Crystallized in a pre-SADP era, U. de Chile hinchas do not perform to produce value. For instance, Tuto claims that this labor benefits U. de Chile and its fanbase in social, emotional, and noncommercial ways:

> Personal profit doesn't exist here … We want this barra to keep growing both in the stadium's fiesta and the social part … Los de Abajo work for making La U bigger. When I was a kid, La U wasn't big for winning championships. We fell in love with those people's aguante. Those who started this [barra] … We don't want the younger generations to lose this essence. The essence of this is singing, aguante, love for the colors … It's the people who make this work.

In emphazising the social, communitarian, and inclusive nature of their performances, they simultaneously pit them against the corporate practices that have reframed them as consumers.

This emphasis on affective sensation leads U. de Chile hinchas to particularly enjoy singing in places where architecture creates resonant acoustics. The Estadio Nacional's túnel is a good example: hinchas spend hours there, enjoying how the space's closed, concrete architecture amplifies and spatializes sound. They similarly tend to prefer stadiums with more resonant affordances, especially those with roofs and where the stands are close to the field. I also observed this prioritization of surrounding acoustics outside stadiums, such as buses. Although the trips toward stadiums are characterized by constant singing, U. de Chile hinchas tend to vocalize more loudly and intensely when buses drive through underground passages. When

walking towards stadiums, they similarly tend to stop at and sing in tunnels. Being surrounded by both sound and sounding bodies indexes community among them.

But sound practice is not limited to the vocalization of chants as several other sounds complement collective singing. U. de Chile hinchas tend to accompany the game with various sounds. Among several other sounds, they utter "¡ooole!" when some player eludes an opponent, "¡eeeh! after a fault, and "¡uuuh!" when the ball passes close to the net. They also clap to approve a play, scream insults at rivals and referees, and shout an endless, thunderous "¡goool!" when someone scores. Another common sound is whistling, which they employ when an opponent misses a goal, when the police show up, and when referees and rivals enter the field. They also whistle to make rhythmical fills during musical breaks. In addition, firecrackers and various types of fireworks often accompany Los de Abajo's fiestas. These sounds overlap and dialogue, making the volume and intensity of the stadium's soundscape change continuously. While most U. de Chile hinchas sing and play music non-stop throughout the entire game, others may produce other sounds on top of the songs, thus creating multilayered sonic clusters. The different forms and levels of participation create sonic waves that are in constant flux.

However, moments of high involvement and energy do not necessarily occur when the team is performing well—the relationship between fan behavior and games is much more intricate. Instances of extreme loudness and high participation can occur after a wide range of situations: a goal, a good play, a fault, a fight, and even a bad performance. In this sense, the game and the practices of aguante constitute a symbiotic relationship: while the game influences people's participation and intensity, hinchas also try to influence the match through their behavior.

Fiestas are embedded in the aguante conflict. Statements such as "winning on the stands, the field, and the streets," "winning on the field and aguante," and "we outshout them in singing" exemplify their conflictive nature. La Banda de la Chile's motto "Cantar para Ganar" (Sing to Win) similarly demonstrates that they see themselves as crucial components of the game and believe that they can affect others through their fiestas. Tuto explains:

> We've scored with La U. The barra has won games when it roars in its best singing, in its splendor. With the bass drum heartbeat, with the people singing and jumping, La U has come back in games. It has won games with its hinchada … I remember a unique moment—with the fervor of lions and the hinchada out of control in a way that other hinchadas in Chile and South America don't get out of control. It was when we lost the first final with Católica 2-0 [in 2011] … I can tell you that we won that final … Fifteen minutes and [the hinchada] was in descontrol. It was chaos.

Fiestas are capable of affecting rivals and peers, thus having the capacity of influencing games. For example, Tuto believes that the Clásico Universitario's recibimiento had effects on U. Católica players:

> We started the game ahead on the score with that fiesta, for sure. I saw the Católica players *cagados* [with their pants crapped]. The Católica goalie, he committed a beginner's fault against [U. de Chile's Francisco] Arancibia. At minute one. So, yes, they crapped their pants.

U. de Chile hinchas often speak of fiestas in weaponized terms, depicting them through signifiers such as "explosion" and "burst." Sound practice is thus a key tool for accruing and deploying aguante. Involving vocal resistance, kinesthetic intensity, nonstop vocalizing, and audible dominance, among others, sonic aguante allows them to occupy spaces, claim territories, subjugate rivals, and ultimately prevail in the aguante conflict.

Many hinchas also conceive of these fiestas as expressions of dissent that exceed the sport's symbolic conflict. Indeed, they often employ sounded aguante to express dissent towards Azul Azul and fútbol de mercado. Amid silencing and exclusion, sound practice allows them to make their voice audible and participate in club politics. Tuto explains:

> We want the people to be listened to, that the hincha is listened to, and that our voice, our opinion matters within the club … We want to provide our point of view, our opinion, and be listened to … We don't use the law to demand [rights], we don't use that medium … The only place where we can defend ourselves, where we can protest … is the stadium.

The statement also illustrate that they understand the stadium as a technology of amplification. Miguel similarly underscores the political affordances of the alignment of stadiums and sound practice:

> Today, soccer goes beyond the field and has become a mirror of the country's social and political reality …since the implementation of [PES] they have made silence the norm by repressing organized hinchas. The typical elements that give life to the hinchada have been forbidden. Entering a stadium seems like entering a prison [and] police abuse is common every Sunday. Also, since the arrival of SADPs in 2005, hinchas have fewer spaces. These administrations have sought to make the hincha invisible, framing it as a simple consumer of a product, establishing a market relationship … The only space where we, the hinchas, can make ourselves audible is in the stands. We have brought different banners against Azul Azul, against the model of administration, against the current moment, for months, even years. But those banners have never achieved anything. They have never gotten a page in any newspapers, in any tabloid, [not] a minute in news programs, they have never gotten a minute in any radio show covering soccer, etc. So, when we have demonstrated peacefully, demonstrations in which, in quotations, we don't harm anyone, the people haven't paid attention … We were never heard, and now that we make ourselves audible through pyrotechnics the people condemn us.

All in all, hinchas understand sound practice as a means to voice their dissent amid club and social marginalization and criminalization. In addition to permitting them to affect games and thereby raise their social position within the institution, sound practice also allows them to vocalize their critiques of the consumer relations imposed by fútbol de mercado.

Those who politicize fiestas also conceive of the Estadio Nacional as a repository of affect. During the Pinochet regime, the military infamously employed the stadium as a detention center.[60] The post-dictatorial state declared the building a cultural patrimony, built a memorial in

[60] On November 21, 1973, a couple of months after the coup, Chile and the USSR were supposed to play the second leg of the playoff series for a place in the 1974 World Cup (Elsey 2011; Matamala 2015; Nadel 2014). Knowing that the Pinochet regime had been imprisoning, torturing, and executing dissidents in the Estadio Nacional, the Russians

the stands, and created a corporation to organize guided tours and take care of the monument. Because, in addition to the national team, only U. de Chile employs the stadium today, its hinchas have appropriated the space and its history. Many U. de Chile hinchas believe that the prisoners' affects stuck to the stadium's materiality. Andrea explains:

> As La U hinchas … we know the place's history. The emotional, symbolic, historical, violent burden of a place that was a torture center … It's different being in a place literally than making an empathic exercise, like "Oh, that was terrible." You can empathize rationally. But it's different to feel those people's heartbeat in your heartbeat. If you create that communion, it's powerful. Maybe, when singing I'm not thinking that it was a torture center, but we do think about our relationship with the place … Every time you enter the stadium you remember that.

Anthropologist Yael Navaro Yashin (2009) coined the term "spatial melancholia" to signify an "environment or atmosphere which discharges … affect" (16). Similarly, U. de Chile hinchas understand the Estadio Nacional as a space charged with the affects of the prisoners who populated the building decades ago—intensities they seek to "resignificar" (re-signify), to paraphrase them, with their fiestas.

But this affective labor can also have anti-social effects. Fiestas' ambiguous ideological and emotional dispositions permit the projection of a plurality of messages onto them. Unruly and violent meanings have frequently come to dominate these performances.

A fiesta I observed in the game between U. de Chile and Palestino at the Estadio Nacional in May 2018 exemplifies the palimpsestic nature of these performances. A few minutes into the second half, U. de Chile hinchas turned on red flares and launched hundreds of fireworks, making them sing loudly and intensely. The stadium's architecture amplified the cacophony of voices, pyrotechnics, and brass and percussion instruments. The conspicuous

made a request to FIFA, asking to play in a different stadium. FIFA established a commission that inspected the building and claimed that "Inside the outer fencing everything appears to be normal and gardeners are working on their gardens" (Elsey 2011, 244), thus authorizing the game. The USSR decided not to travel to Chile, and FIFA declared the match a walkover victory for the latter.

marijuana smell merged with the gunpower odor coming from the flares and fireworks. Meanwhile, the Galería Sur sang ecstatically:

Bulla de mi vida
Bulla de mi amor
Puro sentimiento
Más que una pasión
Para donde vayas
Siempre te acompaño
Y por esta hinchada
Vamos a ser campeón

Bulla of my life
Bulla of my love
Pure sentiment
More than a passion
Anywhere you go
I'll always be there
And this hinchada
Will make us champion

In the second part of the chant, the percussionists began to play half instead of quarter notes, creating a slower, more dramatic mood. The metal sounds of the cymbals were still audible despite the pyrotechnics. U. de Chile hinchas accompanied the drums by raising their hands and clapping above their heads:

Todos saben de un gran amor
De un bullanguero que no se vendió
Ni a los pacos ni a la represión
Ni a las mentiras de la televisión
La más fiel de la capital
La más gloriosa a nivel mundial
A esta hinchada no la callarán
No la callarán

Everybody knows about the great love
Of a bullanguero who didn't sell out
Neither to the cops nor the repression
Nor the television's lies
The city's most loyal one
The world's most glorious one
This hinchada won't be silenced
Won't be silenced

When the referee stopped the game, U. de Chile hinchas deployed numerous banners. Some expressed solidarity with the Palestinian cause for self-determination (see chapter five). A group of female hinchas criticized the inefficient investigation of the gang-rape of a woman by U. de Chile hinchas a few weeks ago. “In Chile,” their banner read, “it’s easier to find an hincha than five rapists!” The sign conflated the sexual abuse with Los de Abajo’s main cause for protesting: the sanction against an hincha who made fun of Raimundo Tupper, a U. Católica player who committed suicide in 1995 by jumping off a building. The said offender wore a Superman costume and a mask with Tupper’s face during the Clásico Universitario played a few weeks before. U. Católica hinchas denounced the incident on social media, and PES banned the U. de Chile hincha from stadiums for one year. Many banners insulted and called U. Católica hinchas *sapos* (toads, a slang for snitches). Others insulted and mocked the deceased player—“Tupper por el pico” (roughly, Tupper can suck my dick) one banner said. Los de Abajo considered this sanction an out-of-context reaction against a creative expression of aguante. Hence their disruptive behavior.

Meanwhile, a shirtless guy was pushing and insulting a teenager who wanted to climb his para-avalancha. The kid responded verbally and climbed the metal structure, nonetheless. The older hincha began to sing loudly while aggressively moving his arms. They were so close to each other, and his movements were so exaggerated, that his arms went beyond the kid’s body. But the young hincha did not seem intimidated and kept singing on the para-avalanchas. Although the bigger guy kept singing while making exaggerated gestures and hitting his own head aggressively, the conflict did not lead to a fight. The big hincha lost interest in the encounter eventually and began to sing either looking at the sky or at the hinchas who were not singing. A few minutes later, the referee resumed the game.

This scene illustrates that anti-sociality and violence can coexist with expressions of solidarity and sociality in fiestas. Many U. de Chile hinchas tend to glorify unruliness for the sake of unruliness, deploying their affective labor to create disorderly personae and defy power relations without a clear political goal. Furthermore, aguante behavior can often enact in-group hostility. In fact, the sonic and kinesthetic dispute between the two hinchas is not rare in games as individuals and factions frequently use sound to occupy spaces, claim territories, and defy peers. Although this exchange did not lead to a fight, I have observed many situations in which sound practice did enact physical violence. Sounding often functions as a mode of posturing through which hinchas create dominant personae and establish hierarchies within the barra. Only those known for their sonic and physical toughness can situate themselves on para-avalanchas and at the center of Los de Abajo. These hinchas engage in conflict with others, demanding constant, loud vocalization from them in aggressive ways. Sound practice thus often plays a similar role to combat, enacting conflict and creating in-group distinctions. Anti-sociality and violence are also evident in chants where threats of rape, destruction, torture, and murder are ubiquitous. Although Los de Abajo do not vocalize racist utterances, many chants do seek to dehumanize rivals and destroy communities through sexist and homophobic profanities. In short, sound practice helps overload the aguante conflict with anti-social meanings.

Because of their ideological and emotional instability, fiestas can have both social and anti-social effects. Anthropologist William Mazzarella (2009) argues that affect is a useful theoretical concept in the sense that it foregrounds how public culture fluctuates between immanence and qualification, and ultimately utopia and dystopia:

> The crowd is always at once a concrete, particular crowd—these people, these bodies in this place—and an infinitely expansive formation. In that sense, the crowd is both the *Doppelganger* and the antitype of the public. And because it embodies in a utopian-dystopian figure the dynamic tension between mass affect and mass mobilization, it is

> also perhaps the starting point for an adequate reading of the politics of public culture (305).

Herrera (2018) argues that sonic practices of aguante can contribute to the deindividuation of hinchas. And deindividualized crowds can be "frightenedly unstable and vulnerable" (Mazarella 2009, 296). The ambiguity of fiestas make them prone to be signified and deployed in constructive and destructive ways.

Many hinchas criticize the politics of unruliness upheld by many members of Los de Abajo. Peter from Trovazules, for instance, thinks that the current frontline rarely deploys their affective labor properly. Disapproving of the violent tropes present in some chants of Los de Abajo, he composes chants that talk about "bullangueridad and the recovery of the club." Scooby thinks the same way:

> I've always defended the idea that our chants must have [political] content. As I told you, there are songs for when you're winning, when you're losing, chants against the contra. We should also have protest chants. I think we can put pressure on [Azul Azul] through that … protest chants could play an important role in recovering the club. I think that fifty thousand people singing against the company shakes the ground. And that element, the guys over here, the new generations, are not interested in that yet. They see it as a political issue.

Orozco similarly thinks that Los de Abajo could be more politically active. As he states in the previous interview: "Los de Abajo will wake up—which they already did, and everyone got scared. All of those who sold La U should be very scared, I'm not threatening anyone, La U has a lot of power" (Fernández 2019). He points to Los de Abajo's demonstration in Concepción as a sign of their latent power.

Las Bulla have actively defied the symbolic violence present in the chants. In addition to modifying the gender of the lyrics, they have altered their homophobic, adult-centric, and misogynistic expressions. All these changes have contributed to their female empowerment. Andrea explains:

> By changing the lyrics to feminine, first, I'm more identified with what I'm singing. So, I can sing stronger. Because if I say "soy bullanguero[61] de pendejo" [I'm a bullanguero since I was a little boy] sounds ridiculous. But if I say "bullanguera"—it comes from inside. That's power … It's about realizing that you're not singing about someone else but about yourself. And that changes your relationship with La U … That my relationship with the club is not so much about how I've been told, or how I always thought that it should be—a traditional, masculinized relationship … I'm a La U hincha because of something else. Not because of its history, the relegation, the idols, but rather how I feel. I always felt like a La U hincha, and I express that blue sentiment by being sincere with myself: I'm not a man, and that I'm not an hincha since I was a little girl precisely because I was a woman.

The hegemonic narrative positing that fan values are passed from fathers to sons alienates female hinchas, who have rarely received this patriarchal education. They understand sounding as a tool for authenticity and power, as Andrea adds:

> Women sound louder than men … It's what I told you about changing the gender of the lyrics. In general, women have a higher pitch. When a woman projects her voice … men sound softer. If men and women are singing at the same volume, women are louder. Especially if she's saying "soy bullanguera de pendeja" [I'm a bullanguera since I was a little girl]. It happened to me once at the Bar de Jorge [George's Bar, a dive bar where Los de Abajo usually gather] … I came with Fran. Fran has a deadly resonating voice … And Fran is a reveler and started singing a La U song—I can't remember which one. And there was another woman in one of the other tables. I started following Fran in singing very passionately. All the men started, too. The other girl also started. And the three of us started to set the tone. I can't explain it sonically, but we were the ones that made the volume go higher. The men tried to sing at our volume, and they couldn't. We responded by singing even louder. And they sang louder. It was madness … I think I'm respected because I was singing like that with Fran. When men see me singing and shouting … the way I look when I sing, people believe that I'm a La U hincha. That I'm not posing, following a trend, or anything.

Sound practice has empowered women, allowing them to interweave their fan identity and gender subjectivity while fostering female politics and sociality.

Unsurprisingly, sections of Los de Abajo have felt emasculated by Las Bulla's sonic practices. Sexism has ranged from critiques of how women sing to their practice of changing lyrics. Andrea explains:

[61] "Bullanguero" is masculine and "bullanguera" is feminine.

> It happened to me once that we were singing … one that we like a lot which is "Somos las hinchas más anarquistas" [we're the most anarchist hinchas, but gendered feminine] because we change the lyrics entirely. Someone behind us—a man, who's one of those who say "Zorramental" [in reference to the Estadio Monumental], "vamos a culiar al indio" [we'll fuck the Indian]—shouts "sing the song as it is."

Anti-social misogyny became more materially violent when part of the barra threatened Las Bulla on the eve of the 2019 International Women's Day. Las Bulla were going to deploy two banners, one stating "Contra el Patriarcado y la SA" (Against Patriarchy and the SADP) and another "Somos el Rugido de Las que No Tienen Voz" (We're the Roar of Those Women Who No Longer Have a Voice). Although they planned to highlight the banners with flares, they could not use them. Andrea narrates:

> There was a rumor that morning that people from the barra said that they were going to kick the asses of whoever used pyrotechnics. And who was going to use pyrotechnics in the stadium on March 8? And what does that "whoever" mean? Well, I got scared … I went to [Gate] 17 with Fran, and when we got there someone—I can't remember who, but a woman—said that Ferroazul was going to send their girls to bring down our banners with knives if we used pyrotechnics. I looked at Fran, and she had the same look in her face… I looked at her horrified because I imagined the Ferroazul girls [coming at us]. I know them because I've played soccer with them. They're tough. I'm afraid of them but I respect them. There's one with whom I got along once. And I imagined her coming to stab me. That's the biggest fear I've had in my life … Finally, a bunch of men surrounded us, and we turned on one flare. I don't know who turned it on, and you couldn't see her face, only her hand and the flare in the air. The adrenaline was brutal.

