The Dissertation Committee for Carolyn Dianne Roark
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Socializing the Audience:

Culture, Nation-Building, and Pedagogy in Chile's *Teatro Infantil*

Committee:

Jill Dolan, Supervisor

John Brokaw

John Fleming

Sharon Grady

Armando Sanchez

Socializing the Audience:
Culture, Nation-Building, and Pedagogy in Chile's *Teatro Infantil*

by

Carolyn Dianne Roark, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2002

Acknowledgements

I owe gratitude to many friends and supporters who have given so freely to me during this long process. This limited space allows only the most perfunctory attempt at acknowledging the legion of people who have given their time and knowledge during my travels and my writing process.

First and foremost, thanks be to God. “I can do all things through God who gives me strength” (Phil. 4:13).

I am indebted to the professors who have given me constant guidance and modeled excellence in scholarship and student mentoring: Jill Dolan, John Brokaw, John Fleming, Sharon Grady, and Armando Sanchez. I am especially grateful to Jill Dolan, whose careful reading of the various drafts and insightful commentary have helped me grow exponentially as writer and thinker.

During my travels in Chile, dozens of artists and educators generously shared their time and knowledge with me. Many granted me permission to observe and record their productions, provided me with supplemental materials, and patiently answered my never-ending questions. I only wish that space permitted me to list each individual. *Mil gracias y mil más a todos. Suerte y exito, para ahora y siempre.* The Bibloteca Nacional de Chile and Biblioteca de la Pontífica Universidad Católica permitted me access to their vast resources and a quiet space in which to explore materials undisturbed. I thank the librarians and assistants who manage the collections, especially

Señorita Andrea in the archive room at the Campus Oriente. Special thanks to Jorge Díaz, Verónica Garcia-Huidobro, Hernan Lacalle, Vasco Moulián, and Marco Yávar. Thanks also to Carola Oyarzún, Juan Antonio Muñoz, Eduardo Guerrero del Rio, and the press attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Chile for helping make contact with various artists and organizations.

The University of Texas and the Department of Theatre and Dance have provided a stable, stimulating learning environment over the last seven years. I appreciate their commitment to producing responsible scholars and teachers, and giving me so many opportunities to grow.

Several friends offered feedback, a sympathetic ear, and general encouragement. Maria Beach read tirelessly, Salvador Apud shared insight on Latin American cultures, and Sue Kratochvil prayed without ceasing. Mary Kay Lutringer excelled in encouragement. Professor Chandler Stolp talked me down from several ledges.

My final acknowledgement must belong to my family: My parents, Charles and Cookie Roark, my brother Chuck, and my sister Cari. They have loved and supported me unconditionally. My husband, Grant Melcher, is my sweetheart and my unfailing anchor. My love and thanks to all of you.

Socializing the Audience:

Culture, Nation-Building, and Pedagogy in Chile's *Teatro Infantil*

Publication No._____

Carolyn Dianne Roark, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Austin, 2002

Supervisor: Jill Dolan

Through an analysis of *teatro infantil* ("children's theatre") in Chile, this dissertation interrogates the process of nation-building and social pedagogy in professional performances for child audiences. Postcolonialist theory has typically positioned "nationalism" as a singular discourse or ideology positioned in resistance to colonizing influences. Theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha challenge this monolithic conceptualization, proposing that nationalism is a process and, therefore, continually under construction and subject to different interpretations. My study of *teatro infantil* examines the ways that theatrical performance has been used in the service of differing ideologies to influence the direction of the nation in Chile. Through an analysis of productions and performances practices over the movement's history, I trace the different notions of citizenship and duty that practitioners and educators have presented to Chilean children. I argue that performance can serve various, at times rival, ideological discourses in the attempt to teach young people about culture and their place within it. In the process, I

interrogate the presence of a growing survival imperative at work in the professional theatre, and uncover its influence on the ways that practitioners construct citizenship. In the process of nation-building, *teatro infantil* serves as a pedagogical tool to demonstrate for children cultural values, to engage their concern for social issues, and to promote arts appreciation as an important quality in the “good” citizen. In the thinking of these artists and educators, if children successfully adopt these attributes when they mature, the nation will develop healthier social structures, more just political practices, and the future prosperity of the theatre may be secured. The limitations of these assumptions are discussed, yet this study reveals ways in which the theatre may help young people develop critical skills and creative tools that they may use to benefit the culture throughout their lives.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1
Introduction to *Teatro Infantil* and Social Pedagogy in Chile

