From *Nueva Canción* to hip-hop

An entangled history of hip-hop in-between Chile and Sweden

Susan Lindholm

In this article, I use a combined framework of entangled history and oral history in order to analyze the creation and negotiation of a Chilean or Latino artist identity by hip-hop artists in Chile and hip-hop artists with a Chilean background in Sweden. Whereas previous studies on hip-hop in Sweden and Chile have primarily focused on sociological aspects of this culture in their respective national frameworks, this article adds both a historical and transnational perspective to the study of hip-hop in and in-between these two countries.[1] By analyzing the historical aspects of the negotiation of a Chilean identity in-between Sweden and Chile, it also contributes to studies focusing on the Chilean diasporiazation process in Sweden after 1973, as well as to an increasing number of historical studies aiming to move beyond methodological nationalism.[2] I argue that an entangled history approach is particularly useful for studying the creation and negotiation of identities, as it serves to display the ways in which individuals and groups imagine, create and negotiate belonging across national borders.

The emergence of hip-hop culture in the New York neighborhood of South Bronx during the 1970s was characterized by many local, translocal, and transnational connections and influences. As journalist and sociologist Jeff Chang points out in his seminal book *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*, hip-hop developed as a fusion of different traditions, musical styles, and movements, such as the roots generation from Kingston, Jamaica.[3] Hip-hop has also been discussed as a cultural expression, which emerged from what cultural theorists such as Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have referred to as the "Black diaspora" or the "Black Atlantic." They highlight how African music-making traditions have been modified through the Black diaspora experience in the United States, Great Britain, the Caribbean and so on.[4] Starting in the 1980s, hip-hop spread from the South Bronx; not only to the rest of the United States, but also to countries and continents around the world where researchers have discussed its U.S.-American context in numerous publications.[5]

In Sweden, hip-hop became visible in mainstream media as the group The Latin Kings released its debut album *Välkommen till förorten* (Welcome to the Suburbs) in the mid-1990s.[6] Sociological research on Swedish hip-hop,

which started to emerge in the mid-2000s, mainly describes it as a glocal culture that has resulted in some form of spatial solidarity among immigrant youth in the *förorten*—the suburbs of Sweden's three largest cities: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. These suburbs are often compared to inner-city neighborhoods in the United States in terms of socio-economic characteristics.[7] Consequently, Swedish hip-hop has mainly been studied as a collective culture that has united youth in the förorten, whereas the importance of earlier personal or family migration experiences expressed within Swedish hip-hop has not been a particular topic of study in previous research. However, many Swedish hip-hop artists address a specific migration experience or identity in their music, and the focus of this article is on hip-hop artists who claim a Chilean or Latino identity through their music.

The Chilean migration experience in Sweden is particularly interesting as Sweden and Chile share a history of both political and musical solidarity. Prior to the military coup in 1973, the Swedish social democratic government under the leadership of Olof Palme was very supportive of the UP (Unidad Popular), the Popular Unity, a coalition of left-wing, socialist and communist political parties in Chile that supported the successful candidacy of Salvador Allende for the 1970 presidential election. As Allende was overthrown in 1973, many Chileans fled to Sweden, where they were heartily welcomed by the general public as kindred political spirits. A non-partisan organization called the Chilekommittén (the Chile Committee), which was founded in the early 1970s, grew rapidly in reaction to the coup and started to facilitate the adaptation to life in Sweden for these Chilean refugees.[8] Such solidarity was also expressed in the cultural sphere, as musicians from the so-called proggrörelsen, the Swedish progressive music movement, voiced their solidarity with the Chilean people in general, and, in particular, their support of the Chilean nueva canción movement, which had been supportive of the government of president Salvador Allende.[9]

Chilean immigration to Sweden continued at a high rate all throughout the 1980s. Ethnographic studies focusing on these refugees and their children have shown that they often exhibited an ambivalent attitude with regard to their new life in Sweden. They were determined to maintain strong ties with their homeland, while simultaneously having to adjust to their new lives in Sweden. The description of living life "con las maletas listas" (with packed bags) is therefore an expression frequently repeated in these studies, and it refers to the refugees' readiness during their initial years in Sweden to return to Chile as soon as possible.[10] At the same time, youth in both Chile and Sweden started to become involved in hip-hop culture.[11] Even though it was not until the 2000s that hip-hop artists in Chile and hip-hop artists in Sweden with a Chilean background started to collaborate, both of these

groups set out to define what it means to be Chilean or Latino through their music. This article asks how these definitions may be understood and interpreted against the background of an entangled history in-between Chile and Sweden and does so by using the theoretical and methodological frameworks of histoire croisée and oral history.

Entangled history, oral history, and hip-hop culture

In their article "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen", historians Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman suggest histoire croisée as an alternative to methodological nationalism, comparative transnationalism (*Vergleichsgeschichte*), and transfer history (*Transfergeschichte*).[12] By using the concept of *histoire croisée*, they not only aim to analyze the transnational interconnectedness in history, but also to discuss how this interconnectedness creates meaning in different contexts.[13] According to Werner and Zimmerman, such entangled histories may be traced by focusing on specific contextual frameworks (*Handlungszusammenhänge*) within which individuals are restricted by different historical structures, while they, at the same time, use these structures as resources. In other words, they see historical change, or rather the creation of new contextual frameworks, as a gradual shift against a relatively stable historical background.[14] In this article, I use the term entangled history to analyze the ways in which individual hip-hop artists in Chile and Sweden create and negotiate a Chilean or Latino artist identity.

I argue that such a definition of entangled history may be combined with an oral history approach. Both approaches not only focus on reconstructing the events of the past, but also on how these events are understood and interpreted by those who experienced them.[15] While both approaches attempt to discuss different views of the past, an oral history approach adds the possibility of analyzing how individuals change their understanding or interpretation of the past over time. Combined, they open up historical analysis for a wide variety of local, translocal, and transnational connections, influences, and movements that are not limited to the transnational space between two nations. Therefore, I set out to trace the creation and negotiation of a Chilean or Latino identity through hip-hop by focusing on meaning-creating processes by individual artists in both Sweden and Chile based on interviews with artists in both countries.

In the following analysis, I apply four levels of analysis that often overlap in the empirical material. The first level outlines the historical context within which hip-hop emerged in each country from the 1980s up until today based on both my own interviews with the artists as well as previous

research on hip-hop and the respective historical contexts. This includes discussing hip-hop in both countries as connected to hip-hop as a genre originating in the United States. At the second level, I engage in a comparative reading of these historical contexts, while taking the transnational relationship between Chile and Sweden into account. The third analytical level outlines the influences and connections that have had a significant impact on the development of hip-hop culture, above all in Chile, while the fourth and final analytical level focuses on how the artists create continuity or discontinuity with the past.

The article is structured into five empirical sections. It starts by discussing the historical contexts in which hip-hop emerged in both countries during the 1980s and outlines the differences and similarities in these developments. The second section focuses on the connections and influences that marked the emergence of hip-hop in Chile, followed by a section that outlines the emergence of rap in Chile after 1990. The article then moves on to discuss the emergence of rap in Sweden by focusing on the seminal group The Latin Kings and its attempts at creating a so-called Latino identity as hip-hop artists during the 1990s. In the fifth and final section, the article outlines collaborations between Chilean and Swedish artists before discussing the fact that artists in both countries claim a Chilean or Latino identity through their music against the background of an entangled history in-between Chile and Sweden. All five sections conclude with a brief reflection on the benefits and drawbacks of using a combined framework of entangled history and oral history for analyzing hip-hop culture. Before engaging in such an analysis, however, I briefly discuss the interviews and other empirical material used in this article.