Later, Las Bulla met with Los de Abajo, who told them that some members did not want them to use pyrotechnics because they feared a ban on their instruments on the eve of the games against Colo-Colo and U. Católica. For some members of Los de Abajo, in other words, the aguante conflict is more important than other deployments of affective labor. This emphasis on unruliness and competition has even led them to the erosion of the social bonds of their own fanbase. As Andrea concludes, "we ended up as friends, but they didn't understand anything. Still today, they don't get it."

The importance of musical instruments also embeds them in social and anti-social relations. After the 2017 Copa Chile held in Concepción, for instance, a bombo con platillo fell out of the truck that carried La Banda de la Chile's instruments. The hincha driving the automobile was running from the caravan of Los Panzers, Wanderers's barra. Armed members of Los de Abajo went to recover the instrument. Later, they posted a picture on social media defying Los Panzers: "You had it for 17 hours, cowards, motherfucking Pampers [derogatory nickname for Los Panzers]. We went to your celebration and ruined it by recovering what's ours." The photo of the drum surrounded by weapons demonstrates how music and sound are spun in webs of sociality and anti-sociality.

Figure 10 Bombo con platillo recovered from Los Panzers and weapons. Screenshot taken from the Facebook page Barra Brava Fotos Chile

The subsumption of affective labor

Even though their affective labor is not commercially motivated, their fiestas do have socioeconomic implications—something Azul Azul is deeply aware of. See, for instance, the following statement by Azul Azul's Sports Director Rodrigo Goldberg:

> We're competing with clubs that triple, quadruplet our budget. But this club has something else. It has something that makes you fall in love, that seduces you, and that's

> why so many players want to come back afterward. That's something we take into consideration because there are players that have realized what U. de Chile means and have changed their minds. From not showing any interest at first to saying, "wow, it's La U, it's something important."

In a documentary about the 1994 campaign, Goldberg more explicitly links this immaterial value and its commercial affordances to Los de Abajo: "When they tell us, 'you didn't win a championship in 25 years,' [I respond] yes, and I'm proud of it. Because in those twenty-five years the most important hinchada in the country was born." A former U. de Chile player appointed by Heller when he resigned from the board, Goldberg points to the economic effects of affective labor and how the SADP incorporates it in its financial structure. For example, the company's most recent brand slogan is "Nunca Fuimos Solo Once" (We've Never Been Just Eleven Players). Meanwhile, Azul Azul uses Los de Abajo's lyrics and expressions to sell products and maximize profit. Miguel believes that "Azul Azul is an institution whose work is to loot the blue sentiment."

A poignant example of this economic seizure was the *banderazo* (roughly, big flagging) in the eve of the Superclásico against Colo-Colo in October 2019. In a nutshell, a banderazo consists of an hincha-organized fiesta during the team's final practice before a major game—a final expression of affect towards the players before an important match. As tens of thousands of hinchas typically attend, these practices usually occur in the Estadio Nacional. This time, however, Azul Azul did not let Los de Abajo organize it. Instead, the SADP took over, demanding IDs, restricting the attendance of hinchas with PES sanctions, and forbidding the use of pyrotechnics and musical instruments. The situation caused a generalized outcry, and fan organizations called on U. de Chile hinchas not to attend. Azul Azul's banderazo was accordingly attended by no more than a couple hundred people—mostly players' families. Los

de Abajo organized their own banderazo outside the hotel where the players were staying the night before the game. They posted the following on social media:

> The love we have for this jersey is immense and we've never turned our backs to our players. We believe in supporting the team on the eve of the game in a more direct way, without fences and restrictions. [That's] the true support our players and coaching staff need. That's why we call the entire hinchada to a traditional *hotelazo* where we'll give all our aguante to the team we love … Los de Abajo never abandon, because when the vultures are no longer present, we'll keep singing loudly! … We just want to sing to our team in these difficult times … we want our players to feel the love we have for these colors.

Nevertheless, the hotelazo was short as the police heavily repressed the event, launching tear gas and using water cannons to disperse the thousands of men, women, and children carrying out their affective labor.

Azul Azul has thus managed to subsume fiestas while simultaneously excluding U. de Chile hinchas from the club. As the SADP conceptualizes them as consumers, it sees any profit coming from them as consumer surplus. Put differently, fiestas are excesses of ticket sales—the most important economic outcome of stadium attendance for Azul Azul. While states and corporations have employed affective labor to turn retirees and unemployed youth into a meaningful workforce (Muehlebach 2011), the consumer relationship established by Azul Azul impedes U. de Chile hinchas to achieve a worker status. The fact that SADP ultimately values Los de Abajo as indispensable clients illustrates the limits of affective labor within communities of consumption—spaces that are always prone to commodification and fetishization. Although U. de Chile hinchas seek to defy the neoliberal seizure of their club through their affective labor, they end up reinforcing the mere structures that have silenced and excluded them.

Conclusion

Defender Julio Barroso scored in the last play of the game, giving Colo-Colo yet another victory over U. de Chile. For the first time in the entire game, the roughly one-thousand U. de Chile

hinchas that managed to get tickets went silent. Most of the Estadio Monumental celebrated the score frenetically. Before the goal, Garra Blanca deployed a banner stating "19 Años de Paternidad" (Nineteen Years of Paternity) as it was evident that the unbeaten streak would be extended one more year. We had endured projectiles, threats, police repression, sun, heat, and dehydration (the water of the stadium's bathroom was cut off at halftime), but the last-minute goal felt uniquely painful. Los de Abajo's frontline standing on the para-avalanchas looked at the field perplexed. AHA members did not open their mouths. Nobody even cursed. The police did not give us a break and forced us to leave the stadium while the Colo-Colo people organized a celebration for their idol Esteban Paredes, who became the all-time scorer of Chilean soccer. Seven games away towards the end of the tournament, U. de Chile remained in the relegation zone.

Figure 11 U. de Chile hinchas at the Estadio Monumental. Photo by the author

"What did we do to deserve this?" Miguel lamented while I was driving him back to his apartment. He asked me how I felt, and I replied: "angry and frustrated." I did not tell him how

sad it made me write about U. de Chile's relegation in my dissertation. He sadly responded: "The club is destroyed. Socially, too. We had two separate activities [i.e. banderazos] yesterday. We must recover the club."

A couple of weeks later, after a stoppage due to the FIFA International Match Calendar, the tournament was resumed. U. de Concepción had won earlier, so U. de Chile was going to face the match against Deportes Iquique as the worst-ranked team in the league. Players, coaches, and club directors defined the game as "the first of seven finals." Although the game was on a Thursday afternoon, the stadium was sold out. I was at a friend's book release but decided to leave earlier due to traffic. On Wednesday, high-school students had started to protest a rise of 30 pesos (less than one cent in U.S. currency) in the subway fare by jumping the stations' turnstiles. The police had to close down stations to stop the collective evasions. Los de Abajo called on U. de Chile hinchas to evade the subway on their way to the stadium:

> We're tired of this mercantile system that exploits us and steals us in every aspect of our lives. We're tired of this terrible company that has kidnapped our beloved club. We invite you to adhere to the different massive evasions or individually. Let's make the discontent strong and evident.

Although some people thought that the police could close the Estadio Nacional's nearby stations, I had no problems arriving at the stadium.

The game was tense. U. de Chile was not playing well, and Iquique was defending the tie forcefully, keeping the latter three points ahead of the former. The entire stadium vocalized loudly, trying to motivate the players to keep attacking. The chant interweaved utopia and dystopia:

Han pasado muchos años
Muchos jugadores
Muchos dirigentes
Se llenaron los bolsillos
Lo único que queda es la gloriosa gente
Esta hinchada se lo dice

Para que lo sepan esos jugadores
Aunque no salgan campeones
Hay que poner más huevos por estos colores
Y vamos, leones
Mojen esa camiseta
Y vamos, leones
Que queremos dar la vuelta

Many years have passed by
Many players
Many club directors
They lined their pockets
All that remains is the glorious people
This hinchada says it
So that the players know it
Even if you don't win the championship
You must grow some balls for these colors
Let's go, lions
Work up a sweat
Let's go, lions
We want the championship

In minute 84, the stadium erupted after a shot by midfielder Jimmy Martínez was deflected off an Iquique defender, crossing the goal line after making a strange parabola. After the frenzied celebrations, 45,000 people raised their hands into the air and clapped following the drums' slow tempo while chanting:

Lo más importante
En la vida es
Alentar al Bulla
Con optimismo y fe

The most important thing
In life is
To cheer for the Bulla
With optimism and faith

When the bass drums resumed the quarter notes, and after some rhythmical whistling during the break, everyone jumped while singing:

Salta cuando todos estén tristes (¡Salta!)
Salta solamente por la U (¡La U!)
Si un mal paso das

No me importará
Porque soy de Abajo
Y te vengo a alentar
Dale, dale, Bulla
Dale, dale, oh

Jump when everyone is sad (Jump!)
Jump just for La U (La U!)
If you stumble
I won't care
Because I'm an Underdog
And I'm here to cheer for you
Go, go, Bulla
Go, go, oh

The loudness and intensity were impressive. The entire stadium was a cohesive mass of sound and people moving along. The players held the result, and U. de Chile managed to escape the relegation zone. The stadium kept singing until the players left the field. On WhatsApp, a video went viral of captain Johnny Herrera with a trembling voice and tearful eyes while being interviewed by the TV broadcast. The loud chanting coming from the stands forced them to speak loudly:

> TV: Look at the people, Johnny. I imagine that this touches you. The first of seven finals. The objective was achieved. How're you? Good night.
> JH: This is La U, my friend, this is La U [pauses and looks at the people singing]. Fuck, it's hard to express what I'm feeling. We came onto the field as the worst-ranked team, and the stadium was sold out. I just want to congratulate the hinchas and the players. We did our best. We won the first final. We have six remaining.
> TV: Johnny, why are you so emotional?
> JH: Because that's how we're here in La U.

This was the last game of U. de Chile in the 2019 tournament. The next day, the biggest social uprising since the end of the dictatorship erupted in the country. The active participation of hinchas in the social uprising forced the authorities to end the tournament. Alongside structural changes, hinchas demanded more participation within their clubs.

Miguel once told me that the recovery of the club is a labor moved by emotions. This resonates with Mazzarella's (2009) contention that "any social project that is not imposed

through force alone must be affective in order to be effective" (299). U. de Chile hinchas tend to celebrate their affective labor as a positive exertion of sociality and defiance of disciplinary power. Michael Hardt (1999) similarly sees an emancipatory potential in affective labor: in producing and reproducing collective subjectivities, it has enormous potential for liberation, "even if those subjectivities are directly exploitable by capital" (96-97). Many U. de Chile hinchas conceptualize their fiestas as agonistic tools for moving their communities away from violence and domination.

Although I too see utopia in their affective labor, I also think that it can easily lead to more dystopian scenarios. Because neither sound nor affect can reshape power relations by themselves, the social pressures discussed in this chapter often insert sound practice in anti-social dynamics and continua of violence. If inequality, marginalization, and criminalization are not addressed, affective labor would keep fluctuating between sociality and anti-sociality. To ask soccer fandom to remain aloof from these dynamics would mean to hold it to a higher standard than Chilean society itself.

But even if hinchas are incorporated into a social project in which their affective labor is appreciated, included, and promoted, the fact that clubs currently function as spaces of consumption would continue to undermine fan sociality. If they are seen only as consumers rather than crucial components of the clubs' social fabrics, the SADPS will continue to exploit their affective labor as consumer surplus while denying them any social and political participation. Unlike other contexts in which affective labor has turned the dispensable into indispensable, hinchas have been valued as indispensable consumers, not workers. An excessive prioritization of consumer relations will always lead to the commodification and fetishization of human relations.

Although I have talked about sonic practices ranging from vocalizations to the use of pyrotechnics, readers must have noted that the voice functions as a privileged source of empowerment among them. The following chapter examines their politics of voice vis-à-vis the social crisis that erupted the day after the game against Iquique. I illustrate that they conceptualize the destruction of material voice as an exertion of agency and dignity.

CHAPTER 4

The Politics of Voice Among Chilean Hinchas

On October 24 of 2019, a week after the *estallido social* (roughly, social uprising) shook Chile, I attended Los de Abajo's second call to demonstrate in Plaza Italia—later renamed colloquially Plaza de la Dignidad (Square of Dignity) as it became the epicenter, if not synecdoche, of the protests. Earlier that morning, U. de Chile hinchas posted a text demanding the end of the state of emergency, the resignations of President Sebastián Piñera and Minister of Interior Andrés Chadwick, and more transparency regarding the tortures, deaths, and illegal detentions that human rights organizations had been denouncing. "You will not silence us," the statement concluded, "now more than ever we tell you that you won't intimidate us with your police state and that we'll shout aloud that Chile tortures, murders, and violates human rights."

Hundreds of U. de Chile hinchas singing around La Banda de la Chile crammed the terrace between Plaza Italia and the Universidad de Chile Theater. A banner stating "Somos Pueblo, Somos Carnaval" (We're the People, We're the Carnival) covered the hall's sign. I could not recognize anyone, but I joined the congregation, nonetheless. Many shirtless hinchas donned their jerseys on their heads in such a way that only their mouths and eyes were visible. Dozens waved blue-and-red flags and umbrellas while singing the following over the melody of Fito Páez "Y Dale Alegría a Mi Corazón":

Ay, policía, que vida elegiste vos
Pegarle a la gente humilde es tu vocación
Matar a la gente pobre es tu profesión
Y así brindarles a los ricos la protección

Ya van a ver
Las balas que nos tiraron van a volver

Ow, cop, what a life you've chosen
Hitting humble people is your vocation
Killing poor people is your profession
And so provide protection to the rich
You will see
The bullets you shot at us will come back

Although they mostly sang the same chants they vocalize in stadiums, they also created some contingent contrafacta to blast the cops and military. They also adapted some of their chants to the current context, attacking law enforcement instead of rival hinchas.

Figure 12 U. de Chile hinchas demonstrating in Plaza Italia. Photo by the author

I eventually ran into Simón from the Escuelita Libre Puente Alto and stayed with him. When Los de Abajo launched fireworks and turned smoke flares on, an hincha enthusiastically

yelled "¡Aguante La U, conch'e su mar'e! ¡Somos Chile! ¡De menores de la U!" (roughly, Let's go, La U, motherfuckers! We're Chile! A La U hincha since juvenile prison!). Other protestors joined them when they began singing "Oh, Chile despertó" (Oh, Chile woke up), the unofficial anthem of the social uprising. Unlike Los de Abajo, however, I was concerned about the pyrotechnics, fearing a violent reaction from the cops and troops supervising Plaza Italia. My fears ended up not being fanciful as, a couple of minutes later, the place was saturated with tear gas. The police launched it right behind us, so Simón and I tried to move towards the other side of the terrace. But as most of Los de Abajo did not move, the few of us who were trying to leave the space created a bottleneck in the corridor between the theater and the subway entrance. The gas began to affect us, and the people with children began to become increasingly anxious. My face began to sting, and I could not open my eyes anymore. I got nauseous and my nose started bleeding. "My head is killing me!" Simón shouted while we tried to go through the people. Despite the gas, a shirtless hincha on top of the bars of the subway entrance angrily yelled at us: "¡Aguanten!" (Endure it!). His cry was loud yet throaty. After screaming at us, he kept singing loudly with a round yet rather hoarse vocality.

Simón and I eventually managed to leave the place. A woman gave me some water spiked with bicarbonate to ease the pain and clean the blood from my nose and beard. Once I could see better, I realize that a bus filled with cops was coming directly towards the terrace. While I ran away from the imminent clash, Los de Abajo kept singing under a dense cloud of tear gas:

Que lo escuchen los milicos
Que lo escuche la SA
Esta barra no se vende
Esta barra es de verdad

Listen to it, military
Listen to it, SADP

This barra won't sell out
This barra is for real

On my way back to my dad's apartment, the cry and subsequent vocalizations of the hincha kept ringing in my ear, making me remember the often-repeated expression among U. de Chile hinchas: "cantar hasta romper la voz" (roughly, to sing until the point of destroying the voice).

Hinchas unanimously define vocalizing as aguante's fundamental sonic practice. Its vocality is characterized by the production of deep, round, and amplified open vowels. As anthropologist Andrés Recasens (1999) aptly describes:

> I listen again to that verse that "breaks your heart" because of its content, because of the way they sang it, in which the vowels were sung *rallentando*, the "o" was intubated turning into an "o" mixed with a "u"; and the mournful tone coming from inside, from the guts (55).

However, the husky vocalizations of the aforementioned hincha are fairly common, as well. When asked about forcing their vocal organs by singing nonstop during games, U. de Chile hinchas often reply that they must "sing until the point of destroying the voice." While this statement can be understood as a consequence of exerting dominance in the aguante conflict, my conversations with hinchas have alerted me to the fact that this extreme deployment of the material voice also points to a more vital issue. This insight became clearer during the social unrest of 2019.

With the social uprising as the backdrop, this chapter examines the politics of voice of Chilean hinchas. I argue that they conceptualize the destruction of their material voices as indexing working-class *dignidad* (dignity)—a moral category with social and political implications in proletarian Chile (M. Pérez 2018). Understanding their voices in moral terms, hinchas not only vocalize to cheer for their teams but also to denounce their deprived social conditions and defy silencing, criminalization, and dehumanization. But their desperate urgency to produce deep, round, and loud vocal sounds often leads them to vocalize until the point of

complete hoarseness. However, this vocal damage is not an accident but rather an intended outcome as they conceptualize the destruction of the material voice as an exertion of agency and human value. The emphasis on the destruction of vocal organs in order to produce loud vocalizations makes audible a politics of the body in which dignity is exerted through pain and damage. I ultimately contend that this politics of the voice was prophetic of the social unrest.

Aguante scholars have amply discussed the idea of *poner el cuerpo* (roughly, to put the body on the line), illustrating that hinchas purposely and systematically expose the body to pain and damage (Alabarces 2012; Alabarces and Garriga 2008, 2007; Garriga 2005, 2007, 2010). Hinchas frame enduring adverse climate conditions, police brutality, fights with rivals, and drugs and alcohol consumption as markers of aguante. Employing tropes of monstrosity, hinchas also prove their aguante by displaying scars, bruises, lacerations, and damaged body parts. Anthropologist María Verónica Moreira (2007, 2008a, 2008b) points out that, as hinchas put the body on the line in order to defend the honor and prestige of their clubs and peers, pain and damage are deeply moral categories.