At the 2000 La Reina Festival de Teatro Infantil ("children's theatre") in Santiago, Chile—"the only children's theatre festival where the children choose the winner" (La Reina Festival advertisement 1/00)—daily performances drew large audiences of young people and their parents. The shows varied widely in theme, narrative, and style (as well as aesthetic quality), but the majority demonstrated one uniting characteristic—that the performance was structured to communicate to the children in a very specific way. Several productions focused on providing specific kinds of information to the audience—about appropriate behavior, the responsibilities of children to their parents or teachers, and the nature of civic and social duties—or upon encouraging the children to think (and reach certain implied conclusions) about special issues facing their country. These performances undertook a pedagogical project; that is, they sought to encode ethical and ideological messages into the performance to teach moral lessons, influence ideals, or encourage the formation of progressive, activist attitudes among children in the audience.

Of the productions included in the 2000 festival, Madre Tierra ("Mother Earth") by Compañía (Cía.) Bototo Azul most clearly exemplifies one manner in which this project may be carried out, particularly with regard to guiding the children's reception and response to the producer's message. The action

centered on the character of Madre Tierra, and her need for careful, loving care. The production opens with a song in which Madre Tierra introduces herself and encourages the children to sing along with the simple chorus. After the song ends, she introduces herself again and attempts to enlist the audience's assistance in solving a great problem. She needs *socios* (sponsors) to help care for her. After the audience collectively agrees to serve as her *socios*, and are sworn in by Madre Tierra's assistants (adult actors playing children), the characters begin a game that forms the first part of the show. Madre Tierra informs them it is a test of their fitness for guardianship. The game features three short scenarios in which the earth or environment faces a threat–littering, animal abuse, and smoking in the presence of children—and Madre Tierra requests the assistance of juvenile audience members to fix the problem.

In each scenario, one or more of the characters acts out the inappropriate behavior, and the audience members call a halt to the action as soon as they determine the problem. The actors solicit from the group an explanation of the incorrect behavior, request appropriate responses, and then invite a child onto the stage to act out the right behavior. One child picks up and throws away the refuse of the litterer, another strokes and pets a dog abused by errant teens, and two children put out the big, toy cigarette held by an offending adult smoker (they are then reminded by Madre Tierra to throw away the butt, so as not to pollute the earth).

In the second part of the show, Madre Tierra and her friends act out a story about her own childhood, explaining (in an entirely non-scientific fashion) how the Earth's seasons came to be ordered. This scene emphasizes the contribution that each anthropomorphized season brings to the group, and shows the value of friendship between them. Throughout the piece, the characters solicit recitation of factual data from the audience ("How many seasons are there?" "What revolves around the Earth?") and suggestions about how best to resolve the conflict between Madre Tierra's friends Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. After the five characters are joined in harmony, Madre Tierra gives a speech about the value of friendship and the positive contribution that each person has to share with the group. Then, the opening song plays one last time, and the audience sings along while the characters exit the stage, dancing.

Madre Tierra exemplifies a number of the major characteristics of current pedagogically active theatre for children in Chile, both with regard to form and content. It addresses environmental concerns in the first act, stresses the social values of kindness and collective harmony in the second, and promotes scholastic and social learning through the games played as the show progresses. It uses recognized techniques for presenting the material to children: audience participation, songs, bright colors, and a simple, straightforward plot. Concurrently, it expresses a concern for aesthetic quality in design and presentation through costume, sets, and acting. As a whole, the

production attempts to participate in the formation of the young audience members as citizens of the nation by encouraging them to develop desirable intellectual and social traits. In the development of *teatro infantil* as an autonomous dramatic movement in Chile, the utility of performance as an educational tool has been a consistently significant part of the practice. As an example of contemporary production in the field, Madre Tierra overtly displays a variety of the dominant heuristic elements that have arisen during the growth of the genre.