Interviews and other material

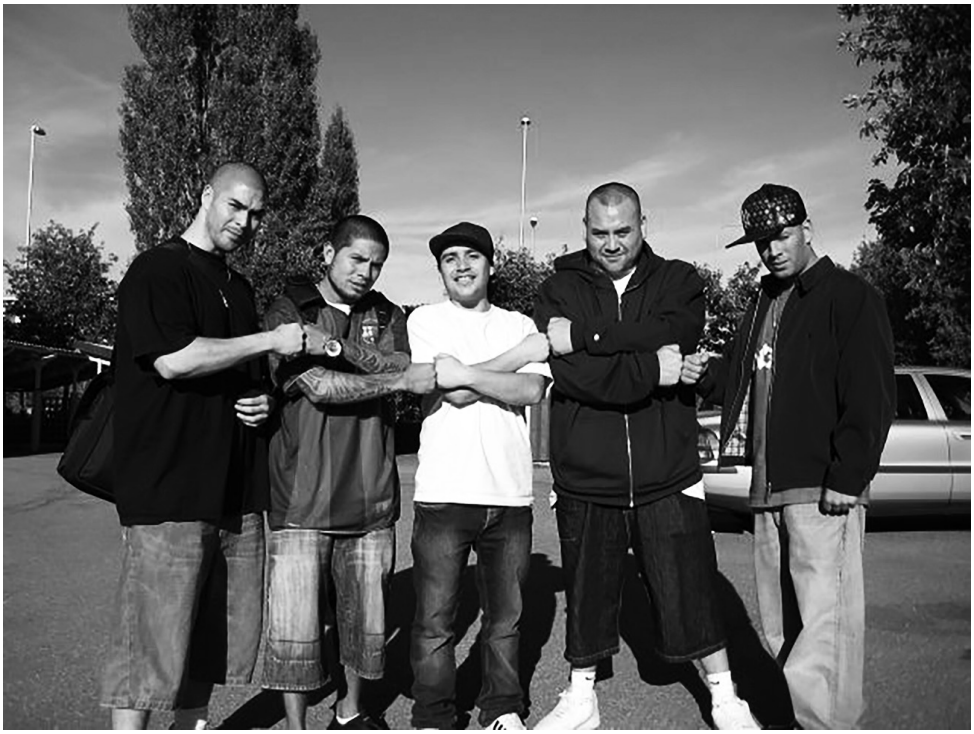
This article is primarily based on interviews I conducted with seven artists in Sweden and Chile. In Sweden, I interviewed three hip-hop artists who all have both family and musical connections to Chile. The first is Cristian "Salla" Salazar Campos, who is a member of the seminal group The Latin Kings and also co-founder of the record label Redline Recordings and the production company The Salazar Brothers, which produces artists in both Chile and Sweden.[16] The second interviewee is "Juan Havana" Paez Larraguibel, co-founder of Malmö-based group Advance Patrol,[17] and the final interviewee is Rodrigo "Rodde" Bernal, member of the group Hermanos Bernal and co-founder of the record label Zero Shine Music, which produces Chilean artists such as Chumbeque.[18] My analysis of the emergence of hip-hop in Sweden during the 1990s also draws on the book *The Latin*

Kings Portafolio, which was published in 2005.[19] The book primarily consists of interviews conducted with individual members of The Latin Kings by journalist Marimba Roney. In this article, I mainly use it as a contrast to the ways in which Cristian "Salla" Salazar Campos and Hugo "Chepe" Salazar Campos talk about their connection to hip-hop culture and Chile in 2005 compared to my own interview material.

In Chile, furthermore, I interviewed four artists: Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses, co-founder of the pioneering rap group Panteras Negras;[20] Jimmy Fernández, co-founder of the group La Pozze Latina;[21] Cesar "Cestar" Morales, member of the dancehall group Shamanes Crew, who has been working with Advance Patrol and also traveled to Sweden on numerous occasions;[22] and, finally, rapper Edwin "Chumbeque" Líbano Gamboa, who has been signed by Zero Shine Music, the production company founded by Hermanos Bernal.[23] I also draw on Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses' autobiography *Reyes de la Jungla* (Kings of the Jungle), which was published in 2014.[24] This book, which Lalo wrote in collaboration with journalist Marisol Garcia, provides a more detailed description of the emergence of Panteras Negras in Chile, and I use it as a complement to my own interview material. As the book is written in Coa—that is, Chilean street slang—I had to use urban dictionaries and online language forums to look up some of the words.

The interviews I conducted with these artists lasted between one and three hours. All of the interviews were semi-structured and based on the leading theme of hip-hop and its connection to Chile and Sweden. These were the main questions I posed during the interviews: How would you describe the history of hip-hop culture in your country? When and why did you get in contact with Swedish or Chilean hip-hop artists? What is your connection to, and impression of, Chile or Sweden? For the most part, I let the interviewees speak without interruption and simply asked follow-up questions on the topics they touched upon. I conducted all of the interviews in Sweden in Swedish and all of the interviews in Chile in Spanish. I have translated the excerpts included in this article as well as all other non-English material.

My analysis also includes Ana Tijoux, brought up by all of my interviewees in Chile as the most prominent contemporary Chilean hip-hop artist. Although I did not interview Ana, I was introduced to her ahead of a panel discussion on Chilean music in the world (*musica Chilena en el mundo*) that she participated in at the Balmaceda Arte Joven, a center for youth culture in Santiago, in June 2015. My analysis draws on the field notes I made during and after this discussion, as well as two other interviews with Ana in which she elaborates on her definition of being Chilean in connection to music: an interview with the U.S.-American organization, Democracy



Marcelo Masse Salazar Campos, Juan Havana Paez Larraguibel, Cesar Cestar Morales, Cristian Salla Salazar Campos and Gonzalo Gonza del Rio Saldias in Sweden. © Juan Paez Larraguibel 2016.

Now, and an interview featured in a documentary called *La rabia tiene voz* (The Rage Has a Voice) produced by the Mexican commission Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights.[25] Based on this material, I now begin to trace an entangled history of hip-hop in-between Chile and Sweden, starting with its emergence in both countries during the 1980s.

Setting the historical stage: the förorten *and the* poblaciones

In both Sweden and Chile, there is a dominant narrative claiming that hip-hop emerged in the mid-1980s, when U.S.-American movies such as Wild Style, Beat Street, and Breakin' were shown on television.[26] These movies, which mainly focus on graffiti, breakdancing, and DJing in New York and Los Angeles, inspired young men in Chile and Sweden to become "b-boys"—breakdancers and graffiti artists. As mentioned above, earlier research on hip-hop in both Sweden and Chile links the emergence of hip-hop culture in both countries to low-income areas outside of the city centers,

which in both cases have been described as comparable to U.S.-American ghettoes.[27] In Sweden, these neighborhoods are called the förorten; that is, the suburbs of the three largest Swedish cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö. In Chile, the areas that are located on the outskirts of the larger Chilean cities of Santiago, Valparaiso, Temuco, Viña del Mar, Iquique, and Concepción are called poblaciones.

The Swedish förorten became a central issue in the public debate as the so-called miljonprogrammet (the million program) was initiated in 1965. This was a housing program that, as suggested by its name, was designed to create a million new homes for a growing Swedish population.[28] Launched within the framework of the Swedish welfare state, its aim was to alleviate overcrowding in the city centers and raise housing standards. However, by the end of the 1970s, the situation had changed, as a housing surplus coincided with rising criticism of the förorten. Above all, critics claimed that the high-rises that were built within the framework of the program offered very low housing standards. During the 1970s and 1980s, while many of the earlier inhabitants began leaving the förorten, political and economic migrants arriving in Sweden, where they often lacked job opportunities, started to move in.[29] In combination with rising housing prices in the city centers, during the 1980s and 1990s the förorten gradually developed into low-income, immigrant-dominated areas, and thereby became the symbol of a city segregated along the lines of class, ethnicity, and race.

While Swedish hip-hop has mainly been discussed as a cultural expression tied to these förorten, its emergence during the 1980s was not confined to these areas, as many of the early b-boys, rappers, and graffiti artists were young, middle-class males. However, as hip-hop culture, which was mainly known to the Swedish public as an U.S.-American phenomenon, emerged in mainstream media during the 1980s and 1990s, journalists often drew parallels to U.S.-American gangsta rap from the ghettoes in order to explain the Swedish variety of hip-hop. Early hip-hop groups that did not fit into this description, such as Just D that rapped in Swedish and consisted of middle-class males, are for instance rarely mentioned in these accounts. While there are many Swedish hip-hop artists who do not mention these groups, Chepe specifically mentions them in the book *The Latin Kings Portafolio* (2005). While, as I argue, the förorten was often described as problematic even before the emergence of hip-hop in Sweden, this culture quickly came to represent these problems in the public debate during the 1990s.[30] The downside of such a label for individual artists and groups, such as The Latin Kings that addressed these problems in some of its lyrics, was that most people were solely interested in their background rather than their music.

The poblaciones in Chile emerged in a slightly different context. In the early 1980s, Chile entered a time of economic crisis and depression. Between 1982 and 1988, the minimum wage dropped by 30 percent, and the percentage of people living below the poverty line almost doubled from 28.5 percent in 1969 to 49.7 percent in 1988.[31] This development coincided with the relocation of low-income families from privileged communities to more disadvantaged neighborhoods, the so-called poblaciones such as Renca and Puente Alto in Santiago. The Pinochet regime argued that these reforms would help boost private investment by contributing to a more efficient channeling of funds to lower income groups. However, as such investments were mainly directed toward upper-class neighborhoods, these resettlements led to spatial segregation that only increased the economic differences between the privileged communities and the urban poor. As a result, a growing number of people lived in overcrowded, low-income areas where they faced an increasingly insecure labor market and diminished social spending, while the Chilean government celebrated the return of economic growth after 1985.