However, amid the precarity, vulnerability, and disenfranchisement stirred by the Chilean neoliberal model, morality exceeds the sports realm. Through state terror, the Pinochet regime introduced a series of reforms that trumped the state's welfare nature and subsidized free markets and the exercise of individualism, competition, and ownership (Ahumada 2019; Ahumada and Mayol 2015; Han 2012; Moulian 1997; Paley 2001; M. Pérez 2018; Richards 1997; Stern 2004, 2010). The post-dictatorial state sought to maintain the country's macroeconomic success in the global economy by reinforcing this model while avoiding the social investments that characterize social democracies. As anthropologist Clara Han (2012) points out, the Chilean state has "displaced the responsibilities for care onto families and individuals, divesting the state of crucial

responsibilities for the well-being of the population" (5). Anthropologist Miguel Pérez (2018) argues that, in response to this structural disregard of care, the poor have deployed the term dignity to generate deeply moral ways of living and political activity. I contend that dignity as a moral category also informs the destruction of the material body among hinchas—a politics of the body that their ideology of voice makes audible.

Ethnomusicologists have highlighted how subjects rely on sound practice to navigate spaces of social deterioration (Meintjes 2017; Steingo 2016). Aaron Fox (2004) contends that Texan working-class culture, and particularly country music, has been largely "shaped in response to the commodification of human agency in industrialized capitalist society" (310). Presenting the country bar as a space of refuge for citizens beaten down by political elites, dominant ideas of social worth, and the alienating organization of the labor system, Fox richly illustrates how country musicians and listeners have incorporated and repurposed mass culture as a means to interpret and comment on their social pressures. In this context, the voice functions as an expression of "dignity and agency" (108). This chapter shows that hinchas understand vocalizing until the point of damaging the vocal organs as an expression of agency, audibility, human value, and ultimately dignity—a politics of the voice that has been shaped by and in response to the Chilean neoliberal model. However, as they vocalize in spaces that are not normally attended by hegemonic powers, their voices have remained largely unheard, regardless of loudness. Inaudibility is connected to the ways that social structures produce and sustain aural regimes (Bieletto-Bueno 2019; Voegelin 2019). These dynamics changed dramatically with the social uprising.

This chapter thus contributes to anthropological studies of voice. A material embodiment of social ideology and experience, the voice can be both iconic (capable of embodying particular

qualities) and indexical (cable of pointing to or index particular social identities and subject positions) (Feld, Fox, and Porcello 2004; Weidman 2006, 2014, 2015). Building on this Peircean semiotic model (Peirce 1965; Turino 1999), Nicholas Harkness (2014) points out that the examination of the *phonosonic nexus*—that is, "the intersection of the production and organization of sound, on the one hand, and the uptake and categorization of sound in the world, on the other" (36)—affords more multifaceted conceptualizations of voice and voicing. This is pertinent for this chapter's argument as aguante's body politics is not only voiced through vocal sounds but also through their physical, material exertion. In a way, this case study echoes Kelley Tatro's (2014) ethnography of Mexico City's punks, whose "physical exertions of extreme musical practices like screaming vocalizations" allow them to "explore alternative relationships to work and notions of value" (435). Unlike these punk singers, however, hinchas do not imbue the destruction of the voice with labor-based values, but rather with human value in itself. All in all, this chapter contributes to scholarship on voice by illustrating how a destructive intersection of the phonic and the sonic affords the exertion of agency and dignity in the midst of structural silencing and inaudibility.

The oasis of Latin America

On October 8 of 2019, ten days before the social uprising, Piñera stated that, "within a convoluted Latin America, we see Chile … as a real oasis, with a stable democracy, a growing [economy], we're creating 176,000 jobs per year, [and] the wages are getting better" (A. Baeza 2019a). Piñera's grandiloquence was not unusual as countless scholars, politicians, and organizations had systematically celebrated Chile's perceived economic, political, and social stability vis-à-vis other South American countries (Ahumada 2019; Richards 1997). This Chilean

exceptionalism violently collapsed on October 18. Asked about the social uprising, baffled analysts simplistically uttered that "nobody saw this crisis coming" (Márquez 2020).

The Pinochet regime dramatically transfigured the country's social, political, and economic structures. A triumvirate of military, neoliberal intellectuals, and businesspeople executed a *capitalist revolution* that imposed privatization, deregulation, extractivism, and a more distant relationship between the citizenry and state as the country's new organizing principles (Ahumada 2019; Ahumada and Mayol 2015; Moulian 1997). Sociologist Tomás Moulian (1997) argues that the constitution that Pinochet imposed in 1980 tied the state to these doctrines. Redefining the state as a subsidiary instead of a welfare one, the new constitution provided the ideological and structural framework for a pro-market mode of governmentality. Conceptualized "as the structuring principle of life itself," Han (2012) notes, "the market became the primary mode of governance, and the social became a terrain in which economic rational actors made choices in their own self-interest" (7). This significantly limited the poor's access to health, education, pensions, and housing, which were reframed as commodities rather than social rights. As economist Donald Richard (1997) points out, even conservative economists have recognized that the Chilean neoliberalization "went too far" in "the push toward greater reliance on market solutions" (150).

Nevertheless, local and foreign commentators disseminated a discourse that portrayed Chile as a resilient, competitive, and successful nation that was rapidly advancing towards development—an example of neoliberalism's developmental affordances. The foreign forces that mediated the country's new social and economic conditions tautologically supported and validated this hyperbolic verbiage. For instance, Milton Friedmann—who, alongside Arnold Harberger and their Chilean advisees at the University of Chicago, used the country as a

laboratory for neoliberal policies (Ganti 2014; Han 2012; Valdés 1995)—famously titled the country's neoliberal turn as the "Miracle of Chile" (Ahumada 2019; Richards 1997).

Post-dictatorship Chile not only inherited but also perpetuated the regime's economic, political, and epistemic structures (Ahumada 2019; Ahumada and Mayol 2015; Han 2012; Moulian 1997; Paley 2001; M. Pérez 2018; Richards 1997; Stern 2004, 2010). Often called a *transición pactada* (agreed-upon transition), the country's unique reconstruction of democracy was characterized by the pursuit of political consensus between the center-left and the right—compromises constantly scrutinized by Pinochet's looming presence first as commander-in-chief and later as a non-elected senator. The progressive disappearance of state functions and the quieting of social movement activity also marked the transition to democracy. Anthropologist Julia Paley (2001) shows that the post-dictatorial governments strategically marketed a discourse of democracy in order to politically legitimize the subsidization and intensification of the country's neoliberal economic reforms. As social mobilizations were absorbed by the state under promises of electoral participation, "many of the crucial decisions that affected people's lives were not accessible to the influence of citizens," thereby limiting "the scope and meaning of democracy" (100). With traditional forms of citizenship no longer mediating the social, credit and consumption became the primary modes of social integration and access to modernity in post-authoritarian Chile. As Han (2012) puts it, "social policies to address poverty have posed citizens as 'clients' or 'consumers' of public goods, women as 'mothers' to be civilized, and the consumer credit system [as providing] possibilities for advancement in perceived class status" (11).

The post-dictatorial governments also kept promoting an imaginary of Chile as a politically modern, fiscally responsible, and economically stable nation. Moulian (1997)

contends that the hyperbolic statements that accompanied these campaigns had both internal and external purposes:

> The semantic exaggerations used in this advertising campaign (Chile as a jaguar, Chile as a puma, Chile as a leader, Chile as developed) are not random. They are part of a strategy of exaltation aimed to incite 'patriotic pride'—the idea that we are winners. [It] seeks the internal consolidation of the model and identification with it via the idea "the admired Chile" (98).

In establishing parallels with the so-called *Asian Tigers*, these discourses helped to present Chile as an attractive place for transnational capital and production of wealth. These economic dynamics were also understood as the material base for the country's perceived social and political stability (Ahumada 2019).

Despite these rhetorical strategies, however, the Chilean neoliberal model has lacked dynamic sources for long-term development (Richards 1997). This has embedded the economy into short-term booms followed by periods of stagnation. Political economist José Miguel Ahumada (2019) shows that, after forty years of economic liberalization, Chile remains an extractive economy whose productive structure and patterns of specialization are not radically different from those of regional peers. Indeed, pro-market doctrines dominate the country's labor laws, unionization is heavily constrained, and most jobs are informal and low-skilled. Economists have not only linked this kind of peripheral growth with economic fluctuation but also with wealth and income inequality.

Precisely, this neoliberal governmentality has generated deep inequity in the country. Despite the myth that neoliberalism has reduced socioeconomic disparity, "local inequality has been increasing over the past two decades," locating Chile "among the most unequal Latin American and developed countries" (Atria et al. 2018, 4). This is partly explained by the subsidiary nature of the Chilean state, which both ideologically and institutionally refuses to redistribute capital equitably (Ahumada 2019). This and the privatization of health, pensions,

education, and public services have embedded the working class in debt and precarity (Han 2012). Poverty in Chile is not necessarily visible in the lack of material goods, but rather in the inability to find stable jobs, inhabit proper housing, or receive proper health care, "a kind of living that they construe as undignified and degrading" (M. Pérez 2018, 513). In the midst of systematic attacks on the dignity and agency of the poor, "dignity (or at least dignified life) as a moral category carries political significance from which to grow and at the same time become ethical subjects" (Márquez 2020, 671–72).

I exemplify this reality by briefly narrating the life of Riva, a U. de Chile de hincha. He was born and raised in a typical proletarian household in Puente Alto. His father—who abandoned his family for almost a decade—worked as a construction worker until a stroke and subsequent complications prostrated him. His mother has had several sporadic jobs including housekeeping, cleaning services, and security guarding. With his father absent during his upbringing and with a Colo-Colo hincha as an older brother, he explains his U. de Chile loyalty as follows:

> I don't know if it's a long story, but it's a kind of personal. At that time, my old man, when I was—how old was I? In 94-96, my parents were divorced. And [my brother] Tomás was already a Colo-Colo hincha. I was brought to Colo-Colo stadium, but I wasn't aware that I was in the stadium or that I had to follow the team. Nothing like that. So, at that time, everyone who lived in my neighborhood was a La U hincha. On top of that, I had a neighbor who invited me to his house to watch La U games. And he gave me an entire La U outfit: shorts, socks, and jersey. And that's when I became a La U hincha. And then I started attending games. And I identified with the team even further … people tend to follow successful teams. But not this team—it was different. Even if it was doing poorly, you felt more passion, more love. You suffered, but you lived the joys more intensely. That's why I became a La U hincha.

As a teenager, Riva found in aguante a space for belonging, empowerment, intimacy, and dignity:

> When we went to the stadium, we had to protect ourselves—together. At the stadium, when someone brought water bottles, you drank half of it and gave the rest to another one. Little things like that. If you had some extra money after the stadium, you bought

> some ham, soda, and everyone ate. That was the comradery. If there was a fight, you had to fight.

Today, Riva wakes up at 5 AM and travels about two hours on the public system to get to his job in a meat shop in northeastern Santiago. At 6 PM, he travels back to the house of his partner's parents in the city's northwest where he lives in a room with his spouse and toddler. Riva cannot currently afford a house for his family. On top of the 30,000 pesos (approximately 40 U.S. dollars) he spends per month on public transportation, he has to spend a significant portion of the 300,000 pesos (approximately 400 U.S. dollars) he receives every month on pensions and health insurance. Whatever surplus is left over, Riva gives it to his partner's parents. The four hours he daily spends on the uncomfortable public busses and the fact that arriving at his house late at night has become increasingly dangerous due to nearby drug activity have moved him to consider asking for a loan to buy a car. Although this would alleviate his everyday problems, it would simultaneously embed him and his family in the tensions of debt, scarcity, and kinship that Han (2012) has observed in other poor households in Santiago.

Despite these economic and social pressures, however, Riva keeps attending U. de Chile games:

> I'm waiting for my kid to grow up a bit more and will start bringing him to the stadium. [For him to have] what I missed: my dad bringing me to the stadium. I want him to see my passion … I'm sure that if he comes with me, he'll support the team. [He'll see me] chanting a lot, destroying the voice. Singing a lot, all the time. [That makes you] visible—a kid or a normal person. [You're] not a *flaite*,[62] but a person of the barra, a normal citizen, a Chilean.

These moral yet destructive needs for audibility and visibility are essential for my argument. As discussed later, forcing the phonosonic nexus to the point of damaging the vocal organs is not

[62] Derogatory class slur.

only an expression of club loyalty but also an exertion of dignity in the midst of socially structured forms of silencing and inaudibility.

All in all, Riva exemplifies the "mirages of the miracle" (Ahumada 2019, 229). The astonishment expressed by hegemonic discourses towards the social uprising only demonstrates the invisibility and inaudibility of the realities of those who have experienced the other side of the coin of the Chilean neoliberal model (Márquez 2020). Those who did not see the unrest coming were actually not seeing—nor listening.

Chile woke up

Because I celebrated U. de Chile's victory against Iquique until dawn, I woke up late on October 18. My phone was exploding with WhatsApp messages. The police had started to heavily repress the high school students that were evading the subway tolls. Images of the police tear-gassing high schools as kids sought refuge from the cops went viral. The repression enraged adults, who joined the evasions and sought to protect the underage protestors from the police. By the afternoon, people were gathering outside almost every subway station in Santiago while blocking the transit with barricades. The use of tear gas and water cannons radicalized the demonstrators, leading to riots and the setting on fire of busses, subway stations, and even government buildings. Santiago burned while *cacerolazos* (pot-bangings), honking, and anti-government chants filled the city's soundscape (Spencer and Bieletto-Bueno 2020). By night, poblaciones had turned into war zones, and different organizations began to join the emerging social uprising. Los de Abajo, for instance, stated:

> The Chilean people got tired of the abuses. [Today's] social uprising demonstrates it. Today, Chile's police—those who tear-gassed our children in the stadium and schools, those of the largest theft that Chile can remember,[63] those who killed Camilo

[63] The police have been involved in one of the biggest corruption cases in the country's history.

> Catrillanca,[64] those who don't pay the subway[65]—defend the system of injustice that exists in Chile. They're stealing our water. The public transportation treats us like cattle. There's no solution for the sacrifice zones. Our grandparents get miserable pensions. Grassroots activists have "committed suicide." Higher education is only possible through debt. We call Los de Abajo's hinchas to take over the streets and fight for our rights, trampled for so many years, and join the protests, cacerolazos, and mobilizations of the following days … Only a big struggle will make a big change possible!

Meanwhile, a picture of Piñera eating pizza with his family at an expensive restaurant went viral. Around midnight, he addressed the nation. Defining the protests as expressions of violence and vandalism, he declared a state of emergency in Santiago—the first one not associated with a natural catastrophe since the return to democracy.

Although Piñera froze the subway fare increase on Saturday, his violent response only radicalized the protests. As Latin Americanist Sergio Villalobos-Ruminot (2020) writes, "the thirty pesos came to represent … *everything* that has happened during the last three decades" (10). Several supermarkets were looted and set on fire while protestors clashed with the police and military. The protests rapidly expanded throughout the country, and the government declared curfews for the three major regions. The subway system was shut down and major events—soccer included—were suspended.

On Sunday, Piñera claimed that Chile was "at war with a powerful enemy" (J. P. Andrews 2019), reviving the tropes employed by Pinochet to justify state terror. Piñera also suggested that international forces—which incoherently ranged from Venezuela to Cuba to Russia—were behind the social unrest. Even though his approval ratings fell into single digits that week, he kept framing the protestors as delinquents. The riots and protest unsurprisingly continued the entire week, ending with a gigantic 1.2-million-person demonstration in Santiago on Friday. Although the government tried to label this demonstration as the end of the social

[64] Mapuche farmer murdered by the police.
[65] The police do not pay for public transportation.

uprising, the country remained paralyzed for months. In fact, from that week until the start of the Covid-19 crisis in March, every Friday was marked by a massive demonstration in Plaza Italia.

Figure 13 Demonstration in Plaza Italia. Photo by the author

But although the demonstrations did not subside, they never converged on a unified set of demands. Some protestors explicitly stated that "el neoliberalismo nació y morirá en Chile" (neoliberalism was born and will die in Chile) or that "Chile será la tumba del neoliberalismo" (Chile will be the tomb of neoliberalism). Others expressed a vaguer frustration with an unequal system in which an abusive oligarchy had impeded social mobility and equal access to the basic rights of citizenship. And while polls showed that the support for the social uprising fluctuated between seventy and ninety percent, they also illustrated that the main demand was divided

evenly between pensions, health, education, and jobs and wages (Cadem 2019; Microdatos 2019; Pulso Ciudadano 2019). This cornucopia of ideas and demands eventually coalesced around the call for "una vida digna" (a life with dignity)—a vague yet telling moral critique of and demand for changes in the country's political, social, and economic structures.

Although most protestors did not engage in violent practices, many saw them as required to shake up the system. This led to a celebration of the *primera línea* (frontline): a group of protestors who clashed with the police and military so that others could occupy the public space. When the life stories of these protestors began to circulate, it became clear that many were young people coming from extremely impoverished spaces. Many were hinchas. When asked by a journalist why they put their bodies on the line, they said:

> I'm fighting for my mother. Her pension isn't enough for anything: $60,000 [per month; approximately, 75 USD]. But I fight for the entire people so that we have real justice and have the same opportunities as the rich …
>
> We didn't have the opportunity the get education, or any other opportunity …
>
> We're not afraid anymore. I fight for my mother and grandmother, whose pension and salary (my mother's) combined is not enough for a month … even if they cut our tongues, we'll keep screaming, we'll keep bleeding for our country. Even if our veins dry out. Even if we all bleed to death (Andonie 2020).

The media expressed shock at the moral martyrdom and politics of bodily destruction expressed by these youths—bafflement explained by diverging ideologies of damage and pain among the elite and the poor. Many hinchas argue that scarcity, hard labor, social ailments, and lack of proper health care, among other conditions specific to the proletariat have not only hardened their bodies but also led them to see physical harm as a source of agency and dignity. This is partly an effect of the disregard of care, commodification of human relations, and structured forms of inequality in neoliberal Chile. As the state has stopped listening to working-class experiences, reframed citizens as consumers, disregarded the quality of public healthcare, and

dismantled welfare programs, some citizens have understood the destruction of the body as a moral expression of honor and power.