This study investigates the use of performance by educators and professional theatre artists to participate in projects of nation-building by influencing the perspectives of children watching the performances. To this end, it traces the development of an independent movement of professional theatre for child audiences as it relates to the project of educating children in these two related areas: first, preparation for the young to take their place as full, contributing members of the Chilean nation, and second, training them to understand and value art and performance as an important part of Chilean culture. By analyzing the beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes promoted by various child-oriented plays and examining them within the context of the historical moment in which they occur, I uncover the ways that *teatro infantil* has been used in Chile to attempt to direct the political and social course of the nation. In the process, I construct a written history for *teatro infantil* as an

independent artistic movement in the country, which to this point has not been done either within Chile or by outside researchers.

The Creative Impulse and the Social World

Susan Bennett, in her book Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception (1997), argues that "theatre can never be divorced from the culture which produces it and which it, in turn, serves" (92). Theatrical performance exists to fulfill some social need. It cannot be separated from its cultural context, because preexisting cultural structures determine how it carries out its function, the content it carries, and the tools by which it communicates. Bennett draws upon Janet Wolff to suggest that culture will inform the ideas and values of any given artist within a society, and will also determine the artistic conventions available to them—aesthetics, genre, language, style—that mediate their work (92). The artist or producer may or may not be aware of the ways in which that culture works on them, in that it produces the ideologies that, in turn, drive the social agendas they follow. They also may or may not perceive that the culture's extant artistic vocabulary works for the dominant social or ideological construct. But theatre offers a useful means of communicating ideas and beliefs within a given society. With that in mind, the study of theatre offers insight into how art may become tool for pursuing social agendas. In Chile, performance has on many occasions supported ideas, shared knowledge, and affected the lives and

consciousness of people with whom it comes into contact. Bennett asserts that the relationship of artists to their culture (or their level of self-awareness) may influence whether the artist/producer works for the existing social structures or against them, whether they use existing conventions or reject them. Certainly, it affects how they will use the theatre to social ends—in the messages they encode, the techniques they use, and the audiences they try to reach. Analysis of a given performance will yield a rich body of information on the relationship between its producer and the society in which she lives, will offer insight into dominant ideologies and social structures, and may also show resistance or alternatives to culturally shared values.

From its inception, the *teatro infantil* movement in Chile has recognized the theatre's potential as a pedagogical tool, and has attempted to engage and influence the culture that produces it by participating in the socialization and education of the society's most malleable members—its children.[1] In some cases, it works to uphold the current social order by promoting recognized and accepted values; in others, it seeks to create change where it feels the collective body is weakest and least admirable.

In Chile, as with theatre in other Latin American countries, the creation of an independent children's theatre has been a 20th century project, just as it has been in the United States and Europe. In countries of North, Central, and South America where professional theatre has consistently maintained a strong presence in public venues of the post-Conquest society, productions

geared especially for the young reflect the contemporary Western belief that children differ from adults in both their tastes and their needs, and stand to benefit from art tailored especially to their developmental stages. In reading and researching the topic, I encountered a great deal of material on the modern growth of the practice in Mexico, Argentina, and (on a smaller scale) Cuba, primarily in the guise of how-to manuals for educators and practitioners, manifestos on the need for and appropriate means to develop the field, and collections of scripts for use with young audiences. For Chile, less documentation exists outside of the country. Most texts printed within the country have been practical manuals for *teatro escolar* ("student theatre") and creative dramatics. These include Teatro infantil: Las interpretaciones, dramatizaciones y representaciones teatrales infantiles (1933) by Celina Perrin, Antonio Mulato Ñunque's Escenario: Selección de las mejores obras de teatro infantil (1959), Luis Emilio Rojas' Desde las aulas: poesía y teatro infantil (n.d.), Chile: Dramatizaciones de su historia (1961) by Oscar Jara Azocar, Ruben Sotoconil's Teatro Escolar (1993), and Verónica Garcia-Huidobro's Manual de pedagogía teatral (1996).