Hip-hop culture in Chile emerged at the same time as these poblaciones were created. Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses, who became a b-boy during the 1980s, grew up in the población of Renca located in the urban district of Huamachuco in the north of Santiago. Many of the young men who imitated the moves and styles of the b-boys they saw in movies like Breakin' and Beat Street were school dropouts, and dancing thus became something they could do to fill their days.[32] In his 2014 autobiography, Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses remembers the first big breakdance competition:

> That first big competition on a Sunday in January '85 was unforgettable for all of us. There was an African heat, and today I think that it was as if the madness of Brooklyn or the Bronx was transferred to Chile, to Renca, to one of our streets. The atmosphere enveloped me in a cloud of emotion, in something very intense; a kind of dream in which we were all dressed like the dancers in *Breakdance* and *Beat Street*, the two gringo movies about hip-hop that we liked the most.[33]

As Rainer Quitzow points out in *Hip-Hop in Chile: Far from NYC* (*Lejos del Centro*), the first academic publication written on Chilean hip-hop, these early b-boys primarily consisted of young males who were "roam[ing] the streets of the poblaciones" and who had difficulties gaining access to movies, music, clothing, and other young people outside of the poblaciones.[34] It was not until 1986, when the newspaper *La Tercera* published an article featuring b-boys from other parts of Santiago that the b-boys in Renca learned that the culture had spread across the city.[35] B-boys from all over town soon

began to meet in downtown Santiago in a street called Bombero Ossa that became "the legendary birthplace of Santiago's hip-hop community."[36] Thus, dancing was not only an escape from the reality of the poblaciones, but also became a way of getting in contact with b-boys in other areas of Santiago.

In this first section, I have focused on the first and second levels of analysis by outlining and comparing the historical contexts within which hip-hop emerged in Sweden and Chile. I argue that while hip-hop has been discussed in the context of urban segregation in both Sweden and Chile, differences exist between, on one hand, the historical emergence of marginalized areas and, on the other hand, the way in which hip-hop artists have related to them. In Sweden, The Latin Kings were critical of being limited to speaking for the förorten, while Lalo Meneses did not express the same need to distance himself from the poblaciones. In both his autobiography and during our interview, Lalo made it very clear that he wants to show the problems that prevail in these areas through his music. Another difference is that while the förorten is defined as—real or imagined—low-income, immigrant-dominated areas, the poblaciones are solely defined by the low income of their inhabitants, and one should note that there is a difference between what is regarded as low income in Sweden and in Chile. However, similarities in both countries with regard to the emergence of hip-hop include the male-dominated networks and what sociologist Tricia Rose refers to as the masculine-coded styles of performance of hip-hop as a genre.[37]

Hip-hop in Chile: translators, connections, and retornados

Rose also suggests that the ability of hip-hop culture to "attract crowds around the world in places where English is rarely spoken" may be seen as evidence of its social power.[38] I suggest that such a global attraction may be analyzed as the result of individual choices made within specific historical contexts. This section focuses on the specific way in which the socio-political message of hip-hop spread among b-boys and rappers in Chile through various connections and influences. While it cannot be assumed that all b-boys, graffiti artists, and rappers in Sweden understand English, none of the Swedish artists I interviewed mentioned language skills as a problem when it came to gaining access to hip-hop culture. In contrast, Lalo repeatedly stressed the importance of understanding the English lyrics and socio-political content of hip-hop and stated that he gained access to this through different connections than those of the translators and the retornados (b-boys who returned to Chile after the end of the Pinochet regime).

While Swedish youth had access to hip-hop culture through TV, newspapers, and concerts during the late 1980s and early 1990s, such content was not readily available to marginalized youth in the poblaciones. Although

Jimmy Fernandez and Eduardo Lalo Meneses in Santiago, Chile. © Jorge Severino Duran 2015.

the government-controlled TV stations did feature some early hip-hop movies, it was difficult to get access to cassettes or, later, CDs, as they could not afford them. And, even when they did manage to get access to these, understanding the English lyrics proved difficult. In his book, *Reyes de la Jungla* (2014), Lalo stresses the importance of his connections with individuals who understood English and were able to translate the political content of the lyrics for the b-boys in Chile. One of these translators was DJ Zamzi, a DJ from Viña del Mar who introduced them to groups such as Public Enemy, in addition to the political philosophy of the Zulu Nation.[39] Another translator was Pedro Foncea, the father of José Miguel Foncea, a member of the Latin American fusion band De Kiruza. He lived in the middle-class neighborhood of Bellavista and introduced Lalo to the struggles of the civil rights movement by showing him documentaries he had recorded. Through Claudio Araya, a breakdancer who was ten years older and understood some English, Lalo was introduced to Eduardo Galeano's book *The Open Veins of Latin America* (1971) and Jorge Gissis' book *Psicología e identidad Latinoamericana* (2002). and could thus make more sense of the movies Beat Street and Breakin', which often included references to the struggles of the civil rights movement. In his autobiography, Lalo describes Pedro and Claudio as:

> two suns that were shining a special light on us, a light of affection and art. They were older brothers who offered their help, taught us, and gave us their time with affection and patience. Thanks to them, my consciousness awoke and I learned to be a better person. In the context of what at that time was hip-hop culture, their example was a stimulating mixture of music, ideas and social struggle.[40]

A second group of individuals that greatly influenced the development of hip-hop in Chile were the retornados; people who had not lived in Chile during the dictatorship, but had returned, either in the late 1980s or after the end of the Pinochet regime. One of these early retornados was Jimmy Fernández, who later founded the rap group La Pozze Latina. During the dictatorship, Jimmy's family had lived in Panama and Italy, where he had become interested in hip-hop culture. When his family returned to Chile in 1988, he joined the b-boys who gathered at Bombero Ossa and was able to pass on the knowledge of hip-hop culture he had acquired while living in Europe. During our interview, Jimmy remarked:

> In '86 I was in Italy – my mother is from Italy – and I arrived here [in Chile] in '88 and met up with those few who were still breakdancing. And the truth is that they were dancing more like [kids used to dance] in '84. Information did not easily reach this place. Consequentially … only little material came in from the outside. And at that moment, I had a lot of information about what was going on in Europe … in Italy, in Germany and in France.[41]

Jimmy introduced the Chilean b-boys to new moves and dancing techniques and told them that they were part of a universal culture that existed even outside of the United States. During our interview, Lalo added that hip-hop culture in Chile would have died out without Jimmy. The emergence of hip-hop in Chile, in other words, was not only linked to understanding the English lyrics, but also linked to these translators and retornados; the b-boys in Chile started to understand that they were part of a global culture. Despite the efforts of the Pinochet regime to isolate Chile from the rest of the world, hip-hop provided an alternative global identity for youth in the poblaciones and thereby a means for communicating with the world outside of Chile.

However, hip-hop did not emerge in a musical vacuum during the Pinochet regime. There were both groups and individual musicians in Chile who had a great influence on Lalo. In this regard, there is an interesting

discrepancy between Rainer Quitzow's study on hip-hop in Chile and my own findings. In his study based on interviews conducted with, among others, Lalo, Quitzow claims that the Chilean punk group Los Prisoneros and the U.S.-American rap group the Beastie Boys provided little inspiration for the emerging hip-hop scene in Chile. He argues that while the former group consisted of middle-class artists who represented an elitist culture, the latter were seen as "white boys that did not have anything to do with hip-hop culture."[42] Quitzow adds that the *nueva canción* movement of the 1970s was considered "outmoded" by Chilean hip-hop artists, as its "largely unchanged social rhetoric" was "no longer … quite in tune with the Chilean reality." *Nueva canción* musicians who "had spent the majority of the Pinochet years in political exile in Europe" simply "no longer represented the struggle of the people in the country."[43] According to Quitzow, one of the reasons why the Chilean b-boys were drawn to hip-hop culture was that it allowed them to break with the past. Similar conclusions may be found in research on hip-hop culture in the United States. Cultural critic Bakari Kitwana, who introduced the idea of the hip-hop generation, argues that there is a generational conflict between the earlier civil rights, or Black Power, generation and the hip-hop generation, which is primarily based on the claim that the former no longer represents the latter.[44]

In his autobiography published in 2014, Lalo nevertheless describes both Los Prisoneros and the Beastie Boys as sources of inspiration, and claims that there is a close connection between punk and hip-hop, as both are engaged in political resistance against the status quo.[45] A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that Lalo had evidently re-evaluated the importance of these groups between 2000 and 2015. During our interview, he also claimed that the nueva canción movement was very important for the early b-boys in Chile. Because most nueva canción musicians, such as Víctor Jara, who was killed in the days following the coup d'état in 1973, had been supportive of the Unidad Popular, their music was forbidden during the dictatorship. Lalo claimed that it was fairly common for the police to stop and frisk young people in the streets to inquire whether they listened to nueva canción music. Based on the fact that they answered that they were not communists, but rather b-boys, and that the cassettes in their possession contained hip-hop, a form of music originating from the United States, the police let them pass. However, such interrogations were not limited to the streets. At work, Lalo was called into his manager's office, who asked him:

> "Meneses, in what part of Huamachuco do you live?"
> "In the area of Los Lirios and Las Margaritas," I answered.
> "Ah. And in what part do the communists hold their meetings?"

> "I don't know, I have no idea."
> "There are some die-hard communists in your *población*. Are you a communist?"
> "No, I am a boy. And I don't get involved in stuff. I am a breakdancer."
> "Aaaah, then. Continue working."[46]

This shows that as neither the police nor Lalo's manager understood the socio-critical background of hip-hop, it became a sort of Trojan horse made accessible by the government-controlled TV and was thus able to replace the socio-critical function of nueva canción music in Chile.