The celebration of the frontline coincided with the radicalization of state repression. Cases of brutality, rape, torture, and murder rapidly piled up. Congress accused Minister of Interior Chadwick (the supervisor of the country's law enforcement) of breaching the constitution in mid-November (he was eventually impeached on December 11). The impeachment trial and subsequent end of the state of emergency, however, did not ease the state violence. Although the troops were no longer in the streets, the police radicalized their behavior. Videos of brutal beatings, police cars running over protestors, shootings at health workers trying to assist injured people, and cops consuming cocaine before attacking demonstrators began to fill social media. Furthermore, cases of people losing their eyes after being shot by riot weapons directly in the face skyrocketed. Even though the use of riot shotguns was suspended in mid-November, denunciations of the police shooting tear gas grenades directly at protestors' faces began to increase. In December, journalists reported that the police had run out of tear gas and that their request for more riot weapons included sonic weapons (N. Romero 2019). By March 2020, the National Institute for Human Rights had registered 3,838 people wounded, 406 ocular injuries, 257 cases of sexual abuse, 617 cases of torture, and 34 deaths ("Reporte de Estadísticas INDH" 2020).

As it became increasingly clear that Piñera's repressive strategy was not working, the political elite began to recognize that major compromises were needed to subside the social unrest. While the left demanded Piñera's resignation, the idea of amending the country's structures through a new constitution began to gain traction across the entire political spectrum. In the dawn of November 15, almost every political party signed an agreement that initiated the

process of writing a new constitution. The pact was accompanied by the idea of coming back to *normalidad* (normalcy). However, as the agreement was reached without the participation of grassroots movements, many distrusted it, arguing that demonstrations should continue in order to secure the transparency of the constitutional process. Furthermore, many believed that some structural changes, such as the pension system, could not wait. Although the protests diminished slightly during the summer, they only definitely stopped in March with the Covid-19 crisis.

It is tempting to romanticize the social uprising, but it is important to highlight the sense of crisis that it stirred up among Chileans. As the social unrest continued, people became increasingly sadder, angrier, and more anxious. Although the hundreds who died, lost their eyes, or were tortured or sexually abused were often referenced in heroic terms, their pains and burdens simultaneously depressed the public opinion. The fact that many began to utter that "Chile acabó" (Chile is over) illustrates that a general sense of dystopia began to dominate the public sphere.

These dystopic sentiments were felt earlier in impoverished spaces. On October 22, for example, I attended the first call of Los de Abajo to protest in Plaza Italia. The first familiar face I ran into was Andrea from the Escuelita Libre Puente Alto. As I was aware that the repression had been particularly brutal in her vicinity, I asked her how she was holding up. She tremulously replied that it has been extremely frightening, adding that "just yesterday the military shot at our group out of nothing." During these days, the demonstrations in Plaza Ñuñoa (Ñuñoa Square), the middle-class neighborhood where I was staying, were marked by festivity and utopia. Despite this hopeless sentiment among the working class, the day after politicians began to call for a comeback to normalcy, upper-class neighborhoods woke up covered with graffiti stating, "normalizing is violence" and "normalcy is a privilege." Despite the generalized dystopia, there

was a sense among the proletariat that the social unrest was not less violent than their everyday lives.

Ninety minutes won't cover up thirty years

Although the barras of all teams participated in the social uprising, those of U. de Chile, U. Católica, and Colo-Colo, the biggest in the country, received larger attention as they brought the sounds of aguante more loudly to the protests. Alongside the two chants mentioned in the introductory vignette, Los de Abajo created another chant over the melody of singer-songwriter León Gieco's "Solo Le Pido a Dios":

Solo le pido a Dios
Que se mueran todos los milicos
Que se mueran para siempre
Para la alegría de toda la gente

I only ask God
For all the military to die
That they die forever
For the people's joy

This is a re-versioning of a chant that had circulated widely in aguante networks. While Los de Abajo used to ask for the death of Garra Blanca, Argentine hinchas used to ask for all Chileans to die. U. de Chile hinchas similarly changed some of their chants against Colo-Colo to attack the police and military instead. As discussed later, however, this does not mean that hinchas no longer engaged in the aguante conflict during the social uprising—quite the opposite.

The presence of hinchadas in the streets caught both protestors and media commentators by surprise. With hinchas singing, playing murga, and clashing with the police, protestors began to question the imaginary of alienation that the media and authorities have projected onto hinchas (Villalobos-Ruminott 2020). As hinchas tended to defend protestors from the police, for

example, many protestors felt safer with them in the streets. Los de Abajo, in particular, were grateful for the people's reception, as they stated on October 24:

> Long live the Chilean people! Today was a historical day for Los de Abajo as we once again were present in the demonstrations in Plaza Italia. It was honestly a pleasure to make everyone sing with our instruments and with chants that today everyone found appropriate because of the current context. We appreciate the space we're given as hinchada, and especially people's reception today.

As discussed later, nonetheless, the media and the government managed to re-signify the participation of hinchas through tropes of anti-sociality—maneuvers that hinchas themselves helped to reinforce.

Hinchas not only participated in the social uprising through sound practice. While many were part of the frontline, others deployed fireworks, Molotov cocktails, and gunpower to clash with the police every night in poblaciones. A few weeks before the social uprising, Riva had prophetically told me that "if there was another coup, they wouldn't have it so easy, because barras have tons of firearms." But it was the riots in stadiums—which eventually led to the termination of the 2019 tournament—that received larger media attention.

Amid governmental pressure to reinstall a sense of normalcy, the ANFP (the Chilean soccer federation) sought to resume the tournament after the constitutional agreement. Organizations of hinchas quickly decried this situation. On November 11, Los de Abajo stated:

> For years, we have experienced injustices in every stadium in the country. They repress us. The ticket prices are excessive, and nobody intervenes. Nobody does anything to make the situation better. They ask the families to attend the stadium, but they systematically drive them away. The fiesta and fandom don't kill, they give life! PES never worked—we've been saying this for a long time. Today, the country woke up and Los de Abajo, combative hinchada, adheres to the people's demands, and we took over the streets to be heard. They are failing here, too. Your system of sports spectacles never worked, and you won't cover up the blood with soccer! Pay for your crimes! We call every blue hincha and all the organizations from every [stadium] gate to adhere to a human chain around [the Estadio Nacional], everyone together holding hands in honor of the fallen. Balloons and shredded paper for the spilled blood. For our parents, our children, and the entire country. Los de Abajo won't enter the stadium for respect to the fallen ones. The struggle continues!

On November 19, they added:

> You won't cover up thirty years with ninety minutes. Los de Abajo are the people and we want to be heard. The guilty should be punished. We ask all the blue people to not attend the game. We categorically reject the restart of the tournament. They are taking our eyes out and want us to watch soccer.

Fiestas—collective exertions of affective labor through which hinchas have sought to foster community bonds and carve out space for themselves in clubs—acquired new meanings in this context. They became expressions of dignity in the midst of neoliberal inequality and state abandonment.

Soccer was resumed that weekend, but only one game could be completed. The second game between Unión La Calera and Deportes Iquique was ambushed by Garra Blanca, forcing the suspension of the game. Outside the stadium, Colo-Colo hinchas kept clashing with the police for hours. The tournament was suspended one more time and weeks later was finally terminated. ANFP declared U. Católica as champion and suspended relegation—U. de Chile would not play in the second division the following year.

The ambush also affected Latin American soccer programming. Santiago was going to hold the Copa Libertadores final on November 23, but the social unrest led CONMEBOL (the South American soccer federation) to move the final to Lima, Peru. In the days before the decision was made, hinchas had threatened to ambush the event. U. de Chile hinchas, for example, stated on November 4:

> To have the Copa Libertadores in Chile would mean covering up everything that's happening in the country. It would mean to cover up the human rights violations as they did it in the '73 [coup] … If you want to play [the final here], you must know that we'll boycott it.

Later that month, the players of the men's national team decided not to play friendly matches against Peru and Bolivia in support of the social demands. As captain Gary Medel expressed: "Chile today has more important priorities than Tuesday's game. There's a more important

game, which is about equality, about changing many things so that all Chileans can live in a more just country" (Ramos and Leira 2019).

Although many protestors saw the ambush as the ultimate expression of commitment, consciousness, and solidarity of hinchas, sports media framed it as sheer vandalism. These analyses became increasingly cynical, arguing that hinchas were seeking personal profit, not social justice, through their expression of dissent. As illustrated below, these criminalizing strategies eventually sought the complete dehumanization of hinchas.

The opinions of Juan Cristóbal Guarello, the prima donna of sports journalism, have long mediated perceptions of soccer fandom in Chile. He has systematically sought to separate hinchas from "normal fans" by arguing that the former are intrinsically violent subjects. Sociologist Camilo Améstica (2017) has argued that Guarello has sought to define hinchas as social anomalies: grotesque, fascist entities whose lumpenesque nature only lets them express themselves through violent and corrupt practices.

Guarello has concurrently become a hero of liberal elites. The son of a human rights lawyer, he rose to prominence by talking about the intersection of politics and sports in books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. By the eruption of the social uprising, he had reached a kind of superstar status, being invited to morning shows and other media spaces to talk about the social unrest. Although he defended the protests, he also detached hinchas from those demanding a "life with dignity." In so doing, he disseminated and validated among the left the criminalizing and marginalizing ideas that have significantly contributed to the radicalization of the aguante conflict.

Albeit long, the column he published after Garra Blanca ambushed the game between Unión La Calera and Iquique is worth quoting at length as it encapsulates how hegemonic discourses ended up framing the participation of hinchas in the social uprising:

> Barras are companies—a legit product of savage neoliberalism. They're always looking for new business opportunities, and they efficiently employ extortion, threats, and direct violence, which they effectively disguise as a hypocritical "unbounded" passion for their teams. One day they ask for money from the players' salaries; others, tickets; the next day, they ask for buses and money to attend games abroad …
>
> It's unnecessary to clarify that these are profoundly anti-democratic organizations, racist, xenophobic, with different rival factions and whose hierarchies are established through sticks, staves, and shots.
>
> It's thus not credible that these groups with no ideology, law, or god, in less than a month, have magically turned into conscious social fighters whose only north is justice, equality, and dignity. Those who were recently fighting in the stands over a simple banner, and threatening with sodomizing, and shooting at everyone on their path, are now the democratic, inclusive, and popular avant-garde, with touches of veganism and feminism.
>
> Even more suspicious is their stubbornness with suspending soccer "until all social demands are fulfilled, and Chile becomes a more just country" … What's at stake here, and I bring the idealistic and romantic ones back to earth, is a power struggle. If barras have already conditioned Chilean soccer, why not going for the entire prize? That is, to play when they decide it and [thus] surpass ANFP and the clubs. To grab hold of soccer's neck. Total control.
>
> From there, everything is possible: seats in the directory, a percentage of the players' salaries and transfers and, why not, part of CDF's money. I'm sorry to end your fantasy: there's no social demand here, it's just an opportunity for business and power. To move the fence one more time and obtain money (Guarello 2019).

Except for his frequent depiction of hinchas' bodies as disgustingly deviant, the text presents the core elements of Guarello's aguante theory: hinchas are alienated criminals whose practices lack social affordances.

Sports journalism took these words as axioms, repeating them almost verbatim in editorials and TV and radio shows. The following day the Piñera administration echoed

Guarello's column and argued that hinchas were behind the riots and lootings. As Government Spokesperson Karla Rubilar stated:

> There are very tough delinquent sectors—take note, I want to make a distinction—made up of members of barras, not soccer fans, who are associated with drug trafficking and the harsher delinquency and are taking advantage of this circumstance (A. Baeza 2019b).

As Rubilar's statement illustrates, Guarello provided the framework for a transversal condemnation of hinchas and their practices of dissent. Days later in his radio show, Guarello criticized hinchas' refusal while wearing an ape mask. The dehumanization of hinchas could not be more noticeable.

Figure 14 Juan Cristóbal Guarello wearing an ape mask. Screenshot taken from the ADN Radio website

Garra Blanca rapidly replied to Guarello's column on social media. As the post contains crucial elements of the politics of the material body informing hinchas' ideologies of voice, it is worth quoting at length:

> As Garra Blanca, we have been protagonists in the street during the social uprising, expressing discontent and supporting the popular demands that clamor for a more just Chile.

> We understood how much we can help as a social organization as well as the power we have if we act together for a greater goal. The struggle has led us to put aside our legitimate differences.
>
> This phenomenon has made the authorities uncomfortable and has also unsettled sports journalism. They lack critical analysis and can't understand what's happening in the streets. What do they have left? To rely on criminalization and demonize hinchadas' organized actions.
>
> For example, listening to the simplistic and biased opinions of journalists such as Juan Cristóbal Guarello, it is clear that they aren't capable of making a detailed and rigorous analysis of what's happening, trying to impose an uneducated vision that lacks total objectivity and is therefore erroneous.
>
> It's impossible to make a proper analysis without considering the genesis of barras. [Guarello] signals that they're a product of neoliberalism when we're an *engendro* [offspring, but it typically means monstrosity] of the severity of the dictatorship in poblaciones; youths with no spaces for amusement, expression, or sense of belonging to something. Garra Blanca's origin is completely social and rebellious.
>
> Guarello overlooks several political actions that we, as barra, have carried out during the dictatorship and the transition [to democracy]. His analysis rather discusses what barras were when they were polluted by club directors and [Garra Blanca's previous] disastrous administrations, who only sought personal profit.
>
> Garra Blanca have long recovered the role that should never been have lost: an active and combative role. You can ask any protestors in the street about the role and relevance we've had in the protests. Many even feel safer with us than the police.
>
> While the press and club directors think about the money of CDF and advertisers, we have in our minds and hearts all of those who died, were tortured, and mutilated. For them, and every Chilean, we'll keep raising our voice!
>
> With hate and revenge, Garra Blanca move forward!

The statement not only points to the dialectic of sociality and anti-sociality discussed throughout this dissertation but also to the politics of the material body. On the one hand, Garra Blanca question the idea that hinchas are merely alienated subjects, framing hinchadas as spaces of empowerment and community. On the other hand, they see themselves as offspring of state terror and savage neoliberalism. The monstrous meanings of the word *engendro* points to an understanding of the body as cannon fodder—a material whose immolation indexes agency and dignity. This politics of the material body acquired a deep sense of martyrdom during the social

uprising as hinchas framed their violent clashes with law enforcement as sacrifices for a better present for the elderly and a future with dignity for their children. The following section contends that their ideologies of voice make this politics audible: hinchas destroy the voice in order to exert agency and dignity.

The politics of vocal aguante

This dissertation has shown that sound functions as a source and expression of power among hinchas. It allows them to cheer for their teams, foster sociality, stage ideological messages, affect bodies and minds, engage in conflict and violent activity, and navigate normalizing power. What remains to discuss in-depth is that hinchas conceive of vocal practice as aguante's fundamental sonic practice. Indeed, the intersection of the phonic and the sonic functions as a source of agency and human value among them.

Aguante has a unique sonic voice. Raising their soft palates, hinchas place sound in the back of their heads instead of their chests or throats, producing a deep, round sound. Hinchas tend to emphasize and sustain open vowels (i.e. "a," "o," and "u") when vocalizing. In so doing, they disregard the Spanish elocution of open vowels: instead of voicing "a" as "ah," "o" as "oh," and u as "oo," hinchas tend to use the "schwa" sound (i.e. "uh") for open vowels. This practice makes aguante's vocality more loudly distinguishable in between verses. Scooby explains:

> There's an element that characterizes South American barras: the vowels generate an echo. Each vowel produces an echo … The songs used to produce an echo in [gate] 14 that spread to andes and reached the other side. From far away it seemed like a war cry that came from the other side of the hill. Like William Wallace.

More than prioritizing pitch precision, then, aguante vocalizations favor qualities of force, power, intensity, and participation. Herrera (2018) writes that "the high density of texture and timbre provides ideal cloaking of individual contributions that might not be too close to the expected pitches" (482). All in all, the collective production of round, deep, loud, intense,

prolonged, resonant, amplified, and texturally and timbristically dense vocal sounds indexes aguante's values of loyalty, passion, and toughness among hinchas.

However, aguante's phonosonic nexus involves a more destructive dimension as hinchas force their vocal organs to the point of hoarseness. This does not mean that they cannot endure long periods of loud, intense singing as they contend that vocalizing repeatably hardens the material voice. As Riva explains:

> You need to learn how to use the energy you have in your throat. At that time, we didn't have any money. We didn't have money to buy a soda. We went to the bathroom to try to wet the throat a little bit. Then, we came back to sing again. I believe that your vocal cords and the throat get stronger.

Nevertheless, although they believe that forcing the vocal organs repeatably develops physical resistance, they also recognize that these constant exertions have short- and long-term implications. For example, Rogelio explains the husky grain that currently characterizes his voice as follows:

> With the passing of time, my voice is now completely destroyed. Sometimes, as a side note, I sing for ten minutes and my voice doesn't come out anymore, but I have to keep going. I always keep destroying it. It's already destroyed.

Tatro (2014) notes that vocal damage is common among singers who lack vocal training. In addition to exerting excessive tension on the vocal muscles, the repeated opening and closing of vocal folds are more damaging when exerting loud, intense vocalizations. "Similar to the ways in which the skin will blister and swell more easily with repeated vigorous contact," she writes, "the vocal folds are more susceptible to injury when vocalists use such force, which causes the vocal folds to crash together in a potentially harmful way" (439). Although it is possible to learn how to produce extreme vocalizations in a way that minimizes damage, hoarseness, breathiness, sore throat, and vocal loss are common among those who vocalize loudly and intensely on a prolonged and frequent basis.

Yet, the destruction of the phonic is ideologically pursued and morally valued. Riva expresses:

> It's pure adrenaline. The noise is deafening. There, the most important thing is to destroy the voice and feel the passion that everyone who's there is feeling. Because everyone sings there—unlike [galería norte and andes] where people participate when everyone sings or when someone scores. No, it's exhausting there … you destroy your voice … You feel the passion of everyone who is there, [of those] who are singing nonstop, living and feeling it … There, you sing, you quiver. It's everything. It's the barra itself—the center of the hinchas' emotion.

Vocal destruction not only indexes vitality and community but also agency and dignity. In a previous section, Riva connects vocal damage to respectful fatherhood and the idea of being a normal citizen—that is, neither a consumer nor a social anomaly. Connected to larger forms of structural silencing and inaudibility in Chilean society, the aforementioned politics of the body, in which its material destruction indexes dignity, informs this urgency for destroying the vocal organs. Tuto states:

> In today's market-soccer model … we are only valued as things that increase the profits of a company. Our right is, after paying, to enjoy the spectacle. Before SADPs, that right was real. You had a voice [and] you could raise that voice and suggest ideas to help society. [Now] they want to silence our voice. We have all those kinds of situations where everything that defines us as humans is trampled and corrupted. And that's what scares me: that that dehumanization becomes normal. [So] we must leave the voice in the stands and the life in singing … We [must make] audible the voice of a lot of people who otherwise can't make it audible … the dignity of these people can't be sold.