The consistent, abundant availability of productions to Chilean audiences (as demonstrated in major newspapers in the country), as well increasing efforts to add specialized training in dramatic pedagogy in both theatre and education departments of the major universities, indicate that Chile—particularly in the metropolitan centers of Santiago, Valparaíso/Viña

del Mar, and Concepción—has an equally well-established field of performance for young audiences. Though Chile's *teatro infantil* lacks a solid body of historical and critical writing, it does emerge from a theatre practice about which a certain amount of scholarly material has been written. The movement reflects a broader tendency toward the use of theatrical performance as a heuristic tool in Chilean society, which has from its earliest days used the dramatic arts to influence the ideas and morality of the general populace, and to participate in the process of shaping the nation.

Socio-Pedagogical Performance in Chile: A Brief History and Theoretical Framework

Homi K. Bhabha addresses the concepts of “nation” and “nationalism” in his introduction to Nation and Narrative (1990), rejecting the notion that the nation exists as a fixed product emerging as an apparatus of power or determined by the victors in cultural and political struggle. Rather, nationalism and the nation are processes, ideas that are constantly in flux as participants in the discourse struggle to apply their own definitions and interpretations to cultural and national identity. The nation is constantly engaged in the act of constructing itself and may be “caught, uncertainly, in the act of ‘composing’ its powerful image” (3). As a participant in competing discourses on nation and identity, the theatre provides a rich source of material about varying concepts of national identity and culture. In this analysis, I examine how

specific perspectives on morality, ethics, and good citizenship are central to these constructions of identity and culture, and how participants advocate given values and ethical codes as necessary to the strength and well being of the nation.

Loren Kruger considers nationhood and theatre in The National Stage (1992). She investigates projects of nation-building in professional performance during critical moments in the history of France, England, and the United States. She cites Eric Hobsbawm articulating the opposition between plays that support the dominant ideology and those that contest it, both of which are "invented traditions":

> They may be "mass-produced" to generate public consent to the display of prestige, where prestige is the public face of social and political domination that effectively excludes mass representation, or they may be "mass-producing," offering a lightning rod for mass opposition to the state, by which social and political groups struggling for hegemony might garner prestige as a prelude to economic and political power. (4)

There exist multiple examples of both "mass-produced" and "mass-producing" performances in Chile's pedagogical theatre; both are engaged in the process of creating ideas of nation and teaching them to the audience.

The belief that theatre provides an excellent venue for the teaching of morals and ideals (to facilitate acceptance of the rule of the governing body

sponsoring the performances) has permeated Latin American theatrical activity from colonial times. As Spanish colonies established themselves, Catholic priests assisted in the establishment of order, using dramatic performance with indigenous converts to assimilate them to Spanish social and religious concepts, as well as to direct their energies into activities that would encourage acceptance of colonial rule. Primarily, these took the form of elaborate processional pageants involving the participation of hundreds, sometimes thousands, of celebrants. The preparation and execution of these displays often took weeks of rehearsal, costume, and properties preparation, and consumed much of the energy and focus of participants during the preparatory period. Historical documentation exists for the priests' theatrical activity with aboriginal peoples in countries like Peru and Mexico. For Chile, less is known. Though military and evangelical efforts brought some of the regional tribes under Spanish control, some groups, most notably the Mapuche, successfully evaded domination until after the colonial period. The difficulty of establishing control in this region presumably limited the opportunities of priests to mount these large-scale productions.

Adam Versenyi, in Theatre in Latin America: Religion, Politics, and Culture from Cortés to the 1980s (1993), does note some evidence of pageants directed by priests in Chile at this time. Theatrical activity would increase as colonists pushed indigenous groups out of their former territories and built permanent settlements near geographic sites favorable to

agriculture, trade, or mining. In many ways, the development of a "Chilean" theatre parallels Chile's development as an independent nation and culture. From its earliest periods, performance was connected to the socio-political and economic life of the nation. Mario Canepa Guzman, in El teatro en Chile: desde los indios hasta los teatros universitarios ("Theatre in Chile: From the Indians to the University Theatres," 1966), and Paul McPharlin, in The Puppet Theatre in America: A History (1948), both note that after the establishment of settlements in the region and commerce between Chile and the Old World, European troupes began travelling to the colonies on a regular basis. Drawn by promises of enthusiastic, homesick audiences eager for both presentations of classical materials and the "latest thing," and the concurrent potential for rapid monetary gain, these travelling performers provided the majority of theatrical entertainment in the early years of the colonial period.[2]