In this second section, I focus on the third level of analysis: the influences and connections that have had an impact on the development of hip-hop in Chile. By using an oral history approach, which takes the fact that individuals often change their assessment of past events over time into account, I point out that Lalo now claims continuity with the nueva canción movement by describing hip-hop as a Trojan horse used for smuggling socio-political critique past the authorities during the dictatorship. Hip-hop thereby becomes a means for creating historical continuity in opposition to a dictatorship aiming to erase the cultural and political influences present in the country before the coup d'état. Such a reassessment of the past may also be read within the context of Lalo's individual life story: he may indeed have wanted to break with the past when he was younger. In 2015, however, he stresses continuity. The constructions and negotiations of identities must therefore always be discussed as positionalities that are created in specific historical locations. As the Pinochet regime was experiencing its final days in the late 1980s, Chilean b-boys started to form rap groups.

The emergence of rap in Chile

In Chile, the 1990s was a time of transition from the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet to democratic rule. In the wake of the economic upturn in 1985 mentioned above, Pinochet had begun to signal that he might be interested in steering the country back on track toward democracy. In 1988, a national referendum was held to determine whether or not his rule should be extended for another eight years. The "no" side won with nearly 56 percent of the vote, thereby effectively ending the military dictatorship that had ruled Chile for almost 17 years. After the elections, political parties from the center to the left formed a group called the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (the Coalition of Parties for Democracy), with Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin becoming president in 1990. However, as cultural theorist Kristin Sørensen points out in her book *Media, Memory, and Human Rights in Chile* (2009), democratic rule was volatile, as different

generals kept threatening to take over the government all throughout the 1990s.[47] Augusto Pinochet also kept his position as commander in chief of the military until 1998. In the meantime, the Concertación installed a consumer society modeled after the U.S.-American free market system, thereby reinforcing the neo-liberal system instituted during the Pinochet regime. That meant that the new government made little, if any, significant changes in terms of social or economic policy.[48] Instead, the gap between rich and poor in society increased significantly, thus resulting in Chile by 1995 being second only to Brazil in terms of the unequal distribution of income among South American countries.[49]

As a result, today Lalo describes the 1990s as a "decade filled with promises that led to nothing."[50] Although there were communist leaders who even during the campaign to end the Pinochet regime questioned his involvement in hip-hop culture, as it "belongs to the gringos," the b-boys had been an active part of the anti-Pinochet movement during the late 1980s.[51] Lalo further claims that most politicians did not understand the significance of hip-hop and that the chapters of the political parties that had been present in the poblaciones before the democratic elections disappeared after 1990. According to him, they then left the poblaciones in a state of chaos. Lalo was briefly a member of the Jota (Juventudes Comunistas de Chile), the youth organization of the communist party in Chile between 1988 and 1990, and he was close to the FPMR (Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodriguez) for some time during the 1990s.[52] However, he soon came to believe that it was more effective to make music and organize other activities at the grassroots level than to partake "in months and months of discussions at meetings."[53] Lalo was thus only briefly involved in official party politics.

In the late 1980s, he founded the rap group Panteras Negras (the Black Panthers) with his friends Kalkin, Pita, Gudy, Juez and Chino Máquina, all of whom lived in Chile during the dictatorship of Pinochet. The group's name is based on the Black Panther party in the United States, and they were influenced by the Black Panthers in their socio-critical lyrics and their critique of both the Chilean government and the media. The Panteras had several encounters with the police, which kept them under close surveillance due to their open critique of the government and Lalo's prior political activism. The Panteras quickly positioned themselves as the voice of the poblaciones:

> The Panteras were sometimes performing at fund-raisers organized by people who decided to do something about the problems that the municipalities were ignoring: the pavement of a street, renovating schools. You could see examples of inequality in your surroundings on a daily basis.[54]

There were also politicians who started to see the Panteras as part of a cultural movement that had helped bring about democracy in Chile. Lalo remarked that "the [politicians] from the left who had viewed us with contempt for cultivating Yankee music started to change their perception."[55]

According to Lalo, the Panteras Negras are the founders of one of the two schools in Chilean hip-hop that characterize the culture to this day. The second school that, according to Lalo, had a great impact on the development of Chilean hip-hop is the "rap of the retornados" that began in 1991 as Jimmy Fernández founded the group La Pozze Latina with Rodrigo "Too Small" Méndez and Gerardo Gálvez. As previously mentioned, these retornados returned with "many lessons learned outside of Chile" which made them "[see] the music from a different angle." This was the "more universal rap" of La Pozze Latina, which was not characterized by political lyrics and did not include the Panteras Negras. This "universal rap" was also the type of rap that first made Chilean hip-hop visible in mainstream media.[56] During our interview, Jimmy Fernández noted that he was lucky that he did not grow up in Chile during the dictatorship, which is also why he does not find it important to write political lyrics. Other popular hip-hop groups founded by retornados, such as Tiro de Gracia and Makiza, later followed the example of La Pozze Latina. As pointed out by Sørensen, the fact that the less political form of hip-hop of the retornados became visible in mainstream media is not surprising considering that Chilean mainstream media did not address human rights violations or openly criticize the Pinochet regime during the 1990s.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the Panteras Negras also made their first journeys abroad. After 1997, they traveled to Buenos Aires to perform on several occasions. In Argentina, they were featured on TV and radio and were interviewed by a large number of magazines and newspapers. By the end of the 1990s, they also traveled to Europe. In 1999, they went to the north of Spain, and in 2001 they went to Paris, Zurich, and Belgium. In Zurich, Lalo was very impressed by the professional organization and multicultural atmosphere at a dance competition called Battle of the Year that the Panteras attended.[57] Yet, in his autobiography, he also mentions the great difficulties involved in obtaining the funds necessary for travel and that the most important aspect of his journey to Europe was that he learned that local hip-hop communities had founded cultural centers financed by the government:

> Until that moment, we had made social demands [through our music], but in Europe I began to understand that the only way we could work

> with these demands was by organizing activities in the barrios [the *poblaciones*]. And that the government was responsible for financing these activities.[58]

In this third section, I once again focus on the first level of analysis by outlining the historical context in which rap emerged in Chile during the 1990s. The fact that Lalo today claims that hip-hop artists took over the tasks that the government should have managed can also be discussed in the context of the construction of his artist identity in the present. Whereas, as other studies on the post-Pinochet era in Chile has shown, the new government continued the neoliberal policies implemented by the old regime, and was therefore reluctant to focus on issues concerning the poblaciones, this claim also solidifies Lalo's identity as a political hip-hop artist who represents the poblaciones through his work.[59] It creates historical legitimacy for his political struggle as an artist in the present. Such a perspective may also be used for discussing the claim that both the retornados and Lalo's travels outside of Chile had a great impact on the development of hip-hop in Chile. While both Jimmy Fernández and Lalo confirm this narrative, which also fits well into the description of Chile as a country closed off from the surrounding world by the Pinochet regime, it is also a way of claiming to be part of a larger movement. By being part of a large international movement, the claims and demands of hip-hop artists become more credible and legitimate. Meanwhile, in Sweden, The Latin Kings emerged from within a slightly different socio-historical context.

The emergence of rap in Sweden: The Latin Kings

Between 1991 and 1994, a conservative Swedish government under Prime Minister Carl Bildt faced an economic crisis resulting from inflation in the housing market. At the same time, the 1991–93 Balkan War resulted in an influx of refugees to Sweden. Many of these refugees joined political and economic migrants from other parts of the world who had started to settle in the förorten during the 1980s and 1990s. The economic downturn combined with increasing numbers of migrants entering the country resulted in a heated political debate. In 1991, Ny Demokrati (New Democracy), a populist party that ran on an anti-immigration platform, received a number of seats in the Swedish parliament. In Stockholm and Uppsala, and in the midst of such anti-immigration sentiments, John Ausonius, who was given the moniker "the Laser Man" (Lasermannen) by mainstream media, targeted pedestrians he believed had an immigration background with a rifle equipped with a laser sight.[60] Ausonius killed one person and seriously

injured others. On the other side of the political spectrum, the anti-racist movement started to discuss Sweden in terms of a multicultural society.