Damaging the voice is thus a moral yet destructive deployment of the sounding body in seek of agency and dignity.

This insight became evident during the social uprising as U. de Chile hinchas began to repeatedly signify the destruction of the phonosonic nexus as voicing dignity. Los de Abajo stated the following when calling to demonstrate on October 24:

> For those who are no longer here and those who are not born yet! For our grandparents and our children! For no more repression in stadiums! For no more PES! Los de Abajo, the revolution, brave and combative! We're the voice of those who got tired of screaming for a life with dignity.

Amid systemic inequality, commodified human relations, state abandonment, and structural silencing and inaudibility, hinchas immolate their voices to defend the dignity of the poor.

Although Las Bulla also see the phonosonic nexus as expressing agency and dignity, their ideologies of voice are shaped by their female subjectivities. On November 24, for example, they stated:

> We are the roar of those women who no longer have a voice. On the eve of the commemoration of the international day against violence towards women, and in the context of the current social uprising that we've been experiencing since October 18, Las Bulla call our bullanguera comrades to take the streets and once again raise our voices together against misogynistic violence, the murderers carried out by state agents, and all the injustices we live in this capitalist society of fake democracy. We understand that the violence to which we are exposed every day and night just for being women is systemic, and the justice system and law enforcement don't protect us. Quite the contrary, they blame and question us every time we're abused, and we have the courage to raise our voices.

Las Bulla also conceive of the phonosonic nexus as a moral residue of agency, dignity, and martyrdom. But in a context where the state deployed sexual violence to silence female protestors, the moral and agential affordances of the voices acquire a gendered nature.

The limits of moral aguante

Despite this emphasis on dignity and solidarity, aguante warfare did not recede during the social uprising—quite the contrary, it intensified. Being more revolutionary, combative, and martyred than rivals became new additions to the aguante conflict. These struggles were not merely symbolic as hinchas began to compete over public spaces so as to be seen and heard destroying their material voices. This led to numerous clashes between U. de Chile, U. Católica, and Colo-Colo hinchas. Miguel narrates a particular situation:

> Yesterday, [I saw] two stupid kids with an Indian banner [while] another drunk asshole [was] starting fights …. When it was over, and we were leaving, two kids came up celebrating that they had stolen a Colo-Colo banner and a jersey. [Another] guy couldn't accept that Colo-Colo flags were in the square while we were there and started a conflict, all by himself, but when the Indians replied, his entire group got involved. In the end, the

> people kicked us out while booing us. [Furthermore], I personally told an Indian, who was literally ten feet away from [La Banda de la Chile's] instruments, to leave. I noticed that many were looking at him with anger, but I was quick enough to ask him to leave.

I personally experienced these tensions on November 27, when walking towards Plaza Italia while wearing a t-shirt that said "Volveremos" (We'll Come Back) with La U's symbol. I saw two people walking towards me with a flag, but I did not pay attention as I was checking my phone. When I raised my head, I realized that they were Colo-Colo hinchas. One of them defiantly snapped at me: "Qué vay a volver, madre[66] conch'e tu ma're" (roughly, returning to what, motherfucking mommy). I froze, but they kept walking. These tensions peaked in January 2020, when Garra Blanca ambushed Los de Abajo at the Estadio Nacional—they were gathering donations for victims of a massive wildfire in Valparaíso—and stole one of their official banners. U. de Chile hinchas retaliated rapidly, and violently stole almost all the official banners of Garra Blanca as well as some items of the barra's frontline.

Figure 15 Garra Blanca's official banners. Screenshot taken from the Facebook page Barra Brava Foto Chile

[66] A misogynistic nickname given to U. de Chile hinchas

In this sense, hinchas' behavior during the social crisis both defied and reinforced hegemonic discourses framing them as alienated criminals. In underscoring their ideologies of voice, I have not sought to romanticize hinchas but rather foreground the simultaneously productive and destructive, social and anti-social nature of their politics of the material body. This tension is at the core of the social crisis. The violent conditions created by the Chilean neoliberal model have moved hinchas to exert proletarian dignity while simultaneously fostering anti-sociality and (self)harming themselves. As the concluding section argues, the sounds of aguante, both in their utopic and dystopic affordances, were prophetic of the social unrest.

Conclusion

On October 24, hours after the demonstration with which I opened this chapter, I met with a friend in Plaza Ñuñoa. The festive atmosphere of previous days had only intensified: people drank beer, smoked weed, danced salsa, and played music. I could not but compare this party-like environment with the image of Los de Abajo singing under tear gas. My friend eventually asked me about my research. I told him that I was thinking about having one chapter discussing aguante vis-à-vis the social uprising. He replied, "makes sense: in a way, soccer fandom has long been making visible the subterranean problems that are at the core of this crisis."

Jacques Attali (2017) has famously employed music to present "the possibility of a superstructure to *anticipate* historical developments, to foreshadow new social formations in a prophetic and annunciatory way" (Jameson 2017, xi). He contends that, in the regime of Repetition that has dominated the West since the nineteenth century, the culture industries have taken music and meaning away from communities, silencing subjects and obliterating their power to engage in social negotiation. Despite this grim picture, however, he notes an

underground subversion in the collective generation of content—an emerging regime he defines as Composition:

> Composition thus appears as a negation of the division of roles and labor as constructed by the old codes … beyond the realm of music, [it] calls into question the distinction between worker and consumer, between doing and destroying, a fundamental division of roles in all societies in which usage is defined by the code; to compose is to take pleasure in the instruments, the tools of communication, in use-time and exchange-time as lived and no longer as stockpiled (Attali 2017, 135).

Music and sound studies have particularly emphasized Composition's utopia, arguing that, by re-appropriating "the means of producing art," it could return musical practice "to all members of society" (McClary 2017, 156).

However, some scholars have noted the socio-political shortcomings of Composition. Eric Drott (2015) points out that Attali's inversion of the base-superstructure relation ends up celebrating mental over manual, elite over proletarian labor. In so doing, Attali glorifies neoliberal freedom, thus making "an apologia for measures that would make an already precarious economic lifeworld even more so" (753). Philosopher Robin James (2019) makes a similar critique, arguing that Composition turns subjects into "entrepreneurs, disruptors, and the like—these might not be the instruments of our own alienation per se, but they are definitely the instruments that falsely liberate us" (49).

I contend that the vocalizations of Chilean hinchas were simultaneously utopic and dystopic prophecies of the social unrest. Here, I am neither adopting Attali's inversion of the base-superstructure relation nor equating aguante with the Composition regime. Rather, I am arguing that these unruly vocalizations—which destroy the body in order to exert dignity—anticipated the self-destructive yet deeply moral response of citizens abandoned by the state. These sounds were prophetic in the sense that they made audible a politics of the body shaped by and in response to the commodification of human care and relations in neoliberal Chile. To a

point, Guarello's contention that barras are products of savage neoliberalism is thus accurate. Hinchas tend to agree with this when they define themselves as engendros—monstrosities emerged and cultivated by violence, inequality, anti-sociality, commodification, and disregard of care. But this self-awareness as well as their participation in and conceptualization of the social uprising demonstrate the limits of Guarello's theories. The fact that neoliberal governmentality has moved some citizens to violence and criminality does not necessarily mean that such subjects are content about this phenomenon. Hinchas see their dignity affronted, which they defy through the destruction of their bodies.

Their ideologies of voice make this politics of the body audible. Hinchas not only vocalize to engage in the aguante conflict but also to comment on the inequality, marginalization, criminalization, and dehumanization looming over them. In the midst of structural silencing and inaudibility, they destroy the phonosonic nexus in order to exert agency and dignity. This chapter has thus illustrated the potential of destructive understandings of the voice in voicing agency, audibility, and human value. It demonstrates how the production and organization of sounds can exemplify larger ideologies about life and death, sociality and anti-sociality, solidarity and violence. This discussion of voice, voicing, and aguante continues in the following chapter. Examining how non-Arab hinchas of a team founded by Palestinian immigrants voice a transnational pro-Palestine imaginary, it expands the discussion on the political limits and potentials aguante as well as the role of the voice in embodying and performing identities, subjectivities, and communities.

CHAPTER 5

Imaginaries of Palestinian-ness Among Los Baisanos

"Ahlan wa sahlan! which means 'welcome' in Arabic," the announcer shouted through the PA system of La Cisterna Stadium, a rudimentary arena located in southern Santiago de Chile. The sun was beating down as the announcer struggled to impose his voice over the increasing crowd noise. "We are much more than a soccer team," he ended up yelling, "we represent an entire people!" That July afternoon in 2018 was the first time I was attending a home game of Palestino, a professional soccer team founded in 1916 by Palestinian immigrants. That day was also the first time in fifteen years that Palestino would play against U. Católica in their stadium. In the past, local authorities had feared that popular teams' hinchadas could destroy the stadium or surrounding houses. Thrilled by the event's approval, Palestino administrators decided to launch the campaign "Locales en Nuestra Tierra" (Our Field is Our Land), a project to bring soil from Palestine and plant it on the stadium's lawn so that "millions of compatriots throughout the world also feel our field as theirs."

The approximately one hundred Palestino hinchas wearing keffiyehs (Palestinian scarves) who populated the stadium's cheaper, seat-less stands were equally excited. At the stadium's entrance, a young hincha had offered me one of those black-and-white headdresses "to support the team." A gigantic black-red-and-green cloth banner with a golden map of historical Palestine was strapped to the fence, highlighting the approximately thirty hinchas that make up of the Palestino hinchada, called Los Baisanos. Although *baisano* is a Palestinian-Chilean

appropriation of a term of mockery for the Arabic-accented pronunciation of *paisano* (countryman)—a word they have long employed for fellow Arabs—Los Baisanos are working-class males with no Palestinian heritage whatsoever. Although Palestino founders envisioned the club as a space where Arabs could gather and socialize (Elsey 2011), the team is now followed by Arab- and non-Arab-Chileans alike.

Figure 16 Los Baisanos and other fans in La Cisterna Stadium. Photo by the author

A few minutes before the start of the game, the hinchas who were singing and drumming in the corridor behind the stands joined the crowd. One hincha yelled "¡Dale, weón, cantemos!" (come on, man, let's sing), trying to motivate his peers to sound louder than the more numerous hinchada of Universidad Católica. Thousands of streamers and shredded paper filled the air when the players finally came onto the field. Four men with fire extinguishers launched green, white,

red, and black fog, while the rest of Los Baisanos loudly sang one of the many Argentine soccer chants that Chilean hinchas have adopted to cheer for their teams:

Esta es la banda loca de Palestino
La que toma cerveza y toma vino
La que da la vida por los colores
La que les pide huevos a los jugadores
Para ser campeones

This is Palestino's crazy gang
The one that drinks beer and wine
The one that gives its life for the colors
The one that asks the players to grow some balls
In order to win the championship

Since the mid-2000s, Los Baisanos cheer for Palestino through aguante tropes, chants, and practices. Palestino hinchas have barely altered these chants, simply adding signifiers such as Los Baisanos and Palestino to them. Their adaptations include neither Arabic words nor references to Palestine. But the absence of Palestinian signifiers has not impeded Los Baisanos from linking their fan practices to an imaginary that pitches the Palestinian experience as a site of struggle and resilience.

This chapter examines how Los Baisanos understand their sonic practices of fandom. I argue that they conceptualize their aguante vocalizations as indexing an imaginary that conceives of the Palestinian experience in the Middle East as marked by struggle and resilience. Los Baisanos actively participate in the overlapping transnational networks that constitute aguante. These leftist proletarian citizens have found sources and expressions of power in these practices of fandom. As hinchas of Palestino, pro-Palestine images disseminated by the left, by the club, by Palestinian-Chileans, and by news and digital media have stirred their imagination, leading them to imagine the feelings of resistance that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must stir up among Palestinians abroad. And they seek to ground this imagined experience in their aguante vocalizations. This highly performative incorporation energizes them to vocalize more loudly

and intensely. However, this power is not only deployed to support Palestino and dominate rival barras but also to express solidarity with and raise awareness about Palestine. All in all, aguante vocalizations allow Los Baisanos to inhabit and perform a strong, intense, resilient, and politically committed imaginary.

A few notes on identity, imaginaries, and circulation are pertinent here. For decades, anthropology approached identity through "the graces of a transparent approach to indexicality" (Samuels 2004, 6) and "binary grammars that create a Self and an Other as mutually exclusive poles" (Baumann 2004, 35). Michael Taussig (1987, 1993) has complicated these binary views by arguing that the cultural politics of alterity should be understood as multi-layered, hierarchical, and compound, constantly fluctuating between attraction and repulsion. He asserts that mimesis—that is, the faculty to copy, imitate, model, explore, and become Other—registers both sameness and difference, similarity and alterity, likeness and otherness. This coexistence is useful to understand Los Baisanos's imagination of Palestinian identity. While affinity and intimacy mark their relationship with Palestinians abroad, alterity and distance characterize their relationship with Palestinian-Chilean hinchas. Even though Arab-Chileans tend to marginalize them due to their class and ethnicity, Los Baisanos understand themselves as more committed to Palestino and Palestine than Palestinian-Chileans, who they perceive as privileged and lacking markers of aguante.[67] But although pro-Palestine images and ideas put into circulation by the left have partly enacted Los Baisanos's imagination, Palestino and Palestinian-Chileans have significantly mediated their imaginary of Palestinian-ness. Arjun Appadurai's (1996) theories of circulation and imagination are helpful to understand these dynamics. Arguing that imagination is a constitutive social feature of modern subjectivity, he contends that ethnoscapes,

[67] As I discuss later, Palestinian-Chilean fans are overwhelmingly middle and upper class, tending to occupy leading positions within the country's political and business elites.

mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes are the bedrocks of "*imagined worlds*, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (33). Several media, technologies, ideologies, and groups have disjunctively mediated Los Baisanos's imagined Palestinian world—an imaginary that tends to separate Palestinians in Chile from those in the Middle East in terms of struggle and resilience. It is the latter's imagined feelings that Los Baisanos seek to mimic.

But since this mimetic embodiment and performance only occur through vocal practice, this chapter contributes to anthropological studies of voice and voicing. As the modern subject is normally seen as a repository of inner emotions, ideas, and desires, the voice is often presented as a metaphor of subjectivity, individuality, and interiority (Weidman 2006). However, complicating these transparent equations between voice and representation, Amanda Weidman (2014) argues that "speakers may have many different kinds of relationships to their own voices or words or that a single 'voice' may in fact be collectively produced" (42). This piece contributes to this body of literature by arguing that the voice also affords the visceral incorporation and consequent voicing of opaque, vague, and ineffable imagined worlds. Because vocalizations are embodied and repetitively performed, they can function as tools to bundle transnational elements with local practices and inhabit the resulting imaginative space through performance.

This chapter also dialogues with studies of sonic dissent. Benjamin Tausig (2018) has shown that scholarship on music and social movements has particularly prioritized expressions that resemble Euro-American manifestations of sounded refusal—especially those echoing the American folk music revival of the mid-twentieth century. This is particularly evident in writings on Chilean music, which have overwhelmingly focused on Nueva Canción, a musico-political

movement that, fusing folk, art, and popular music, has overtly supported leftist politics since the 1960s.[68] The academic romanticizing of Nueva Canción has not only resulted in problematic generalizations about the music's political impact (Party 2010) but also in a scholarly inattention to other forms of sounded refusal in the country—especially those of the working class. By foregrounding how Los Baisanos have politicized both stadiums and soccer fandom**,** this essay pushes ethnomusicology to think of sonic dissent outside traditional political spaces and through non-overtly political sounds. However, as outsiders to aguante tend to dismiss practices of aguante as disorderly expressions of alienated subjects, Los Baisanos also illustrate the mobility constraints of sports fandom.

Palestine in the Chilean imagination

Palestinians have altered the Chilean ethnoscape—that is, the landscape of people constituting the constantly shifting global world (Appadurai 1996). This migratory process began in the late nineteenth century, gaining momentum in the early decades of the twentieth century (C. Baeza 2012, 2014; C. Baeza and Brun 2012; Schwabe 2018). Christian inhabitants of villages around Bethlehem left the Middle East mainly out of fear of being drafted by the Ottoman Empire in the years leading up to World War I. Immigration officers classified these Arabs as *Turcos* (Turks), a racialized administrative category for Ottoman passport holders that would rapidly acquire more overtly racist overtones. As an overwhelming majority of these rather poor young immigrants started out as itinerant salespeople, the word *Turco* eventually became a synonym for peddler. In the 1930s, however, their status began to shift as their businesses started to flourish. The group's social mobility and economic success led to the

[68] Although these studies tend to talk about Nueva Canción as a deceased movement, artists such as Isabel Parra, Inti-Illimani, and Quilapayún are still active.

crystallization of numerous Arab institutions—social spaces that to this day work as central axes of Palestinian life in Chile. As Palestinian migration to the country significantly receded by the mid-twentieth century, most Palestinian-Chileans can trace their ancestry to before the Nakba—that is, the massive Palestinian exodus of 1948. Predominantly middle and upper class, the third- and fourth-generation subjects making up the contemporary Palestinian-Chilean community tend to occupy leading positions among the country's political and business elites.

As political scientist Cecilia Baeza (2014) explains, Palestinian-Chileans do not easily fit into national narratives marked by asylum, distress, and dispossession. But even though the trauma of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has not characterized their immigrant condition, the Palestinian cause for political and territorial sovereignty has played a key role in the social, cultural, and political life of Palestinian-Chileans. Anthropologist Siri Schwabe points out that narratives and practices of remembering Palestine have "served to hold together, and still holds together, collective Palestinian life in Chile" (Schwabe 2018, 662).