Jeffrey D. Mason, in the collection of essays entitled Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theatre, states:

> The stage is only an explicit site for performing national identity, one that serves to focus the issues, rhetoric, and images found in the more general forums; its creative freedom and opportunity to take risks encourage attempts to develop, explore, test, and dispute conceptions of national character. (1)

In Chile as in the United States, theatre would prove useful to many different participants in creating notions of national identity. First, it served the needs of

the Spanish administration seeking to promote the successful growth and maturation of the areas under their supervision (as a testament to their fitness as stewards), and to help ensure the cooperation and submission of the populace to Spanish authority by directing their interest toward entertainments that supported the existing power structures. The colonists, too, had a stake in promoting the arts at a local level, to create an image of prestige and sophistication for the societies they were building. As increasing commerce and wealth boosted a sense of nationalistic pride in the growing population of each colony, a desire for civic and cultural advancement (mirroring the trappings of western European civilization and lifestyle) prevailed. Between 1752 and 1802, that impetus led to the building of large, lavish theatre houses in major cities, including Santiago de Chile (Versényi 45). Public officials sought to fund such projects by emphasizing (particularly in light of clerical objections) the moral and cultural good that a theatre could provide to a community. Argentina's Viceroy Vértiz advocated the establishment of a national theatre under the premise that "the theatre, so refined is not only judged by many politicians to be one of the best schools for behavior, language, and general urbanity, but is also needed in a city . . . lacking other forms of public entertainment" (45). Many politicians and entrepreneurs throughout Latin America used the neoclassical argument of the theatre's great utility as a social educator (and pacifier of the masses) to justify maintaining a national theatre.

In Chile, the merchant José Cos y Iriberri petitioned the Santiago city council in 1799 for permission to construct a theatre, stressing his intent to use the building only for the production of edifying plays that displayed the proper concern for verisimilitude, and the unities of action, time, and place. Chilean historian Durán Cerda asserts that the man's petition "abounds . . . in examples proving the theatre, through its wise maxims, to be a political and moral influence, and a molder of good taste, necessary elements for a population beginning to structure its social life" (qtd. in Pereira 14-18). That apparently included furnishing evidence that the plays presented would conform to accepted European standards of technical and aesthetic quality, hence his resolution to only permit the productions of scripts that met both moral standards and established formal conventions of unity and "likeness to life." The builders of early national theatres, like Cos y Iriberri, understood that their projects had a better chance at gaining official support if they could show that theatrical performance would directly influence the positive moral and social development of the national character in its juvenile stage, just beginning the process of "structuring its social life." The implication here is that the theatre would have a positive effect that would last well into the nation's future, as well as effectively physically display its current status of health, wealth, and growth.

That same neoclassical, tutorial supposition would appeal to both sides of the coming revolution, who would use drama to "engage in debate on the

issues, rhetoric, and images found in the more general forums" (1) in the manner discussed by Mason. After the failure of the colonists' first rebellion (1810-1813, during Joseph Bonaparte's rule of Spain), the Spaniards returned to power from 1814-1817. During that time, the Spanish governor, Marcó del Ponto, built a theatre and conscripted soldiers to perform there, hoping to distract the Chileans from their desire for independence and bring them back to accept Spanish rule (Versényi 47). The measure failed, and the first real crop of national Chilean theatre coincided with the colony's next bid for independence from Spain in 1817 led by Bernardo O'Higgins and Argentina's liberator San Martín .

Eugenio Pereira Salas' El teatro en Santiago del nuevo extremo 1709-1809 (1941) covers performance in Santiago during the period of growing nationalism that led up to the Chilean war for independence. The writers and performers of this period were the educated *criollos*, Chilean-born and raised members of the Spanish upper classes. Much of this early practice concerned itself with the fight for liberty and supporting the revolutionary cause on stage. Theirs was a theatre of colonists and for colonists, and in support of independence and home rule. In Chile and elsewhere, the writers and producers of these dramas were adapting European revolutionary models to Latin American needs; they showed special interest in Jean Jacques Rousseau (Versenyi 49), a philosopher who also advocated the socio-pedagogical use of theatre.