It is in this social and political climate that The Latin Kings became visible in the Swedish mainstream media with their debut album *Välkommen till förorten* (Welcome to the Suburbs). The group consisted of the two brothers Cristian "Salla" and Hugo "Chepe" Salazar Campos and their friend Douglas "Dogge" Doggelito León, and it rose to fame after 1991 as they participated in the Rap SM, a talent contest for Swedish rappers in Stockholm. All members of the group grew up in the immigrant-dominated förort of Botkyrka in the south of Stockholm, where Salla and Chepe first became involved in hip-hop culture as graffiti artists. The Latin Kings started out rapping in Swedish because they "wanted to be different [both from other Swedish artists and from U.S.-American artists], and because they wanted everyone (in Sweden) to be able to understand their lyrics.[61] Salla, Chepe and Dogge were primarily drawn to hip-hop culture as it was accessible and included youth from a range of different backgrounds. In *The Latin Kings Portafolio*, Chepe notes that he

> started to learn more about hip-hop, that it [included] everyone: working-class kids, blacks, whites, or Latin Americans. Even if we did not live in ghettoes like that, there was something I recognized. What spoke to me was the constructive power, the positive and the creative, that you were doing things by yourself.[62]

Read within the context of the debate on multiculturalism in Swedish society during the 1990s, they stressed what may be seen as the multicultural character of hip-hop. Although Chepe mentions that he had many female friends during the 1990s, *The Latin Kings Portafolio* mainly focuses on male socialization, as it points out their connection to Rodrigo "Rodde" Pencheff from the all-male group Infinite Mass and producer Gordon Cyrus, as well as record executives Sanji Tandan and Terje Engen.

In 1996, The Latin Kings released their debut album in a Spanish version called *Bienvenido a mi barrio* (Welcome to My Neighborhood). One of the songs on the album called Latinos somos (We Are Latinos) became a hit in Latin America and was featured on MTV Latino. The group traveled to New York, Miami, and Mexico to promote it and also produced a music video accompanying the song. While the videos produced by The Latin Kings for a Swedish market mostly displayed male socialization in different forms, the video of Latinos somos showed Dogge dancing with, and grabbing the breasts of, a woman with long blonde hair wearing a tight red dress, which is later pulled down reveal her bra. In this video, which is intended

for an international market, male socialization is thus complemented with a display of heterosexual desire. It has to be noted, however, that while the brothers Salla and Chepe have a Chilean background, Dogge, who does not claim any cultural connection to Chile, was born in Sweden. During our interview, Salla told me that The Latin Kings had no intentions of making another album in Spanish, and although they knew that the Panteras Negras existed, they did not get in contact with them at the time, as they had no interest in launching their music in Chile. Lalo did not make any attempts to get in contact with The Latin Kings either because, as he told me:

> You cannot just get into contact with someone based on the fact that they have family ties to Chile. It could be that they do not want to be associated with Chile, if, for instance, bad things happened, since their families had to flee the country. Maybe they want to forget all about Chile.[63]

Although Salla, Chepe, and Masse (who later founded the production company The Salazar Brothers) actively distance themselves from Chile in this kind of way, Masse, who was born in Sweden, identifies as Swedish, whereas Salla and Chepe, who were both born in Chile, identify as half-Chilean and half-Swedish.[64] The Salazar Campos family came to Stockholm to join another family member who had been living in Sweden since 1979. In 1992, after the end of the Pinochet regime, the family made its only trip to Chile to date in order to visit their extended family. In 2005, Chepe described that trip:

> It was like finding your roots. I felt like "This is my country, I am born here. This is my family." But at the same time, it was very clear to me that I had grown up in Sweden. They treated me like a tourist and thought that we were rich, and that was hard … But the standard [of living] we have [in Sweden] is comparable to the standard [of living] of rich people [in Chile].[65]

In this interview, Chepe also insisted that although The Latin Kings have established themselves in Sweden, they will never be fully accepted, "because of what [they] are saying, and how [they] are saying it." Despite the fact that The Latin Kings often have a socio-critical tone in their lyrics addressing issues such as the Laser Man (Lasermannen), Ny Demokrati, and a "we" against "them" mentality, Chepe does not describe them as political. While Salla claims to be a feminist and that the group generally leans towards the left in political questions, he adds that his values are mainly derived from a

religious belief "that everything should be shared equally." Although The Latin Kings performed at many events for various political parties, such as the Socialdemokraterna (the Social Democrats), the Vänsterpartiet, (the Left Party), as well as the Kristdemokraterna (the Christian Democrats), they insist that they are not linked to any particular political party.

In this fourth section, I once more focus on the first level of analysis; that is, the historical context in which hip-hop emerged in Sweden during the 1990s. Here, I once more argue that the members of The Latin Kings were attracted to hip-hop as it provided the means of becoming a part of a global culture that consisted of young people from a range of backgrounds. By claiming to be a part of a movement that is bigger than the Swedish hip-hop community, they simultaneously legitimize their identities as artists. The fact that the group started to represent themselves as Latino through their music during the 1990s does not necessarily mean they were intent on creating a continuity with a Latin American or Chilean past: producing an album in Spanish was mainly a way of reaching a wider audience for their music, particularly in the United States. So, the display of heterosexual masculinity and desire in the video may not only be seen as an attempt to cater to the tastes of a global or U.S.-American hip-hop audience, but also as a way of establishing themselves within hip-hop culture by using widespread attitudes and images. While Chepe and Salla, both today and in The Latin Kings Portafolio, present themselves as advocates of gender equality, their attitude might have been different when they were younger (i.e., during the 1990s when they produced their first albums as The Latin Kings). Furthermore, it is also important to note that their representation of the förorten in their lyrics and their connection to Chile are only two of a large number of aspects that may be used for discussing both their work as musicians and their personal lives. While there was no cooperation between Swedish and Chilean artists during the 1990s, things changed during the 2000s, as many other Swedish hip-hop artists also claimed a Chilean background through their music.

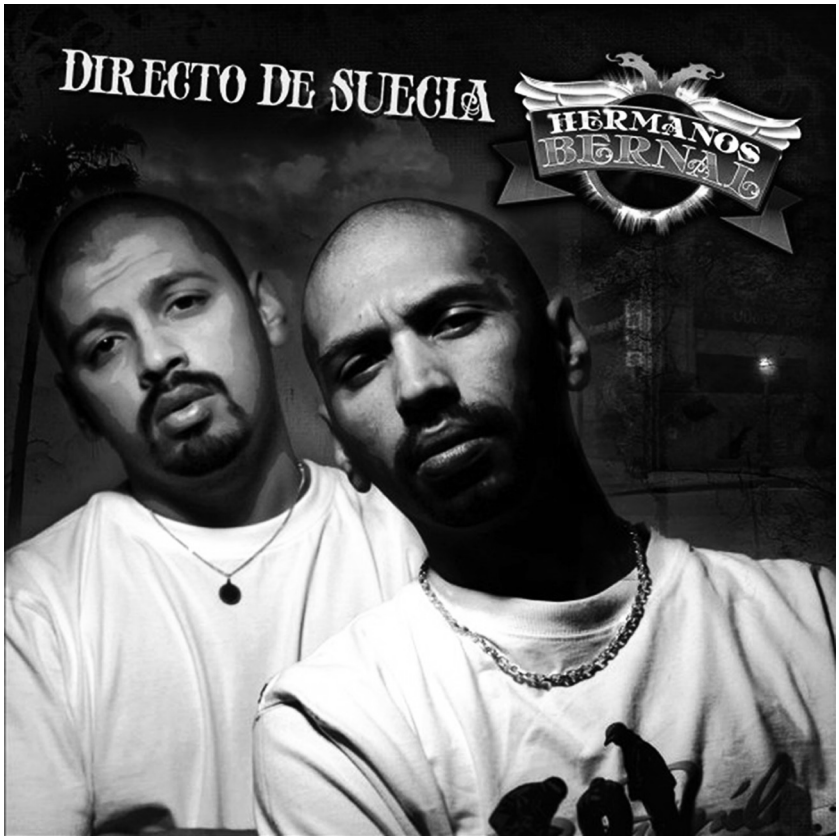
Hip-hop in-between Chile and Sweden

In 2006, former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet died without having faced criminal charges for the over 38,000 people who were tortured, forcibly disappeared or killed during his dictatorship. In the years following his death, increasing efforts have been made to deal with this past. The Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos (the Museum of Memory and Human Rights), which displays the results of the work of three truth and reconciliation committees focusing on the human rights violations committed by

the regime between 1973 and 1990, opened its doors in Santiago in 2010.[66] In the foreword of Lalo's book, journalist Marisol Garcia also describes the autobiography as being a part of this kind of memory work by stating that it contributes to the "recognition of the brave and the fallen."[67] Nevertheless, the 2000s was also a decade during which economic differences between rich and poor groups in society were increasing in both Chile and Sweden. The governments of both countries worked toward privatizing the public sector, while they simultaneously started to cut spending on healthcare and education. In Sweden, anti-immigration sentiments flared up once more, as a new populist party that ran on an anti-immigration platform, the Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats), gained seats in the Swedish parliament in both the 2010 and 2014 elections.