This community has saturated Chile's public sphere with pro-Palestine images. Although these images have been circulating in the country at least since the 1980s, they particularly intensified in the mid-2000s when, partly due to the pressure of the Palestinian-Chilean community (C. Baeza 2014), news media gave significant attention to the Palestinian uprising known as the Second Intifada (2000-2005) (C. Baeza and Brun 2012). Numerous pro-Palestine organizations emerged in Chile as a response to the violent events that occurred in the Middle East (C. Baeza 2012). These organizations—in addition to a wider network of students, activists, politicians, and wealthy businesspeople—effectively pressured the Chilean state to condemn Israeli policy. This activism disseminated conceptualizations of Palestinians as struggling yet heroically resilient subjects in Chilean society (Schwabe 2017). Since the revolt,

the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has remained an important subject in the country, receiving significant attention from the left.[69]

Precisely, leftists have played a key role in developing a pro-Palestine imaginary in the country. Although Palestinian-Chileans and local news media have been the source of pro-Palestine opinion, the left has also relied on social media to consume and remediate images of Palestinian-ness. Specifically, videos displaying destroyed towns and injured Palestinians produced by Al Jazeera and Telesur (a Venezuelan state-sponsored network) have widely circulated on leftists' feeds. Media scholar Zizi Papacharissi (2015) argues that digital media allows users "to feel their own place in current events, developing news stories, and various forms of civic mobilization," inviting "observers to tune into events they are physically removed from by imagining what these might feel like for people directly experiencing them" (4). Indeed, these circulating images have allowed the left to more viscerally imagine the Palestinian experience in the Middle East. But as these images often lack contextualization, they have led viewers to construct an imagined Palestinian world that is significantly "chimerical, aesthetic, even fantastic" (Appadurai 1996, 33). This is particularly evident in their misunderstanding of the different positions existing among Palestinians towards the cause for either partial or complete sovereignty. This miscommunication has reduced the Palestinian cause to the ambiguous motto "Free Palestine"—a vague yet powerful signifier of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in the country.

Chile's experience with U.S. interventionism significantly informs this Global South solidarity. The CIA-backed coup of September 11, 1973 has generated a robust anti-American

[69] By the left, I mean citizens who somehow resent the Chilean neoliberal model. Some participate in electoral politics including communists, socialists, social democrats, and (some) center-leftists. Others, such as anarchists and grassroots organizers, opt to do political work outside the electoral system. These citizens vary in demographics, encompassing the working, middle, and even upper class.

sentiment among Chilean leftists, leading them to feel empathy towards "enemies" and animosity towards "allies" of the United States. Precisely, the left tends to conceive of Palestine as a victim of a system grounded not only in Israeli neo-colonialism but also in U.S. imperialism. This conflation of imperialism and neo-colonialism has led leftists to create symbolic links between the Palestinian condition in the Middle East and Chile's past of U.S.-backed repression—an identification that has also generated a strong anti-Israeli sentiment among them. Two brief examples illustrate these Global South connections.

On December 13, 2019, with the social uprising still in process, I was walking by the epicenter of the protests when, among the numerous graffiti denouncing inequality and repression, I saw a message stating "Free Palestine! Yankee go home!" By conflating Israeli neo-colonialism with U.S. imperialism, the graffiti created symbolic links between the Palestinian and Chilean experiences with foreign powers. Many protestors saw the U.S. interventionism as the root of the country's inequality. For instance, when I told a friend that the *New York Times* Editorial Board had published an opinion column about the crisis, he asked rhetorically "Any self-criticism?" Others overtly blamed Milton Friedman and his Chilean advisees at the University of Chicago for using the country as a laboratory for neoliberal policies during the Pinochet regime.

Figure 17 Graffitti around Plaza Italia. Photo by the author

"Somos Sur" (We're South), a collaboration between rappers Ana Tijoux and Shadia Mansour, further illustrates these affinities. A Latin Grammy laureate born in France to exiled leftists, Tijoux has become one of the most influential voices on the Chilean left. A Palestinian-British rapper whose music heavily focuses on Middle East politics, Mansour's presence in Tijoux's album *Vengo* is thus not surprising. Interweaving tropes of resistance with phrases taken from children's songs, Tijoux raps:

Nigeria, Bolivia
Chile, Angola, Puerto Rico y Tunisia
Argelia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Costa Rica
Camerún, Congo, Cuba, Somalia, México, República Dominicana, Tanzania
Fuera yanqui de América Latina
Franceses, ingleses y holandeses
Yo te quiero libre Palestina
…
Todos los callados
Todos los sometidos
Todos los invisibles
Todos

Saqueo, pisoteo, colonización
Matías Catrileo, *Wallmapu*
Mil veces venceremos
Del cielo al suelo y del suelo al cielo vamos (saltando)
Caballito blanco, vuelve pa' tu pueblo
No te tenemos miedo, tenemos vida y fuego
Fuego en nuestros manos
Fuego en nuestros ojos
Tenemos tanta vida y esta fuerza color rojo
La niña María no quiere tu castigo
Se va a liberar con el suelo palestino
Somos africanos, latinoamericanos
Somos este sur y juntamos nuestras manos.
Nigeria, Bolivia
Chile, Angola, Puerto Rico, Tunisia
Argelia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Costa Rica
Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Somalia, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Tanzania
Yankee, get out of Latin America
French, British, and Dutch
I want a free Palestine
…
All the silenced
All the oppressed
All the invisibles
Everybody
Sacking, trampling, colonization
Matías Catrileo [a Mapuche murdered by the police], Wallmapu [territory in Mapuche language]
We will triumph one thousand times [translation of the Mapuche word *marichiweu*]
From heaven to earth and from earth to heave we go (jumping)
Little white horse, go back to your town
We're not afraid of you, we have life and fire
Fire in our hands
Fire in our eyes
We have so much life and this red colored force
The girl María doesn't want your punishment
She'll be liberated like the Palestinian soil
We're African, Latin American
We're this South and we bring our hands together.

Intertwined with references to disturbingly violent children's songs,[70] the rappers establish experiential links between the Palestinian cause and the Mapuche struggle for autonomy and

[70] Specifically, "little white horse, go back to your town" and "the girl María doesn't want your punishment," which are referencing to famous children's songs "Caballito Blanco" and "La Niña María," respectively. The former song states: "caballito blanco / llévame de aquí / llévame a mi pueblo / donde yo nací" [little white horse / take me away

ownership over their ancestral lands. The music video also seeks to connect Palestine with other Latin American subaltern communities by showing people in Andean and Arab clothes dancing together. People wearing Palestino jerseys populate the video, as well.

Figure 18 Person in "Somos Sur" wearing a Palestino jersey. Screenshot taken from the official video on YouTube

The confluence of pro-Palestine images circulating among Arab and non-Arab-Chileans has crucially shaped the ethos surrounding Palestino. The club, which has long worked as a space for Arab solidarity, has become an icon and index of Palestinian-ness. This has moved Los Baisanos to develop an intimate affinity with an imagined Palestinian world. But while empathy and solidarity has characterized Los Baisanos's relationship with Palestinians abroad, class and ethnicity have distanced them from Palestinian-Chilean hinchas.

from here / take me to the town / where I was born]. The speaker then adds "tengo, tengo, tengo / tú no tienes nada" [I have, I have, I have / you have nothing], which Tijoux uses to signify neocolonial powers. The latter song expresses "la niña María ha salido en el baile / baila que baila / y si no lo baila / castigo le darán" [the girl María's time to dance has come / dances and dances / and if she doesn't dance / she'll be punished]. Tijoux uses this text to simultaneously gender and radicalize subalternity.

Palestine's second national team

Arab immigrants founded Palestino in Santiago in 1916. One of the club's original missions was to disseminate a positive image of their community in Chilean society—one that could eventually enable their full participation in civic life (Elsey 2011). But its administrators not only sought to carve a space for their community in Chilean society but also to influence Chilean policy towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. As Palestinian-Chileans have remained in control of the club, the links between Palestine and the team have only intensified throughout the years. For present-day Palestinian-Chileans, Palestino has become a space to expressing cultural pride and solidarity with Palestinians abroad (Schwabe 2019).

However, many Chileans with no Palestinian heritage also follow the team. The expansion of Palestino's fanbase began in the 1970s when many non-Arab-Chileans became hinchas after the team won three major competitions in Chilean soccer. This non-Arab portion of the fanbase also grew in size with the population of La Cisterna, the working-class neighborhood in southern Santiago where the team has played its local games since 1988. Additionally, many leftists support the team as an anti-colonial gesture. In fact, I have seen many people wearing hippie and punk clothing at La Cisterna Stadium. These working-class and leftist hinchas have converged on Los Baisanos.

Regardless of their ethnicity, Palestino's physical and digital sites saturate its hinchas with pro-Palestine images. La Cisterna Stadium functions as an important mediator of the club's Palestinian-ness: the colors of Palestine cover every wall; the country's flags ripple throughout the entire stadium; the PA system plays Palestinian music while the announcer underscores Palestino's relevance for Arabs in Chile and abroad; and murals displaying people wearing keffiyehs, maps of Palestine's historical territory, and the team's badge establish deep connections between the club and the country. The club's website and social media reinforce

these connections. A quick look at them shows pro-Palestine emojis and texts and hashtags in Spanish, English, and Arabic.

The club's administration has persistently sought to establish symbolic links between Palestine and Palestino. A good example is the campaign mentioned in this chapter's introduction "Locales en Nuestra Tierra," which seeks to bring soil from soccer fields in Gaza, Beit Jala, Bethlehem, and Ramallah and plant it on the field of La Cisterna stadium. While the campaign's trailer interweaves images of Palestine and La Cisterna, its script makes these transnational connections even more explicit:

> We're the only professional soccer club that represents the Palestinian people outside Palestine. That's why we want millions of compatriots throughout the world to also feel our field as theirs … The love for our land is what unites millions of Palestinians throughout the world. A land facing a tough reality. But there are also hundreds of fields where the joy of soccer is experienced. We'll gather soil from fields in every corner of Palestine. Soil that would travel 13,000 kilometers to seed our field and turn it into the field of millions of Palestinians. A field where every Palestinian could truly feel at home. Where Palestinians could freely express what others can't. A soccer field where we could present our dream to the entire world. At home, with the support of our people. Palestino: one land, one club.

Scholars have discussed how soil and land index nation, place, and belonging among Palestinians (McDonald 2013). "Locales en Nuestra Tierra" is one of the many campaigns through which the club's administrators have sought to turn Palestino into a site for the expression and experience of Palestinian resistance.

Figure 19 Screenshot taken from the YouTube video of Locales en Nuestra Tierra

Hinchas outside the club's administration have tried to solidify the relationship between Palestino and Palestine, too. The documentary *Cuatro Colores* (Four Colors, 2017)—which narrates Palestino's history vis-à-vis the conflict in the Middle East and the Palestinian immigration to Chile—exemplifies these efforts. Pedro, its producer and a Palestinian-Chilean activist, invited me to watch the film in his house in Providencia (an upper-middle-class neighborhood in Santiago). We talked for hours about the film, Palestino, and the Palestinian experience in Chile and abroad. When I asked him about the documentary's main goal, he said:

> The relationship between Palestino and Palestine, always. Because the team … was founded so that Palestinians could be integrated into Chilean society. It was easier to do it through sports, competing with others. Later, in 1947, close to the [UN's] partition [plan], the team was amateur, the soccer branch was inactive. They reactivated it with a plan to professionalize the team. At that moment, it was a way to reaffirm that, with Palestino here, we were still existing, despite the partition and all the injustices. Because what happened in Palestine was a genocide. To expel 750,000 people from a territory—it doesn't have a different name. So [the documentary] has that dual objective.

Like many Palestino hinchas, Pedro conceives of the team as a space for raising awareness of and expressing solidarity with Palestine, Palestinians, and the cause.

Recently, Palestino's overt political stance has gained worldwide prominence after a controversial change in its jersey (C. Baeza 2014; Schwabe 2019). In early 2014, the club administration substituted the numeral "1" with a map of historical Palestine. Groups claiming to represent the Jewish-Chilean community as well as people arguing that the jersey politicized soccer condemned the new design. The Chilean soccer federation ended up fining Palestino over a technicality regarding the numeral, which led Palestino to put the map on a different part of the jersey. The controversy gave the team international reputation—a popularity that was solidified by the team's participation in important South American tournaments. Today, Palestino has a solid fanbase in the Middle East with people following its games via Al Jazeera (Schwabe 2019). Sebastián, a high-school student and member of Los Baisanos, explains that changes in the media- and technoscape have alerted them about this transnational fanbase:

> For international games, or just for a league or Copa Chile game, some people are awake at four-five AM. For us, they are one of us. On our social media, there are people from other countries who are Palestino hinchas. And those abroad tell us "hey, it was amazing what you did when the team came onto the field," "hey, we won, that's great, how I envy you. I'm so jealous of what you're doing in the stadium." That makes you feel good. That's why being a Palestino hincha is unique.

Trips to the Middle East to play games against the Palestinian national team as well as campaigns such as the aforementioned "Our Field is Our Land" have reinforced Palestino's identification with Palestine.

Unsurprisingly, the team is often described as an ambassador of Palestine and an embodiment of Palestinian-ness. For instance, in the eve of the second game of the 2018 Chile Cup final, Palestine's president, Mahmoud Abbas, told Palestino players:

> Palestino is more than just a soccer team; it represents a proud nation that struggles for freedom, justice and independence. Palestino is the legacy of those immigrants who had

> to leave Palestine, but kept their motherland in their hearts, creating this team in order to remind everyone that Palestine exists. … I would like to thank all of you on behalf of the Palestinian people, from the refugee camps, Gaza, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, to Santiago de Chile. On Saturday, millions of Palestinians and hinchas from all over the world will be cheering for you.

A particular sentence in this letter, which Abbas has repeated elsewhere (Schwabe 2019), has stuck deeply in the imagination of Palestino hinchas: "I often say that we are the only nation with two national teams, because you, regardless of your origin, are true Palestinians." In addition to reinforcing the club's Palestinian iconicity and indexicality, the phrase has helped hinchas to develop intimate imagined connections with Palestinians abroad.

Accordingly, many Palestino hinchas conceive of the team as a space for raising awareness of and expressing solidarity with Palestine. Pedro, who is also a club historian, thinks that the team has a political potential that surpasses the need for representation of the Palestinian-Chilean community:

> [Palestino] is much more powerful than any diplomatic corps. That Palestino has played the Copa Libertadores, and that Al Jazeera has broadcast the games—Al Jazeera has an amazing influence in the Arab world—that is much more powerful than any news about Palestine.

For him, this potential is intimately connected to soccer's capacity to disseminate symbols and messages throughout the world both in person and via mediated communities. But he also believes that the emphasis among Palestinian-Chileans on symbolic expressions of solidarity and lack of commitment to the club squander these potentials:

> If I worked at the club, I would've underlined its history and said "hey, the team is much older than the Balfour Declaration [a British statement supporting the establishment of Israel in 1917]" [Palestino] should no longer be oriented towards the Palestinian community in Chile. [Club administrators] treat [Palestino] as a minor business. I'm sure they'd never treat one of their companies like they treat Palestino.

Pedro reinforces his critique by highlighting the steadfast commitment of Los Baisanos: "Usually, those with no Palestinian origin are the most loyal ones. Those who don't have roots

and support the team try to be close, while those who have them don't feel the responsibility of being there with the team."

Palestino's non-Arab hinchas have developed an intimate relationship with their imagined Palestinian world. See, for instance, their December 8, 2019 statement about the social uprising:

> As hinchas of this club, we perfectly understand the repression, murders, and abuses of power facing the Chilean mestizo people, the Mapuche people [the largest indigenous community of the Southern Cone], and our brothers and sisters who resist the occupation in the Middle East. Therefore, it's impossible for us not to empathize with what our people are experiencing … The struggle continues!

Constituted by males coming from Santiago's most impoverished neighborhoods, Los Baisanos have found parallels between their proletarian experience and this imagined Palestinian world. The images put into circulation by Palestino, Palestinian-Chileans, the left, and news and digital media have led Los Baisanos to develop a resolute commitment to the vague yet meaningful idea of a "Free Palestine."

But despite their relentless support of Palestine and Palestino, Los Baisanos occupy a rather marginalized position within the club's social fabric. The confluence of class, fandom, and ethnicity explains this relegation. Although Palestinian-Chileans see Los Baisanos as club peers, they also tend to frame them as alterities within the club due to their proletarian background, non-Palestinian heritage, and involvement in practices of aguante. Inversely, Los Baisanos perceive Palestinian-Chilean hinchas as privileged and lacking passion, loyalty, and toughness. Chico states:

> A big part of the fanbase aren't Arab-Chileans. [Palestinian-Chileans] locate in *tribuna* [the stadium's most expensive section]. We locate in *galería* [the cheapest section]. Actually, we transmit strength to the paisanos … Los Baisanos are those who sing—the dogged ones.

Los Baisanos's ambiguous position towards the neoliberal model governing Chilean soccer also illustrates their marginalized position within the club. Like most teams in the country, a publicly traded company administers Club Deportivo Palestino: Palestino Soceidad Anónima Deportiva Profesional (Palestino Public Limited Sports Company). Los Baisanos criticize the model yet argued that the company has administered the club properly. Andrés explains:

> The issue of the publicly traded companies is complicated for barras. Look, for Palestino, Club Deportivo Palestino, I don't think that the company has affected it negatively. Compare it with Wanderers.[71] Compare it with Deportes Concepción.[72] Compare it with—let me think of another team that has gone down. Well, the best cases are Wanderers, which is going to be relegated to third division, and Concepción, which was murdered. In that sense, it's bad. They are traditional teams. But if you ask me how it has affected Palestino, I have to be honest, the company hasn't affected Palestino. No. As Club Deportivo Palestino, it hasn't been affected.

He suggested that the reason behind the company's perceived success is that the owners are Palestinian-Chileans and therefore care about Palestino:

> They are Arabs. Maybe one here and there isn't of Arab descent. I've heard that Palestino's president must always be of Arab origins. It's some sort of internal rule … that might be a factor, maybe. As I told you, it hasn't affected it so much because there are paisano people in the administration, and *la sangre debe tirarles* [roughly, their blood must make them care]—in comparison to those [teams] I have mentioned several times, the administrators of Wanderers. There are Wanderers administrators who have nothing to do with Wanderers. Administrators of Deportes Concepción who have nothing to do with Deportes Concepción. And they killed them. The company in Palestino, I repeat, in my opinion, hasn't affected it, not at all.

Los Baisanos have a completely different sense of ownership than U. de Chile hinchas. They do not think that outsiders have stolen the club as Arab-Chileans still administer Palestino. They seem to believe that, because of their ethnicity, the club does not fully belong to them—or, at least, that they have fewer political rights than their Palestinian-Chilean counterparts.

[71] At the time of the interview, Wanderers was in the last position of the second division.
[72] A popular team from the southern city of Concepción that went bankrupt and was disaffiliated from Chilean soccer in 2016.