Of these *criollo* activists, Camilo Henríquez is probably the most significant to the theatre. In 1817, he helped to form the *Sociedad del Buen Gusto de Teatro* ("The Society for Good Taste in Theatre"), the aim of which was to "promote the improvement of our theatrical exhibitions, by procuring original works, translating the best foreign ones and adapting selected old ones, in order to ensure that the theatre will be a school of manners, a vehicle of enlightenment and a political organ" (qtd. in Versényi 53). It is significant that Henríquez's statement includes classical, foreign, and Chilean-originated plays (those to which he refers as "original") among those of "good taste" capable of spreading enlightenment and supporting political aims; the inclusion signals growing nationalization in the content of Chile's theatrical activity. In The Development of the National Theatre in Chile (1958), Margaret Campbell chronicles the process of building a theatre by Chileans and for Chileans in the now-independent nation as it strove to develop self-definition and self-rule.

Adam Versényi also addresses the activity of the time, focusing primarily on the less formal *costumbrista* ("local manners") and *chingana* performances of the cafés, inns, public squares, and private homes. [3] Many of these productions, especially those of the *chingana* "inns, restaurants, and cafés bubbling with nightlife and imbued with the republican spirit" (59), were political and satirical in nature, lampooning the flaws of the recently defeated colonial system. They used primarily music, song, dance, sketch comedy, and

farce—the popular/folkoric forms that best appealed to non-aristocratic classes. According to Versényi, “Here the power of performance reflects the newly found republican spirit of independence by using theatre to undermine the status of the recently defeated colonial hierarchy. Time and again in Latin America, the theatre takes on such a liberating role” (61). For the populist participants and audience of the *chingana*, the performances offered them a chance to participate in the discourse on the creation of the new nation.

Leigh Woods marks a parallel project on the American vaudeville stage in "American Vaudeville, American Empire", where the genre helped to transform the country "from a postcolonial nation essentially servile in its deference to European culture into one capable of asserting its own values in cultural spheres that resonated with the overtones of power" (Performing America 74). The stage became a space where European values could be ridiculed and discredited, and American ideas and practices stepped in to replace them as alternative and superior ways of looking at and engaging in the national life. As vaudeville helped the masses of the United States to break from dependence on foreign culture to assert independence and national identity, so the *chinganas* allowed for a popular rejection of imperialist values by affirming the superiority of the former colony's own culture, which was created by the *criollo* and *mestizo* people living there.

However, performances at *chinganas* also ridiculed the flaws of the new Creole government, who found the performances’ licentiousness and

rejection of neoclassical standards (as well as some of their jokes) objectionable. Both Henríquez and Andrés Bello, founder of the Chilean university system, regarded these performances as morally degrading and contrary to the didactic, uplifting purpose of the theatre. Loren Kruger, in the National Stage, articulates the difficult position of popular cultural forms like the *chinganas*:

> Far from being a unifying image of social harmony, popular culture is in no way more homogenous than its social context and tends rather awkwardly to occupy the site of conflict between instituted practice and the tentative articulation of emergent practices on the part of groups excluded from legitimate representation. (22)

In the case of the *chinganas*, though their practices were anything but tentative, this situation was equally true. The social context in which they occurred was fraught with tension as a small elite group appointed itself the task of determining cultural direction for the whole country. The *chinganas* certainly qualified as emergent practices located among groups excluded from both decision-making and highbrow performance in the dawn of the new republic. According Versényi, a representative of the *chingana* community, José Romero, came forward to argue that the venues and their entertainments served a positive social function by "mitigat[ing] the effects of its citizens' behavior" by providing a necessary and appropriate place for the

recreational impulses of groups not permitted into the “establishments where the superior classes unite” (62). Additionally, argues Versényi, the *chingana* performances were involved in a reforming project of their own, highlighting and challenging the social class barriers and intellectual elitism of the new Creole ruling class (62).