The 2000s was also a decade marked by the information revolution of the Internet and it was a time during which hip-hop artists with a Chilean background in Sweden started to make references to their background in their music and work with Chilean artists. Although The Salazar Brothers did not travel to Chile, they were involved in many of these collaborations. Also, Advance Patrol from Malmö and Hermanos Bernal from Jönköping and Oskarshamn began to work with Chilean artists such as Cestar from the Shamanes Crew and rapper Chumbeque. Both Advance Patrol and Hermanos Bernal recorded albums in Spanish and went on tour in Chile. As I have argued, Advance Patrol and others represented themselves as the "transnational other" in-between Chile and Sweden in their Swedish lyrics between 2003 and 2006.[68] I also argue that read in the context of the multiculturalism debate in Sweden, Rodrigo "Rodde" Bernal's definition of being Chilean as being "cultural" may be seen as a way of becoming "Swedish" and of reminding Swedes of a time when Chileans were heartily welcomed in Sweden. In a Swedish context, defining being Chilean as being "cultural" may thus be seen as a way of creating belonging by referring to the specific migration history of Chileans in Sweden.[69]

In Chile, there is a similar debate on defining being Chilean through music. That debate is strongly connected to making Chilean music and culture visible on an international music scene. When addressing this need for international visibility, all of the artists I interviewed in Chile mentioned rapper Ana Tijoux, a Chilean hip-hop artist who is one of the retornados whose family returned to Chile in the early 1990s. Upon her family's return to Chile, Ana became the only female member of the group Makiza and later started a successful solo career. Her song 1977 was featured in the popular U.S.-American series *Breaking Bad* in 2009, and her most recent album Vengo contains feminist and anti-capitalist songs, such as Antipatriarca. In his 2001 study, Quitzow described Ana's "lacking connection to the hip-hop



The Hermanos Bernal CD "Directo de Suecia". © Hermanos Bernal 2015.

community" as evidence of "how, in a world influenced by global communication and travel, the identification with specific cultural practices loses its importance." However, I claim that her lack of a connection to hip-hop may be interpreted differently. I argue that as a feminist who critiques the sexism and homophobia of mainstream hip-hop, Ana Tijoux has created an alternative space outside of the male networks within the socialization of mainstream hip-hop.[70] I further argue that her music cannot be seen as a way of detaching herself from "specific cultural practices," at least not in 2015. In addition, during the panel discussion I attended on Chilean music in the world, Ana repeatedly stressed her strong connection to Chile and the Chilean music scene.

Both Ana and the Chilean artists I interviewed stressed the importance of defining being Chilean through music. As one of the themes that repeatedly surfaced during the panel discussion was a sense of being marginalized—

both through the geographical position of Chile and its marginality in the context of global pop culture—it could be argued that Ana's international success is particularly important, as it makes Chile visible on the global music scene. Defining being Chilean in a musical context is thus a way of creating a marketable artist identity. There is another aspect that connects being Chilean through music to culture. As mentioned above, the cultural and artistic scene in Chile was seen as part of a social movement that helped bring down the dictatorship. As such, culture was not only a means of mobilizing Chileans to become part of the resistance movement, but also a means of encouraging communication and connection and the remembering of the violent past of the Pinochet regime. In an interview featured in the documentary *La rabia tiene voz* (The Rage Has a Voice), Ana Tijoux adds: "There is nothing more violent than the lack of memory."[71]

Defining being Chilean as being "cultural" through music in this specific historical context thus becomes an anti-colonialist and anti-capitalist critique based on the experience of both colonialism and dictatorship. In his autobiography, Lalo adds that hip-hop may be used as a means of "teaching Chileans about their own history," and thereby serve to resist the repression of memory. Such a history not only includes creating a connection to nueva canción musicians, but also remembering that Chile was inhabited by Mapuche Indians before being colonized by the Spanish conquistadores. Ana Tijoux sees herself as a musical descendant of the poet Violetta Parra, who she calls a rapper, because "being a rapper means speaking your mind through poetry."[72] Both Lalo and Ana repeatedly refer to the ongoing discrimination and maltreatment of Mapuche communities in Chile. A link to nueva canción musicians may also be traced in the music made by Swedish artists with a Chilean background. Advance Patrol has sampled the nueva canción group Inti Illimani in its song "Ett land som är tryggt" (A Country that Is Safe), which also features the line "viejos [parents], we understand why we are here," meaning why they fled Chile to go to Sweden during the Pinochet regime.[73] In their Kroksbäck recording studio in Malmö, the group displays images of both Violetta Parra and Victor Jarra. I argue that they thus create continuity with both the migration experience of their parent's generation as well as with the political protest of the nueva canción movement.

In this fifth and final section, I focus on the third and fourth levels of analysis: the influences and connections that have had an impact on hip-hop culture in Chile and Sweden, and the way in which the artists who are part of this study create continuity with the past. The fact that both Chilean and Swedish artists define being Chilean as being "cultural" means different things in these countries. In Sweden, it is not an attempt to create

remembrance of a repressed past, especially given that the 1970s was a time when Chileans were heartily welcomed in Sweden. In Chile, defining being Chilean as being "cultural" works in a different way. Here, it is a way of contributing to the remembrance of a repressed past and of creating historical continuity, which includes the nueva canción movement of the 1970s, as well as the time of the dictatorship and its aftermath. It could be argued that this kind of remembrance becomes possible at this specific historical moment in which Chilean society is slowly starting to address the atrocities of the dictatorship following the death of Pinochet in 2006.

However, it must be noted that the other artists I interviewed in Chile were not as eager to place themselves within such a narrative of historical struggle. Although both of their families lived in Chile during the time of the Pinochet regime, both Cestar and Chumbeque claimed that such remembrance is primarily important for an "older" generation of Chileans. Chumbeque stressed that his family was not part of the resistance movement, and that none of them suffered during the regime. While Cestar briefly mentioned the current political unrest in Chile resulting from reforms initiated by President Michelle Bachelet, he stressed that he is not political. Jimmy Fernández, whose family did not stay in Chile during the regime, also stated that this narrative was primarily important for those who experienced the human rights violations in Chile first-hand. During our interview, he was nevertheless outspokenly critical of current corruption and greed among politicians. These reactions, however, could also be explained as a strategy used by them during our interviews. As they most probably saw me as a representative of a Swedish public, their reluctance to mention negative aspects of a Chilean past could also be interpreted as a way of reaching out with a positive image of Chile to a Swedish audience.

Conclusion

This article has used a combined framework of entangled history and oral history in order to analyze the creation and negotiation of a Chilean or Latino artist identity by hip-hop artists in Chile and hip-hop artists with a Chilean background in Sweden. To conclude, I argue that their definitions of such identities may be read in three ways: first, as a marketable artist identity; second, as a construction connected to the specific historical contexts of Sweden and Chile; and third, as a marker for global solidarity. As a marketable artist identity, the artists' definition of themselves as Latino or Chilean may be seen as an attempt to reach a wider audience. Swedish artists such as The Latin Kings made such an attempt during the 1990s through their song Latinos somos (We Are Latinos), and both Hermanos

Bernal and Advance Patrol aim for a wider market outside of Sweden. By creating such a marketable artist identity, they appeal to the tastes of a global pop music audience that frequently also includes drawing on stereotypical representations of heterosexual masculinity and desire. In contrast, Chilean artists stress the importance of making Chile visible in the global music market, as they describe the country as both geographically and culturally marginalized.

The artists' definition of themselves as Latino or Chilean may also be seen as a way of creating continuity with the past by defining Chilean as "cultural" in their specific historical contexts. Chilean artists such as Lalo Meneses and Ana Tijoux create historical continuity that reaches back to a pre-colonial period in Chile: they set out to remember a past that includes the Mapuche Indians, the nueva canción movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the atrocities of the Pinochet regime in the 1970s and 1980s, and the period following the regime. In this way, hip-hop culture becomes part of public memory work and serves as resistance against attempts to create historical ruptures, both by the Pinochet regime and the democratic governments that have succeeded it. I argue that in such a context, hip-hop cannot be separated from representing the poblaciones: it becomes the voice to make them and their history visible and thereby included in a historical continuity. As a result, connections, translators, and influences become especially important. In this respect, their attempts are comparable to an African diaspora that, as pointed out by Stuart Hall, sets out to remember a repressed past.[74]

In Sweden, hip-hop artists such as Rodde Bernal have defined themselves as Chilean in order to remind Swedes of the 1970s, as well as to create a sense of belonging in a multicultural society that stresses differences as desirable by defining their difference as specifically Chilean. They also create a link to the nueva canción movement as well as continuity with their parent generation. However, they do not set out to remember a repressed past: Chileans who fled to Sweden after the coup d'état were heartily welcomed, and there are no perceptible attempts in Swedish society to forget the solidarity with Chile that prevailed in the 1970s. Swedish artists such as The Latin Kings often resist being reduced to their lyrical representation of the förorten, the Swedish suburbs that existed before hip-hop became visible in mainstream media, where it then came to be associated with the förorten. I claim that instead of setting out to create their own version of historical continuity, artists such as The Latin Kings, Hermanos Bernal, and Advance Patrol want to become part of an official Swedish history. By setting out to become Swedish, they also claim the freedom to be seen as individuals instead of representatives of the förorten or their immigrant background.