All in all, various images intersect in Los Baisanos's imagination. As proletarians excluded by the Chilean neoliberal model, they have found in aguante a space for empowerment and participation. But their positionality as hinchas is also mediated by pro-Palestine images put into circulation by Palestinian-Chileans, Palestino, the left, and news and digital media. The disjunctive intersection of the media-, ethno-, and technoscapes has led them to develop an imaginary in which Palestinian identity moves between proximity and distance, sameness and difference. While they have developed an empathetic affinity with Palestinians abroad, their relationship with the local community fluctuates between comradery and otherness. As Los Baisanos perceive Palestinian-Chileans as lacking the markers of struggle and resilience that they imaginatively attach to the Palestinian experience abroad, they tend to exclude them from their imagined Palestinian world. It is this imaginary of Palestinian-ness that Los Baisanos seek to mimic through their aguante vocalizations.

The voice and Palestine in Los Baisanos's imagination

Los Baisanos posted the following message on Instagram two days before the *Clásico de Colonias* (roughly, immigrant derby) between Palestino and Audax Italiano[73]: "[now] more than ever we need to make everyone feel the strength of our Palestinian people." It was chilly and cloudy when I got to the La Florida Stadium. The green-and-blue light posts surrounding the stadium marked the territory as Los Tanos turf—the Audax Italiano barra. The week before, Andrés had told me to be careful when I get to the stadium as the Audax Italiano hinchas might ambush the Palestino fans. In contrast to other games, the security checkpoint was surprisingly fast and easy. The guards barely touched me after I showed them my ticket—the same with the

[73] The three games between Palestino, Audax Italiano (a club founded in 1910 by Italian immigrants), and Unión Española (a team founded by Spanish immigrants) are known as Clásicos de Colonias.

police special forces, who neither interrogated me nor checked my breath for alcohol. Italian pop music was blasting from the stadium speakers while I climbed the stadium's stairs.

Figure 20 Screenshot taken from Los Baisanos's Instagram

Two hinchas I had not met yet had already put up Los Baisanos official banner. They were now placing the long plastic bags that Max told me they copied from the River Plate hinchada. Right next to the official banner, they would later put up a white sign with a pro-Palestine message. Two white-and-green, beaten-up bombos con platillo laid on the stands. This surprised me as the authorities rarely authorize rival fans to bring their banners and musical instruments to away games. Across the field, Los Tanos were also setting up their instruments and banners while shouting scattered insults towards the Palestino fans.

It was already dark and quite cold when Andrés, Max, and Sebastián arrived wearing only jerseys. Max immediately told me that I should meet Chico and introduced me to a chubby guy wearing thick black glasses, a reggae beanie, and a Palestino jersey. Probably in his early forties, he was compulsively putting adhesive bandages on his fingers while dropping the

wrappers on the floor. After kindly agreeing to an interview, he put on some safety gloves, limped to the middle of the stands, grabbed one of the drums, and started to hit it strongly, making dust and drops come off its surface. Sebastián quickly joined him in the murga rhythm he was playing. The rest of Los Baisanos began to sing loudly while jumping, moving their arms back and forth, and waving Palestine flags and keffiyehs.

Since he is in charge of their social media, I wanted to ask Sebastián about the Instagram post during halftime. "It's important that people see that the Palestino barra supports the cause," he had told me a couple of weeks ago, "that it'll always be supporting." When the first half was over, however, Chico came to talk to me, so I could not chat with Sebastián. He was visibly tired. As he was still putting adhesive bandages on his fingers, I asked him why. He told me that he is a massage therapist, so he can develop neither calluses nor blisters. "That's why I also wear gloves, but not all work properly," he said while showing me their cotton-made interior. Knowing that Max sometimes plays the bombo con platillo and seeing other people switching the instrument with Sebastián, I commented that a lot of hinchas know how to play the instrument. "Yeah, that's great," he responded, "now I can rest a little bit." I asked him if it is too exhausting to play and sing nonstop throughout the entire game, and he replied: "yes, I started in 2008, 2009… by myself." The second half started, so I could not ask him or Sebastián about the Instagram post. A few days later, in our interview, Chico summarized his ideas about vocal aguante by stating that their collective voice "must sound strong, and that strength is related to the team and Palestine."

Los Baisanos seek to ground the feelings of resistance that they imaginatively ascribe to the Palestinian experience abroad in their round, loud, intense vocal sounds. This embodiment of Palestinian-ness via aguante vocalizations allows them to motivate themselves and encourage

peers to vocalize more loudly and intensely. They imagine the voicing of this transnational pro-Palestine imaginary as capable of influencing Palestino games, dominating rival barras, expressing solidarity with Palestine, and raising awareness among Chileans about the Palestinian condition abroad. I initially noted this mimetic process when I read the aforementioned Instagram post. But before addressing voice and voicing among Los Baisanos, I briefly discuss the relationship between musical performance, the team's petite fanbase, and the stadium's soundscape.

In a nutshell, the role of instrumental practice is to gather Palestino's limited number of fans (the team averages 1,000 people per game) and elicit collective singing. Although Los Baisanos express pride in their ensemble—which is made up of two trumpets, one trombone, two bombos con platillo, two snare drums, two surdo drum, and two bass drums—they systematically emphasize the primacy of the voice over instruments. Chico explains:

> More than more instruments, the idea is to have more people singing, and then, depending on the number of people, another murga drum would be added. But that requires time. We planted the seed, which is starting to germinate—we're starting to see the fruits after ten years … That's the idea. To unite [and] sing stronger.

He sees musical performance as a tool to reach peaks of vocal loudness and intensity—"explosions," in his own words. In addition to the strategic use of silence and variations in volume, tempo, and rhythm, murga's syncopated groove affords these climaxes. Drummers exacerbate this groove by emphasizing slightly out-of-pace hits. Precisely, Max, who is also a professional drummer, explains that "sliding on the cymbal" and getting a "dragged sound" is key for stirring vocal participation.

Los Baisanos's goal is to make the stadium vocalize the chants they have taken from the songbook of aguante. As per usual, Los Baisanos do not change these chants significantly;

rather, they simply add their own signifiers to the lyrics. Indeed, their chants contain aguante's hypermasculine tropes of passion, loyalty, and conflict:

Yo soy de la Intifada
Soy del Tino porque tengo aguante
Yo no soy como el Tanax
ni las zorras tampoco las madres
Aunque ganes o pierdas
Nunca voy a dejar de alentarte
En las buenas y en las malas
Yo te sigo siempre a todas partes
Palestino, quiero verte dar la vuelta
Es el sueño de la barra entera
La que deja la vida por los colores
Tú en la cancha, yo en los tablones
Pongamos huevos para ser campeones

I'm part of the Intifada
I'm a Tino[74] hincha because I have aguante
I'm not like the Tanax[75]
Nor the zorras or the madres
Doesn't matter if you win or lose
I'll never stop cheering you
In good times and bad
I'll follow you everywhere
Palestino, I want to see you champion
It's the dream of the entire barra
The one that gives its life for the colors
You on the field, me on the stands
Let's grow some balls to be champions.

The word "Intifada" stands out as unique within soccer lyrics. Los Baisanos explained to me that they have appropriated the term to signify the entire Palestino fanbase. Having the word written on the surface of their drums, they consider themselves as part of the Intifada. This song and the humorous "Oh, súbete al camello / Palestino, yo te quiero" (Oh, get on the camel / Palestino, I love you) are the only explicit references to an imaginary Arab world in their lyrics. In short, Los Baisanos's chants are conspicuously similar to those of other Chilean and Argentine hinchadas.

[74] Palestino's nickname.
[75] An insecticide brand, a derogatory nickname for the Audax Italiano barra.

I make a brief ethnographic detour to exemplify this. During a game against Curicó Unido (a team from Chile's midsouth), Palestino hinchas were singing their version of a chant popularized by the hinchada of Argentina's Belgrano:

Vamos, Los Baisanos
Hay que poner más huevos
Te lo pide tu gente
Solo pido que vayas de frente
Te sigo a todos lados
Siempre descontrolado
No se compara
Esta es la famosa banda baisana
Es diferente
Vayas a donde vayas estará presente

Let's go, Los Baisanos
Let's grow some balls
Your people are asking for it
I only ask you to not back down
I'll follow you everywhere
Always descontrolado
It can't be imitated
This is the famous Baisana band
It's different
Wherever you go it'll be there

After several minutes of chanting, Los Baisanos stopped to decide what to sing afterward. The few seconds of quiet were enough to make the voices of the Curico barra audible. Someone to my right laughed and said, "they are singing the same one," noting that the rival hinchada was vocalizing the same chant as them. The only difference was their use of *Curicanos* and *Curicana* (Curicó people and from Curicó) instead of Baisanos and Baisana, respectively.

Since Los Baisanos see the modular flexibility of the stadium's soundscape and lack of participatory ethics among Palestinian-Chilean hinchas as impediments for the collective deployment of aguante, they rely on instrumental practice to control the stadium's aural space and unite the fanbase around collective sonic practices. Chico explains:

That's the idea, to unite the people. They were usually over there or over here, but not all

> together. The idea is to be all together. Arabs and Chileans. [In the past, Arabs] didn't sing … Now they sing more.

Although this statement reinforces the idea that Palestinian-Chileans lack passion and intensity, it simultaneously illustrates that Los Baisanos understand sound practice as a way to symbolically surpass the class and ethnic tensions dividing the fanbase.

But Los Baisanos also rely on the stadium's acoustics to control its aural space. While the stadium itself contributes to the saturation of its soundscape, it simultaneously affords the amplification of musical practice. For instance, Sebastián believes:

> Palestino's ensemble always sounds well because of the stadium's acoustics … Since it's very big [stadium], it sounds nice … the singing and the drums are heard. For example, the trumpet and drums don't cover the hinchas' voices. When the trumpet and the voice of hinchas are balanced it's spectacular … The voice is how you show your passion.

Unlike bigger stadiums where only larger hinchadas can take advantage of their resonant architecture, La Cisterna Stadium's 8,000-people capacity allows Los Baisanos to take control of the soundscape with a rather small ensemble. This permits the amplification of their loud, intense, collective voice.

Los Baisanos vocalize in the aguante style. They also produce deep, round vocalizations, which is more evident when vocalizing open vowels. Palestino hinchas accordingly prioritize qualities of power, intensity, and participation. For example, Max compares singing in his cumbia band with vocalizing in the stadium:

> It's very different. In the band, you need to get and keep a clear pitch, softly harmonizing. But in the stadium, you must sing loudly so that we're heard, and others are motivated. No pitch, just following the note. Following the rhythm.

Like for other hinchas, vocal aguante indexes power and intensity, allowing them to claim dominance within the aguante conflict, affect players, and foster sociality.

Among Los Baisanos, however, these vocalizations are simultaneously filtered by their imagined Palestinian world. This is when an examination of voicing becomes pertinent. When I asked Chico about the aforementioned Instagram post, he replied:

> The story of Palestino is beautiful because it's a unique team. It's the second national team of Palestine—the president himself has said it. The beautiful part is that an entire country, which is not here, is supporting you from abroad, internationally. The idea is to help Palestine with the game and the chants. To help with what's happening in Gaza … You must demonstrate for the team and the entire country.

He told me that they imagine the drama of the Palestinian experience abroad and the feelings of resistance it must stir up among those in the Middle East. And they seek to mimic these imagined emotions and intensities through their sonic practices of aguante:

> As I said, you feel that strength. When we see what's happening in Gaza, the first thing we do is to put out a message against it and play as strong as possible, uniting the people … We sing the ninety minutes. [We're] never quiet. We sing. You saw us in the game against Audax: we lost 3-1 but we kept singing until the end. In fact, the players went to greet us. That's the idea, to make ourselves visible. In the end, this is a cry for Palestine.

Los Baisanos imagine their vocalizations as not only indexing passion, loyalty, and toughness but also the feelings of resistance that they imaginatively attach to their imagined Palestinian world. This mimetic embodiment allows them to construct and perform an intimate, deeply felt pro-Palestine transnational imaginary. Even though they produce the same round, loud, intense vocalizations of other Argentine and Chilean hinchas, Los Baisanos use these sounds to voice an imaginary where aguante and Palestinian-ness are merged through shared tropes of power and intensity. As the mimesis of this imagined Palestinian experience is completely bound up with the performative production of fan vocalizations, aguante and Palestinian-ness seem to constitute a Möbius strip that is performatively held together by the voice. The internalization of these disjunctive images motivates Los Baisanos to perform as a collective they imagine is perceived as strong and intense, powerful and resistant, steadfast and resilient, long-suffering and politically legitimate within their fan and socio-political milieu.

Aguante's political potentials and constraints

Los Baisanos conceive of stadiums and sonic practices of aguante as political. However, they do not express their commitment to their imagined Palestinian world through lyrics but rather through the vocal sounds themselves. For them, their vocalizations are not vehicles but rather expressions of solidarity and dissent. Instead of staging their sonic commitment in traditional political venues, such as rallies and demonstrations, they choose to amplify it in stadiums. The confluence of pro-Palestine images and resonant acoustics of La Cisterna Stadium has led Los Baisanos to understand the building as the best space to stage their commitment.

Chico's stress on *visibility* is not aleatory as activists often emphasize that Palestinian dissent is about a "politics of enforced visibility or invisibility" (Khalili 2010, 126). Schwabe (2017) contends that pro-Palestine politics in Chile "relies on securing visibility in order to secure presence, especially in order to secure a continued physical presence on land that is slowly being swept up from under them" (58). Los Baisanos believe that they help make Palestine audible and visible within their sports and media milieu through their in-stadiums vocalizations. But their performances become particularly serious when Palestino is playing in front of large transnational audiences such as in Copa Libertadores matchups. Although Los Baisanos cannot dissociate aguante from expressing solidarity with and raising awareness of Palestine, their activism acquires more preponderance when the team receives larger attention from sports media and audiences. Accordingly, Los Baisanos not only sing louder than in other matches, as Chico explained to me, but also accompany their performances with several other visual and sonic displays. Fireworks, colored fog, flags, and banners referencing the Palestinian cause are deployed so as to raise Palestine's visibility. In these games, in short, fandom becomes a political sphere that extends beyond issues of fandom and soccer.

Los Baisanos's ideas should not be dismissed as the naive discourse of fanciful hinchas. When I told Pedro about Chico's remarks, he replied:

> That's great. Well, considering that Chico probably doesn't know much about what's happening in Palestine. But even though he can't give you a clear explanation, he knows that there's an oppressed people. He's aware that each appearance of the team makes Palestine more visible. They kill people every day, especially lately, and the news doesn't show anything. A shooting in the U.S. is more important than some dead Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. So, if the team appears on the news and the Palestine flags appear, [Palestine] will be more visible … It's a way to keep Palestine alive (interview, 27 August 2018).

Baeza (2017) explains that diasporic grassroots efforts to make Palestine visible are critical in the quest for Palestinian human rights and self-determination as immigrants are capable of raising awareness in their respective societies about the Palestinian condition in the Middle East. In this political activism, she adds, Palestinians must act beyond their ethnic circles and build ties with local activists. In helping Palestino make Palestine visible in Chilean and South American soccer spaces and networks, Los Baisanos's performances can be understood as contributing to pro-Palestine activism. As Pedro states, sports, media, and fandom can play an important role in shaping how transnational audiences understand the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In this sense, their vocalizations can be understood as 'Palestinian resistance music' if the category is defined 'as the conscious use of any music in the service of the larger project of Palestinian self-determination' (McDonald 2013, 5–6).

But Los Baisanos's sonic dissent entails several limitations, as well. Although Pedro appreciates their commitment, he also thinks that these kinds of public manifestations must be paired with other modes of activism in order to more effectively mobilize the Palestinian cause in Chile:

> It's useless to call twenty thousand people, two hundred thousand people, one million people to demonstrate, if when the protest ends, everyone goes home, and nobody knows why they were demonstrating. Everyone can support Palestine, but if the cause is not understood, if people are not educated, nothing would change. So, my idea is to go

> beyond jumping on the stands [and] cheering for the team, which is super valid. But we must give this a more solid basis. It shouldn't be just demonstrating and chanting. This must have a basis, and it must be accompanied by a long-term project. It shouldn't just remain in the demonstration. There must be a consciousness.

Pedro aptly notes the perils of an uncritical glorification of public protest. This diagnostic also applies to politically committed music. Music can intensify a sense of identification, energize publics, and communicate messages, but it needs to be aligned with larger activist projects in order to effectively advance ambitious sociopolitical projects.

Pedro underlines two issues limiting Los Baisanos's political commitment. First, their vague understanding of the Palestinian cause constrains pro-Palestine activism in the country. Secondly, their sonic commitment has limited mobility in itself. Challenging theories that posit sound as an unbounded vibrational force, Tausig (2019) argues that sound could not only echo but also reinforce the limits and constraints of political movements. Although sound practice can generate a sense of identification, energize people, and communicate messages, it can also show "how agency caroms and fractures, how political actors often find themselves bouncing off walls rather than passing frictionlessly through them" (8). Sound is ruled by networks and relations of power from which it cannot easily escape or change. This is particularly pertinent for aguante as outsiders often understand it as purely violent and populated by alienated subjects. In the case of Los Baisanos, the perceived alienation and unruliness surrounding aguante have reinforced their insularity within the club as Palestinian-Chileans tend to see their practices as connected only to the fandom's rowdiness. And Los Baisanos's prioritization of sound over lyrics to express their solidarity and dissent has facilitated these perceptions: since they voice their commitment while uttering tropes of disorderliness, Palestinian-Chileans tend to see them as alienated from the club's pro-Palestine stance. Sebastián explains:

> Some people say, "we'd like to go to the barra, but we see that you don't have chants in support of the Palestinian cause" … There's one chant that says, "smoking weed, drinking wine," [and] they say, "how does that chant support the cause?"

Precisely, although Los Baisanos understand their practices as voicing a pro-Palestine imaginary, the intersection of their non-discursive commitment, aguante's unruly nature, and hegemonic discourses reducing the fandom to the boisterous expressions of deviant lumpen constrains their solidarity and dissent.

Moreover, Los Baisanos participate in anti-social practices. Conversing in his house in Puente Alto, Andrés told me about the numerous confrontations they have had with hinchas of Audax Italiano and Rangers (a team from Talca, a city in the country's midsouth):

> [We've had] many clashes [with them], inside and outside the stadium—always. People think that nothing happens—that these are small barras and that nothing happens. It happens with all barras. When Curicó plays against Rangers, for instance, when Concepción plays against Fernández Vial, it's a mess everywhere. It's just that the TV doesn't show it. It happens everywhere, it's just unseen … It's the soccer passion. It's part of it, sadly. Even if it sounds ugly, it's part of it. You can see it throughout the world.