As Bhabha has suggested, the idea of nation in Chile continued to be a process and a struggle between groups vying to determine the direction of political and social structures. Though a conservative class of landowners would dominate in positions of power in the Chilean government, other ideologies would continually arise to challenge their methods for directing economic, social, and political activities in the country. Dramatic performance would often arise in moments of crisis, especially to address and protest the place of marginalized social groups within the nation.

The next boom of Chilean theatre began in the 1920s. The chaos of Europe during World War I caused a significant break in the tide of European performers who had toured extensively through Latin America during the 1800s. The "entertainment void" created by their absence stimulated a need for some diversion to fill the vacancy. Chilean writers and performers, formerly held back by the aristocratic taste for things European, now found the field open and a ready-made audience waiting to be entertained. The WWI period gave them a chance to establish themselves; postwar prosperity and national growth helped them to improve their craft, especially since post-

WWI devastation and the outbreak of WWII prevented European troupes from returning *en masse* and trying to regain their foothold in South American markets. This was an important step in the development of a *Chilean* theatre, as it allowed local practitioners to capture the lion's share of the market, displacing the European monopoly in the home territory.

During the early part of the 1900s, theatrical activity within the working class grew and flourished. Its scope was both socio-political and educational, functioning within a broader project of workers' organizations to mobilize and assist their class. Pedro Bravo-Elizondo addressed this movement in his 1986 book Cultura y teatro obrero en Chile, 1900-1930. Primarily a means through which Chilean workers could address and redress the radically unjust conditions of their economic and social existence, theatre groups formed along with other cultural and educational societies sponsored by workers' organizations (Bravo-Elizondo 30).[4] Versényi interprets the activity as "an attempt by the working people themselves to present their own vision of their world, and to utilize any means at their disposal of bettering the conditions under which they lived" (136). These cultural groups served to educate their participants both in appreciation of the arts and in political activism; they also served as a means through which they could express their views on the society and their place within it. Bravo-Elizondo quotes historian P. Juan Vanherk Moris in highlighting the didactic and activist tendencies of *obrero* performance:

> In a specific social and historical space they gave their class a sense of cohesion and brotherhood, that implicitly confronted a society that didn't allow them to participate in its culture or its riches. The historical judgment that some authors displayed in their works accomplished not only a political objective, but also an educational objective of forming new generations. They saw society's transformation effected not only as by means of art, but also by the accompanying action of combatative theoretical knowledge, by the vision of the new world they wanted to forge. (121)

These competing nationalist visions threatened the established definitions held by the ruling classes--primarily members of the wealthy, landowning classes of Spanish descent--who responded with force to eradicate visions of a "new world." Such workers' theatre groups (and other projects) died out rapidly between 1931 and 1933, when the government executed a radical program of repression to quell potential uprisings. The theatre, a readily identifiable zone of political sentiment and activity, faced particular persecution. For all intents and purposes, popular theatre disappeared until the university experimental theatre movement of the 1940s (Versényi 137).

Between 1930 and 1940, the traditional or "legitimate" theatre also experienced a period of rapid decline, particularly as the interest of the public

in live performance declined. Charles May attributes the downturn largely to the advent of moving pictures in Chile following WWI (172). In the early 1940s, however, student groups at the Universidad de Chile (UCh) and the Universidad Católica (PUC or UC) gained administrative support for ambitious programs of reform and experimentation in theatrical performance. These theatres, connected as they were to major universities, became the front leaders in a revitalization of Chilean theatre and the birthplace of many of Chile's strongest contemporary theatre practitioners.[5] Charles May emphasizes the place of the UCh and PUC in the broader society during this decade:

> Culture in Chile at this point took a unique turn—it became almost entirely the concern of the universities. It is the universities that produce most of the dramas in Chile, the universities that present operas to the people, the universities that sponsor foreign performers and art forms when they appear locally. (172)

The connection of the universities, as places of learning, with the responsibility for the creation and fomentation of culture signals a growing sense that "culture" must be taught to the people of a community, that it, as well as ideologies and identity, may be learned through the medium of performance.[6] Edward Said suggests that universities and other social engines undertake such projects because of cultural imperatives that affirm