The third and final way in which the artists' definition of themselves as Latino or Chilean may be understood is as an identity based on solidarity. As pointed out by Jane Tumas Serna, both nueva canción and hip-hop can provide the platform for creating a Pan-Latin identity uniting the peoples of South and Central America in an anti-capitalist critique.[75] This identity may draw on a narrative that includes remembering the nueva canción movement of the 1960s or a solidarity that is based on the common experience of being marginalized. Such solidarity can also be used as political mobilization, in which case it becomes a form of identity politics. As such, it offers the opportunity of becoming a part of something bigger for those who are marginalized. By using the combined framework of entangled history and oral history, this article demonstrates the way in which artist identities are constructed, used, and filled with meaning within specific historical contexts. It has shown that being Chilean or Latino acquires different meanings as individual artists change their understanding or interpretations of the past. Hence, my article not only contributes to the study of hip-hop in and in-between Chile and Sweden, but also to studies focusing on a Chilean diasporiazation process in Sweden. In both cases, hip-hop artists create continuity with a Chilean or Swedish past, and thereby with specific political struggles of their parent generation.

Their identity constructions must nevertheless also be seen as positionalities that are created in the present and as part of their individual life stories that are subject to change. While their younger selves might have held different views and had different values, their present location and position in hip-hop culture determine the way in which they construct their identities based on specific interpretations of the past. By constructing their work as political and as a way of "speaking for" the marginalized other, hip-hop artists also affirm a dominant narrative of hip-hop culture present in mainstream media. Thereby, they not only legitimize themselves as hip-hop artists, a legitimization that frequently also includes heteronormative masculinity, but also attain a better position to sell their music. I nevertheless argue that the combination of an entangled history and an oral history framework is fruitful, as it contributes with an actor-based perspective on the creation and negotiation of identities across national borders. Such a perspective, which must always take the fact that identities are created in the present into account, demonstrates that identities are based on specific narratives of the past and also imagined within and across national borders.

Från nueva canción till hiphop. En sammanflätad hiphop-historia mellan Chile och Sverige

Denna artikel kombinerar ett *entangled history*-perspektiv med muntlig historia för att analysera förhandlingar av identitetskonstruktioner genom hiphop mellan Sverige och Chile. Artikeln är baserad på intervjuer med hiphopartister i Chile och hiphopartister med chilensk bakgrund i Sverige som konstruerar, använder och fyller olika identiteter med mening inom specifika historiska sammanhang. Artikeln har fyra analysnivåer. Den första analysnivån lyfter den historiska kontexten inom vilken hiphopkulturen uppstod i båda länder från 1980-talet och fram till idag. Denna utveckling diskuteras även mot bakgrund av hiphop som genre med historiska rötter i USA. Den andra analysnivån utgår från en komparativ läsning av dessa historiska kontexter som bland annat tar hänsyn till transnationella maktförhållanden mellan Sverige och Chile. På en tredje analysnivå fokuseras influenser och kontakter som har haft en avgörande betydelse för hiphopens utveckling, medan den fjärde och sista nivån diskuterar hur artister i båda länder skapar kontinuitet eller brott med det förflutna. Artikelns slutsats är att artister i båda länder fyller en chilensk eller latino-identitet med mening beroende på olika uppfattningar och tolkningar av det förflutna. Genom att kombinera ett *entangled history*-perspektiv med muntlig historia hävdar artikeln att dessa identitetskonstruktioner är både baserade på specifika berättelser om det förflutna och föreställda inom och över olika nationsgränser.

Keywords: Entangled history, oral history, hip-hop, Chile and Sweden

Endnotes

1 For hip-hop studies in Sweden, see: Ove Sernhede, *Alienation is my nation: Hiphop och unga mäns utanförskap i Det nya Sverige*, Stockholm 2007; Ove Sernhede & Johan Söderman, *Planet Hiphop; Om hiphop som folkbildning och social mobilisering*, Malmö 2010; For hip-hop studies focusing on Chile see Rainer Quitzow, *Hip-Hop in Chile: Far from New York (Lejos del Centro)*, New York 2001; Juan Pablo Olavarría, Karla Henríquez, Cristina Correa & Rodrigo Hidalgo, "Hip-hop en Chile", *Comunicación y medios*, Santiago 2002:13, pp. 111–118; Pedro Poch Plá, *Del Mensaje a la Acción. Construyendo el Movimiento HipHop en Chile. 1984–2004 y más allá*, Santiago 2011; María Emilia Tijoux, Marisol Facuse & Miguel Urrutia "El Hip-hop: Arte popular de lo cotidiano o resistencia táctica a la marginación?", *Polis, Revista de la Universidad Bolivariana* 2012:33, pp. 429–449.

2 For studies focusing on the Chilean diasporization process, see for instance: Beatriz Lindqvist, *Drömmar och vardag i exil: Om chilenska flyktingars kulturella strategier*, Stockholm 1991; Erik Olsson, "Bortom exilen: Diasporiseringen av chilenare i Sverige", in *Transnationella Rum: Diaspora, migration och gränsöverskridande relationer*, Erik Olsson (ed.), Umeå 2007, pp. 217–246; Philip Lalander, *Respekt: Gatukultur, ny etnicitet och droger*, Malmö 2009; Arbetarhistoria, *Antipodes: Sverige och Chile* 2010:2–3. For studies

focusing on entangled history, see for instance: Michael Werner & Bénédicte Zimmerman, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 2002:4, pp. 607–636; Silke Neunsinger "Cross-over!: Om komparationer, transferanalyser, histoire croisée och den metodologiska nationalismens problem", *Historisk tidskrift*, 2010:1, pp. 3–24; Jani Marjanen, "Undermining Methodological Nationalism, Histoire croisée of Concepts as Transnational History", in *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents-Structures-Encounters*, Mathias Albert, Gesa Bluhm, Jan Helmig, Andreas Leutzsch & Jochen Walter (eds.), Frankfurt & New York 2009, pp. 239–263; Adam Hjortén, *Border-Crossing Commemorations: Entangled Histories of Swedish Settling in America*, Diss., Stockholm 2015.

3 Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop, Won't Stop: The History of the Hip-Hop Generation*, New York 2005.

4 Stuart Hall, "What Is this 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?", in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, David Morley & Kuan Hsing Chen (eds.) London 2005, pp. 469–478; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, London 1993.

5 See for instance: Tony Mitchell (ed.), *Global Noise. Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, Middletown 2002; Sascha Verlan & Hannes Loh, *25 Jahre Hip-hop in Deutschland,* Berlin 2005; Sernhede & Söderman 2010; Sina A. Nitzsche & Walter Grünzweig (eds.), *Hip-Hop in Europe: Cultural Identities and Transnational Flows*, Berlin 2013; Halifu Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves*, New York 1997.

6 Sernhede 2007.

7 Sernhede 2007; Sernhede & Söderman 2010. Earlier research also includes: Kalle Berggren, *Reading Rap: Feminist Interventions in Men and Masculinity Research*, Stockholm 2014; Jacob Kimvall, *The G-Word: Virtuosity and Violation, Negotiating and Transforming Graffiti*, Diss., Stockholm 2014.

8 Fernando Camacho Padilla, "Las relaciones entre Chile y Suecia durante el primer gobierna de Olof Palme", *Iberoamericana*, 2007:25, p. 73; *Arbetarhistoria* 2010; Olsson 2007.

9 The "progressive" music genre or "proggrörelsen" in Sweden may be compared to the American folk music genre that included artists such as Bob Dylan. It was largely based on "easy to play" music and a "do it yourself" attitude. See David Thyrén, *Musikhus i centrum: Två lokala praktiker inom den svenska progressiva musikrörelsen: Uppsala Musikforum och Spräng kullen i Göteborg*, Diss. Stockholm 2009; Nancy E. Morris, *Canto porque es necesario cantar: The New Song Movement in Chile, 1973–1983*, Albuquerque, New Mexico 1984; Ana Maria Foxley, "Quilapayún, Inti Illimani, Illapu", *Mensaje* 1988:374, pp. 505–507; Charlotte Tornbjer, "Moralisk chock och solidaritet. 1973 och det svenska engagemanget för Chile", in *1973: En träff med tidsandan*, Marie Cronqvist, Lina Sturfelt & Martin Wiklund (eds.), Lund 2008, pp. 56–70; Marco Cervantes & Lilliana Saldaña, "Hip-Hop and *Nueva Canción* as Decolonial Pedagogies of Epistemic Justice" *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2015:1, pp. 84–108; Yulia Gradskova, "Vad angår oss Chile? Solidaritetskultur som en emotionell gemenskap", unpublished manuscript 2015.

10 Lindqvist 1991; Lalander 2009.

11 Quitzow 2001; Olavarría et al. 2002, p. 111–118; Poch Plá 2011; Tijoux et al. 2012.

12 Werner & Zimmerman 2002; Neunsinger 2010.

13 Marjanen 2009, p. 239.

14 Werner & Zimmerman 2002, p. 622. Werner and Zimmerman thus oppose making a distinction between social and cultural history. Also see: Stefan Nyzell, *"Striden ägde*

rum i Malmö" Möllevängskravallerna 1926. En studie av politiskt våld i mellankrigstidens Sverige, Malmö 2009, p. 27.