He added that Los Baisanos members from San Bernardo, a borough in the southwest of Santiago, have an entire square painted with Palestino colors. He called them "pesaditos" (heavy, tough), suggesting that they possess the toughness and combat knowledge required to defend their turf. Andrés also told me that Los Baisanos have to be extremely careful with their main banner as rival barras see it as a potential war trophy. Made up of the team's colors—black, red, green, and white, that is, the colors of the Palestine flag—it exhibits their name in capital letters surrounded by Palestino badges on each side. In between the words, a golden drawing of Palestine's historical map stands up. Andrés said that Rangers hinchas once stole the banner, but Los Baisanos "recovered it, and the Rangers guys didn't react peacefully."

Conclusion

"¡Dale campeón, dale campeón!" (go champion), La Cisterna Stadium sang ecstatically over the melody of the "Marcha Peronista." Several flares illuminated the Palestino hinchas, who were jumping and waving thousands of Palestine flags completely out of their minds. A middle-age Palestinian-Chilean with tears in his eyes yelled "finally!" while children wearing Palestino's youth academy jerseys jumped and shouted: "we are the champions!" Once they received the cup, the Palestino players came immediately to salute and thank Los Baisanos for their support. Alarming the guards, Palestino's left winger climbed to the top of the fence that separated the field from the stands and showed the cup to the hinchas, telling them that they were as responsible as the players for the victory. Another player took a giant Palestine flag that a shirtless hincha was waving on top of the fence and brought it back to the field. The stadium roared when he waved it eagerly in front of the TV cameras. Behind the stands, two cranes held a beaten-up, gigantic one-hundred-foot Palestine flag while the scoreboard displayed an image that highlighted the Copa Chile Palestino had just won, its first major championship in forty years. The following day the Palestine president sent another letter to the players, from which I have selected the following paragraph:

> On May 28th 1965, FIFA sent a telegram to the Palestine Football Association (PFA) rejecting our request for membership in the organization. "There is no country called Palestine" they said. Today, Palestine is a full member of FIFA, our national team will be playing in the Asian Cup in January, while at the same time our second national team, Palestino, will be playing Copa Libertadores. The steadfastness of our people, both in homeland and in the Diaspora, has proven that Palestine exists. Palestino is way more than just a football team. Sooner than later we shall fulfill our common dream: Freedom for Palestine.

The social media of Palestino and Los Baisanos collapsed with English, Spanish, and Arabic posts from Palestinians thanking the team for the victory. Many of them also congratulated the hinchas for their unconditional support during the game.

Los Baisanos show how people can employ the voice to mimic, embody, and perform ambiguous imaginaries in their construction of selves and communities. They murkily merge aguante's intensity with an opaque imaginary of Palestinian-ness that is characterized by struggle and resilience. At the moment of vocal performance, however, these tensions are stabilized, making this mimesis viscerally real, politically valid, and unambiguously coherent. In voicing these disjunctive images, Los Baisanos perceive themselves as a powerful, loyal, and socially conscious collective. This case study illustrates the voice's capacity to mediate, bundle, inhabit and perform transnationally circulating and apparently disjunctive images. It is ultimately an example of the endless creative potentials of voicing.

Los Baisanos also illustrate the ways that images of geographically distant groups circulate and coalesce in people's imaginations, leading them to construct imagined worlds. With the -scapes saturating the public spheres with disjunctive symbols and values, contemporary subjects are increasingly prone to consume images that they do not always fully understand. Los Baisanos have found resonances between their proletarian experience and the disjunctive images constituting their imagined Palestinian world. In so doing, they have established a transnational affinity in which Palestinian-Chileans are excluded—subjects who have paradoxically mediated Los Baisanos's imaginary of Palestinian-ness. However, although Palestine functions as a vague and abstract symbol of subaltern struggle and power among Los Baisanos, tangible expressions of 'authentic' Palestinians help validate this imaginary. Messages on social media from Middle Eastern supporters, letters from President Abbas, and visits from Palestinian teams have helped concretize and authenticate their murky imaginary of Palestinian-ness. This case study thus illustrates that transnational formations and cosmopolitan subjectivities are forged in the confluence of imagination, mediation, and face-to-face communication.

The voice not only affords the embodiment of imagined experiences but also the expression of solidarity and dissent. While Los Baisanos rely on vague, if not stereotyped, images of Palestinian-ness, they have simultaneously developed a fully committed pro-Palestine stance. The politicization of aguante, albeit constrained, challenges understandings of aguante as merely unruly, underscoring the potential of stadiums and sound practice to express political commitment. Although cheering for Palestino is a gateway to voice support for the Palestinian cause, there are moments in which Los Baisanos' sonic activism becomes more important than aguante and soccer competitions. For example, in games with large transnational audiences, where they can more efficaciously help make Palestine more audible and visible. It is in these situations that their vocalizations more effectively contribute to pro-Palestine politics. On the contrary, when they stress aguante's violent logics, their sonic activism is significantly constrained.

The fact that Los Baisanos understand their vocalizations as political sounds brings into question deeply rooted assumptions in ethnomusicology. During the 2020 protests over racism and violence against African Americans, for instance, an exchange on the Society for Ethnomusicology Listserv focused on the fact that demonstrators were not singing political anthems, unlike in previous American social movements. However, the fact that Black Lives Matter protestors did vocalize during protests like Los Baisanos, demonstrates that music must be conceptualized as a political tool—not something that simply takes politics as its subject. This case study thus illustrates how dissent can be made audible through sonic practices that are not overtly political. Furthermore, it also shows how sports and stadiums can amplify political postures, thus pushing ethnomusicology to examine sounded refusal outside traditional political venues and organizations.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has contributed to anthropology and music and sound studies by foregrounding the overlap of sociality and anti-sociality in sound practice in violent conflicts. I have shown that aguante has fostered alternative social imaginaries as well as modes of interaction with social and anti-social effects. Indeed, the sonic practices of fandom discussed throughout this study have fostered community while eroding social bonds, have defied structural silencing while strengthening neoliberal structures, have voiced dignity while dehumanizing subjects, have expressed solidarity while constraining political mobility, and have established translocal affinities while transnationalizing violence. While the human sciences have tended to talk about sound as either social or anti-social—a force that either brings people together or contributes to violence—my dissertation has presented sound as simultaneously productive and destructive, harmonic and dissonant, utopian and dystopian.

This duality of sounded aguante is tied to the fact that sound functions as a source and expression of power among hinchas. Capable of disturbing bodies and minds, it allows them to exert dominance within the aguante conflict and affect either positively or negatively players, peers, rivals, and ultimately games. But sound practice also allows hinchas to exert agency within larger societal dynamics. Through sound, they defy disciplinary forces, glorify criminality, express dignity, develop connections with subalterns elsewhere, create a sense of place regardless of physical exile, carve out spaces for themselves in institutions that exclude them as mere consumers, and create alternative social imaginaries and modes of sociality.

The understanding of sound as a source and expression of power is the core tenet of the acoustemology of conflict that has crystallized around aguante. Hinchas have expanded the symbolic conflict that soccer entails, turning relations between hinchadas into intergroup hostility. The struggles that have grown around aguante have altered conceptualizations and uses of sound and music, reframing practices of voicing, silencing, sounding, listening, and musicking in terms of conflict. Hinchas engage in this intergroup struggle by sounding loudly, voicing dominance, silencing others, and deploying musical creativity, among others. Although some of these practices allow the enactment of conflict without relying on violence, anti-social meanings have radicalized subjectivities. Radicalized hinchas no longer see rivals as adversaries within a sports competition but rather as enemies within a multi-dimensional social conflict in which combat, torture, and murder are valid modes of engagement. Sound practice has played a key role in this transformation of aguante into a violent conflict.

This acoustemology of conflict contributes to two bodies of literature. First, it intervenes in aguante scholarship, which has overwhelmingly focused on physical violence, thereby overlooking the social relevance of other fan practices in soccer fandom. Second, it invites music and sound studies to deconstruct the relationship between conflict and violence. While much of this scholarship has tended to equate the two concepts, this dissertation has demonstrated that conflict and violence, albeit often intertwined, are discrete phenomena. In contexts like aguante, violence entails a radicalization of a conflict due to the oversaturation of subjectivities with anti-social meanings. The idea of the existence of an acoustemology of conflict also recognizes the fact that intergroup hostility can function as a stable, structuring force, thus contradicting writings presenting conflict as a tension that requires resolution—a dyad that music scholars have employed to make ethnocentric parallels with Western music.

I have also shown that aguante circulation is a culture-making process that has fostered cosmopolitan identities and subject positions. Woven by human, digital, and analog loops, aguante's multisited patchwork has put disparate hinchas in dialogue and conflict regardless of national borders. This dissertation has contributed to writings on circulation and transnationalism by illustrating that anti-sociality and violence can foster alternative cosmopolitan identities, subjectivities, and cultural formations.

Covid-19, schizophonia, and the future of aguante

This dissertation has shown that sound practice mediates the experience of soccer in the Southern Cone. Sound is an essential component of the assemblage of humans and materialities that constitute soccer events, mediating the sensorial disposition of coaches, players, and spectators. Simply put, sonic aguante have become the default emotional and affective state for experiencing games.

The centrality of sound practice in soccer could not become clearer than during the Covid-19 pandemic. Like in Europe and the United States, South American sports networks and club officials expressed anxiety about resuming sports without in-person spectators. As they could not fathom games without sound, they employed fake crowd noise to generate a sense of normal aurality during games. However, they not only blasted sounded aguante through stadiums speakers but also through TV broadcasts. In other words, they had one recording affecting players, and another one mediating the emotional stance of TV audiences. The recording of hinchas whistling, playing murga porteña, and especially vocalizing chants were understood as crucial for the reactivation of the sports-media industry.

Fake crowd noise implies a separation of bodies and sound. Murray Schafer (1994) coined the term *schizophonia* to criticize the alienating saturation of urban soundscapes produced

by the splitting of sound from their original sources after the Industrial Revolution. He wanted to convey a "sense of aberration and drama" over the configuration of "a synthetic soundscape in which natural sounds are becoming increasingly unnatural while machine-made substitutes are providing the operative signals directing modern life" (91). Feld (1994) employed the term to discuss the anxieties stirred by the commodification and industrialization of non-Western sounds by the World Music industry. Schizophonia's nervousness, he notes, points to "mediated music, commodified grooves, sounds split from sources, consumer products with few if any contextual linkages to the processes, practices, and forms of participation that could give them meaning within local communities" (259). I argue that the splitting of bodies and sounded aguante, and subsequent deployment of these recorded sounds on television and in stadiums entail a process of commodification that has raised reasonable anxieties about human value among hinchas.

This schizophonic aguante echoes the subsuming of affective labor discussed in chapter three. Hinchas see themselves as capable of affecting the other entities present in the stadium through their fiestas. In arguing that their performances can influence the outcomes of matches, they underscore their centrality within the social fabrics of clubs. However, club directors have been able to reframe their affective labor as consumer surplus, subsuming it within their production of value without fostering social inclusion. The splitting of sound and bodies represents an even more effective commodification of fan practice as it allows clubs to have crowd noise while disregarding hinchas' physical presence. This issue and the developments discussed in chapter three illustrate the perils of affective labor in communities of consumption.

But since schizophonic aguante mainly consists of hinchas' voices, it reveals an even more perverse form of commodification. As chapters four and five demonstrate, the voice indexes agency and humanity among hinchas. By vocalizing loudly and destroying their vocal

organs they defy the structural silencing and social inaudibility of their political voices.[76] The voice also allows them to mediate disjunctive imaginaries and establish transnational connections with subalterns elsewhere. The fact that the soccer channel and club directors are now commodifying these vital sources of human value represents another example of neoliberalism's vicious creativity to commodify human life.

Unsurprisingly, schzophonic aguante has stirred anxiety among hinchas. When videos of empty yet sonorous stadiums began to come from Europe, U. de Chile hinchas expressed concerns about these developments. For instance, Pablo, an AHA member, published this opinion piece in *Revista Obdulio* on July 7*:*

> Would soccer have become an activity with the GPD of a first-world nation with empty stadiums? Of course not. Even though television has become soccer's unequivocal source of income, what produces so much capital surplus is its capacity to show massively the hot spring of passions happening live in a stadium … Plan Estadio Seguro, with its absurd regulations, has tried everything to diminish hinchas' attendance and influence in Chile (Yáñez 2020).

On August 25, Jorge, another AHA member, expanded on Pablo's fears:

> Now that we can't attend games … the dream of those who control the sports activity, especially the most popular and most rooted one in South American culture, has materialized. If we remember [the moments] when we were in the stands, we realize that these groups' main wish is that we wouldn't exist … Their dreamed soccer is this one: where the hincha is just a consumer, someone who buys a jersey [and] pays for TV services … La U's case is illustrative. Most of the company Azul Azul's income comes from the people, those with neither voice nor agency within the club (Salvador 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic and the schizophonic use of their voices exacerbated hinchas' anxieties about commodification, marginalization, and criminalization discussed throughout this dissertation. Pablo's and Jorge's statements underscore the effects of the discourses framing

[76] It is worth mentioning that this working-class morality reverses the relationship between fans and athletes that characterizes sports like boxing, hockey, and football. While in these sports athletes are understood as enacting a severe proletarian bodily destruction that is paradoxically reviled and adored by elites, hinchas are risking their bodies in ways that soccer players certainly do not.

hinchas as undesired anomalies by making them believe that schizophonic aguante represents a unique opportunity to simultaneously commodify and eradicate their existence.

Despite these anxieties, fake crowd noise failed miserably at recreating a sense of normal sports aurality. Although South American soccer remains behind closed doors, the return of fans to American and European sporting events has only amplified the importance of the materiality and viscerality of sound, which cannot be fully mimicked through sound recordings. Fake crowd noise lacks dynamism, creativity, and unpredictability—ultimately creating dull sports narratives and experiences. It is noteworthy that hinchas and journalists have linked the poor 2020-2021 seasons of teams like Colo-Colo, U. de Chile, and San Lorenzo to the inauthenticity and deadness of fake crowd noise.

The lockdowns only momentarily paused the aguante warfare. The most conspicuous example came during the demonstration in Santiago commemorating the first anniversary of the social uprising in October 2020. Right after the Chilean authorities lifted the capital's quarantines in September, demonstrators, reviving the tradition during the social unrest, begun to gather in Plaza Italia every Friday afternoon. The weekend prior to the October 25 referendum saw a considerable gathering in which the hinchadas of U. de Chile, U. Católica, and Colo-Colo participated. At some point, a massive fight erupted between Garra Blanca and Los de Abajo, which was aired live by several TV networks. Demonstrators and sympathizers with the social demands expressed surprise as they believed that barras had put their differences aside during the social uprising. The honeymoon was over, and condemnation of hinchas came from every segment of Chilean society.

However, the Covid-19 crisis did not pause all aguante practices. Chapter one and two discussed the media and creative work of Escuela de Tablones. In addition to examining how

they have deployed social media to display their ingenuity and detach authorship from ownership, I have shown that creativity is significantly connected to aurality in aguante. In so doing, I have theorized a new form of aural creativity, one in which creativity is enacted by the attentive, generative attention to the sounds populating the public sphere. Although Argentine soccer was not resumed until November, social media allowed Escuela de Tablones to show their inventiveness during the Covid-19 pandemic. In the early days of the crisis, when health authorities advised people to wash their hands for twenty seconds while singing "Happy Birthday," Escuela de Tablones released an image explaining the process accompanied with lyrics of one of their chants.

Figure 21 Escuela de Tablones's image explaining how to wash hands. Screenshot taken from Escuela de Tablones's Facebook page

Acts of solidarity did not stop, either. When unemployment began to skyrocket, Los de Abajo began to gather food donations and started to organize "ollas comunes" (communal pots): shared pots of food from which an entire community could freely eat. In the midst of state

abandonment and economic collapse, they argued that "el pueblo ayuda al pueblo" (the people help the people). All this shows that the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on aguante require further investigation.

Recent neoliberal developments in the Southern Cone also require further research, especially since the health crisis was accompanied by economic collapse. The crisis was particularly dramatic in Argentina, where the devastating effects of Covid-19—with a positive test rate surpassing 50 percent at some point—coincided with a major economic crisis. In Uruguay, robust welfare programs and an efficient tracking of the virus initially mitigated the economic and health impact. However, the second wave of 2021 hit the country hard. Cachila, quoted in chapter one, lost his job and he, his partner, and kid got Covid-19 (at the moment of writing, they are experiencing mild symptoms). In Chile, too, the situation was dire. While the Santiago area became the urban center with most cases per capita in the world in mid-June, unemployment reached 15.6 percent, only dropping a couple of points when the lockdowns were lifted in September.

In the sports arena, it is notable that during the 2020 season both Colo-Colo and U. de Chile struggled with the possibility of relegation to the second division. In their ambitious *Globalization & Football*, Giulianotti and Robertson (2009) suggest that "Free-markets reforms may improve the commercial practices and financial solvency of South American clubs, while undermining the opportunity for improvements in democratic governance" (81). Only the second part of the hypothesis has been proven right. Fútbol de mercado has managed to do what once seemed impossible: to put in the relegation zone the two most popular and successful teams in the country. The stock-market model is yet another example of the perils of an uncritical glorification of free markets.

However, new possibilities can be imagined. On October 25, 2020, almost 80 percent of the Chilean population agreed to overthrow the Pinochet constitution and write a new social code. Voters decided that a constitutional assembly (100 percent newly elected), not a mixed assembly (half newly elected, half current legislators), should write the new constitution. 48 of the 155 elected *constituyentes* (constitutional electors) were independents coming from social movements outside traditional political parties. In addition, the center-left gained 48 seats and 17 were already reserved for indigenous peoples. Crucially, the right only got 38 seats, far from the 54 they needed to have veto power. Although "neoliberalism didn't end in Chile," it is noteworthy that the first country to embrace it, and which has served as an example to prove its supposed miracles, has decided to move away from it.

This kind of structural change is the only way that aguante would move from antagonism to agonism. The way to deradicalize aguante is to soften the anti-social meanings that loom over it. This entails altering the structures of inequality and marginalization affecting proletarian spaces, countering the commodification of human relations, recognizing and valuing the agency and dignity of the working-class, and celebrating the creative expressions of hinchadas. The productive scenes depicted in this dissertation convinces me that aguante can overcome its destructive components. But only with systemic changes "a culture of the fiesta"—one in which conflict remains a symbolic competition between adversaries, not enemies—would emerge; a culture of fandom that overcomes its anti-social effects and keeps fostering alternative yet nonviolent cosmopolitan imaginaries and modes of sociality.

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