15 Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different" in *The Oral History Reader*, Robert Perks & Alistair Thomson (eds.), pp. 32–43; Malin Thor, "Oral history – mer än en metod", *Historisk tidskrift* 2001:121, pp. 325–345.

16 Interview with Cristian "Salla" Salazar Campos, born in Santiago, Chile, 9 January 1975, artist and producer; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 14 July 2015. The group The Latin Kings released five albums: "Välkommen till förorten" (Welcome to the *Förorten*) in 1994, "Bienvenido a mi barrio" (Welcome to my Neighborhood) in 1995, "I skuggan av betongen" (In the Shadow of the Concrete) in 1997, "Mitt kvarter" (My Block) in 2000 and "Omertà" in 2003. The production company The Salazar Brothers consisting of two of the three members of The Latin Kings has its headquarters in Norsborg, a suburb of Stockholm.

17 Interview with "Juan Havana" Paez Larraguibel, born 24 February 1984, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm 19 December 2012. Advance Patrol has released four studio albums: "Utskrivna" (The Outwritten/Released) in 2003, "Aposteln" (The Apostle) in 2006, "Enligt AP" (According to AP) in 2007 and "El Futuro" (The Future) in 2009. Both members of Advance Patrol, "Juan Havana" Paez Larraguibel and Gonzalo "Gonza" del Rio Saldias, live and work in Malmö.

18 Interview with Rodrigo "Rodde" Bernal, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 18 November 2013. Hermanos Bernal has only released one full-length album: "Directo de Suecia" (Directly from Sweden) in 2009. The group consists of Rodrigo "Rodde" Bernal who lives in Oscarshamn and his brother Cristian "Soyloco" Bernalo who lives in Jönköping.

19 *The Latin Kings Portafolio: Den sanna berättelsen om Chepe, Dogge och Salla*, Stockholm 2005.

20 Interview with Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 16 June 2015. The group Panteras Negras has released five albums: "Lejos del Centro" (Far from the Center) in 1990, "Reyes de la Jungla" (Kings of the Jungle) in 1993, "Atacando Calles" (Attacking the Streets) in 1995, "La Ruleta" (The Roulette) in 1996 and "Prodigos" (Prodigies) in 2012. Eduardo "Lalo" Meneses lives in Santiago de Chile.

21 Interview with Jimmy Fernández, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 17 June 2015. The group La Pozze Latina released three albums during the 1990s: "Pozzeídos por la illusion" (Possessed by the Illusion) in 1993, "Una nueva religion" (A New Religion) in 1996 and "Desde el mundo de los espejos" (From the World of Mirrors) in 1999. Jimmy Fernández lives in Santiago de Chile.

22 Interview with Cesar "Cestar" Morales, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 17 june 2015. Shamanes Crew released its first album "Del Amor al Odio" (From Love to Hate) in 2003. This first album was followed by "El Ritual" (The Ritual) in 2005, "Ninos de Barrio" (The Children from the Barrio) in 2007, "Desde Chile Para El Mundo" (From Chile to the World) in 2009 and "Redención" (Deliverance) in 2010—an album that included the song "Fuego" that was recorded in collaboration with Advance Patrol—and their latest album "Antología" (Anthology) that was released in 2010. Cesar "Cestar" Morales lives in Santiago de Chile.

23 Interview with Edwin "Chumbeque" Líbano Gamboa, hip-hop artist; recorded by Susan Lindholm, 14 June 2015. Chumbeque does not belong to a group and has not to date released a full-length album. He lives in Valparaiso.

24 Lalo Meneses, *Reyes de la Jungla*, Santiago 2014.

25 Chilean Musician Ana Tijoux on Politics, Feminism, Motherhood & Hip-Hop as "A

Land for the Landless", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EJ3Gr58dpWM (2015-10-12); Ana Tijoux, La rabia tiene voz, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKlgS-ho8Z0 (2015-10-12)

26 Poch Pla 2011, p. 68.

27 Quitzow 2001; Sernhede & Söderman 2010.

28 Sören Olsson & Anders Törnquist, *Förorten: Insatser och utveckling under 40 år*, Stockholm 2009.

29 Elisabeth Lilja, *Den ifrågasatta förorten: Identitet och tillhörighet i moderna förorter*, Stockholm 1999.

30 Per-Markku Ristilammi, *Rosengård och den svarta poesin: En studie av modern annorlundahet*, Stockholm 1994; Urban Ericsson, Irene Molina & Per-Markku Ristilammi, *Miljonprogram och media: Föreställningar om människor och förorter*, Stockholm 2002; Sernhede & Söderman 2010, p. 34.

31 Quitzow 2001, p. 21; Clarisa Hardy Raskovan, *La Ciudad Escindida: Los problemas nacionales y la Region Metropolitana*, Santiago 1989, pp. 101–102.

32 Poch Plá 2011, p. 75.

33 Meneses 2014, p. 11.

34 Quitzow 2001, p. 28.

35 Quitzow 2001, p. 17.

36 Quitzow 2001, p. 16. Poch Pla 2011, p. 77.

37 Tricia Rose, keynote held at the Critical Hip-Hop Studies symposium, University of Turku, Finland, 17 October 2014.

38 Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*, Hanover, New Haven 1994, p. 2; Quitzow 2001, p. 3.

39 The Universal Zulu Nation is an international hip-hop awareness organization that was founded by hip-hop artist Afrika Bambaataa in New York during the 1970s. It originally consisted of former gang members who started organizing cultural events for youths. Chang 2005, pp. 115–136. Public Enemy, on the other hand, is a hip-hop group known for its political lyrics and its outspoken criticism of, above all, U.S.-American media.

40 Meneses 2014, p. 39.

41 Susan Lindholm, Interview with Jimmy Fernández.

42 Quitzow 2001, p. 35.

43 Quitzow 2001, p. 25.

44 Bakari Kitwana, *The Hip-Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African-American Culture*, New York 2002.

45 Meneses 2014, p. 69.

46 Meneses 2014, p. 34.

47 Kristin Sørensen, *Media, Memory, and Human Rights in Chile*, New York 2009.

48 Quitzow 2001, p. 17; Sørensen 2009.

49 Quitzow 2001, p. 20.

50 "Fue una década llena de promesas que quedaron en nada", Meneses 2014, p. 57.

51 Meneses 2014, p. 45.

52 The Juventudes Comunistas de Chile, is the youth wing of the Communist Party of Chile that was founded in 1932. The Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodriguez (The Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front) was a Marxist-Leninist paramilitary organization, founded in 1983 as the armed wing of the Communist Party with the goal of violently overthrowing Pinochet. Named after Chilean guerilla leader Manuel Javier Rodríguez Erdoíza, who is considered one of the founders of independent Chile, it was classified as a terrorist organization by the U.S. Department of State.

53 Meneses 2014, p. 45.
54 Meneses 2014, p. 57.
55 Meneses 2014, p. 36.
56 Meneses 2014, p. 68.
57 Meneses 2014, p. 83.
58 Meneses 2014, p. 87.
59 Quitzow 2001, p. 19; Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuelo, *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*, New York 1991, p. 318; Paulina de los Reyes, "Solidaritet med Chile – igen", *Arbetarhistoria Antipodes* 2010:2–3, p. 4.
60 Gellert Tamas, *Lasermannen: En berättelse om Sverige*, Stockholm 2002.
61 *The Latin Kings Portafolio* 2005, p. 31.
62 *The Latin Kings Portafolio* 2005, p. 143.
63 Susan Lindholm, Interview with Lalo Meneses.
64 Masse quickly withdrew from the interview. Afterwards he told me that he knows more about Swedish sing-alongs than Chile, which is why he decided to withdraw.
65 *The Latin Kings Portafolio* 2005, p. 122.
66 From the museum's homepage: "The Museum of Memory and Human Rights is a space designed to make visible the human rights violations committed by the state of Chile between 1973 and 1990; to dignify the victims and their families; and to encourage reflection and discussion on the importance of respect and tolerance so that these events may never recur", http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/el-museo/sobre-el-museo/ (2015-10-12).
67 Meneses 2014, p. 7.
68 Susan Lindholm, "Representing the Marginalized Other: The Swedish Hip-Hop Group Advance Patrol", *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning – Swedish Journal of Music Research*, 2014:96, pp. 105–125.
69 Susan Lindholm, "Negotiating Difference in the Hip-Hop Zone in-between Chile and Sweden", *Oral History*, 2015, pp. 51–61.
70 Tricia Rose 2014.
71 Ana Tijoux, La rabia tiene voz, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKlgS-ho8Zo (2015-10-12).
72 Cervantes & Saldaña 2015.
73 Advance Patrol, "Ett Land som är Tryggt" on *Ett Land som är Tryggt* (CD), Stockholm 2005.
74 Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, Jana Evans Braziel & Anita Mannur (eds.) Malden, MA 2003.
75 Jane Tumas Serna, "The Nueva Canción Movement and its Mass-Mediated Performance Context", *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 1992:2, pp. 13–157.