“the social authority of patriotism, the fortifications of identity brought to us by ‘our’ culture, whereby we can confront the world defiantly and self-confidently” (Culture and Imperialism 320). According to Said:

> The national identity struggling to free itself from imperialist domination found itself lodged in, and apparently fulfilled by, the state. Armies, flags, legislatures, schemes of national education, and dominant (if not single) political parties resulted and usually in ways that gave the nationalist elites the places once occupied by the British or the French [or as in the case of Latin America, the Spanish]. (264)

These directives emerge from a nationalist perspective that attempts to declare a society’s sovereignty. But groups within the national circles, who have moved into the slots vacated by representatives of the defeated imperial regime, unintentionally repeat the structures of exclusion and hierarchy that they originally sought to escape. Said does not indicate that this situation is inevitable, only that it is common, if not probable. That difficulty marked the early days of Chile’s nationhood, as evidenced by Henriquez’ “Sociedad de buen gusto en teatro,” and official objections to performances like those of the *chinganas*. It became more prevalent at this moment, as the universities took upon themselves the cultural improvement of the Chilean people.[7] The universities, and other groups seeking to acculturate their community, were also seeking to program them with discourses and interpretive framework that support existing power structures. That would in the change in the 1960s, in

the years leading up to the Allende administration, which attempted between 1970 and 1973 to radically alter the structure of economic and social policies for the whole society.

The years between 1940 and 1970 comprise a “golden age” of Chilean drama, a period of creativity and experimentalism, the pursuit of artistic excellence, and increasing engagement with the current socio-cultural discourse of the country. Both Teodosio Fernández’s El teatro chileno contemporaneo (1941-1973) (1982) and the Historica relación del teatro Chileno (1985) by Benjamin Morgado address this boom and its legacy. Morgado’s book covers the length of Chilean theatre history, but focuses especially on the first two decades of the golden age, those of the 1940s and 1950s. Following the initial tide of re-direction and stimulation from the universities, live performance became actively engaged in the national discussion about the country’s current and future direction, particularly with regard to political methodology and social programs. Versényi suggests that the changes “served to restore vigor to the Latin American theatre by combining a reinterpretation of the past with a universalization of theatrical technique” (140). Playwrights and producers turned away from more classical and folkloric themes to address their own contemporary society. Egon Wolff, Jorge Díaz, and Sergio Vodanovic, three of Chile’s internationally recognized playwrights, all emerged during this period.

During the late 1950s and 1960s, the time was ripe for growing social activism and radical political sentiment. Starkly visible lines existed between the very wealthy aristocracy and the badly underprivileged working class; a growing middle class shouldered the majority of the burden of taxation and economic instability. Since the early 1900s, several presidents and reform parties had attempted to institute radical changes in the economic structure of the country, striving to redistribute land to the peasants who currently worked it for vastly wealthy ranchers; to unionize factory employees in the large cities; and to create social programs to improve the health and education of the country's lower classes. Many of these programs met strong and effective resistance from the largely aristocratic congress, and from competing far left-wing contingencies that did not think the measures went far enough. In addition, the turmoil of WWII brought scores of Europeans (peoples fleeing Nazi and Italian persecution, and later, former members of the Nazi and Italian Fascist parties) to South America. As travelling Chileans had brought the ideas of Rousseau home with them from the salons and universities of Europe, contemporary immigrants to Chile came bearing the intellectual and philosophical ideas of Freud, Marx, Darwin, and other great modern commentators on the human condition. Increasing investment and trade with the West exposed Latin Americans to the delights of economic consumption in the guises of technology, automobiles, household merchandise, and credit

cards. Both the United States and the USSR became actively interested in the direction of the governing bodies in Central and South America.

The theatre that rose from these events sought to depict the present moment in various countries of Latin America, including Chile. As with the nationalist period of the late 18th century, theatre became a means of engaging in the social dialogue for didactic and revolutionary purposes. The problems of consumerism, social justice, class struggle, and economic/political balances of power became evident in the writing of established playwrights (like Wolff, Díaz, and Vodanovic) and the productions of the UCh, PUC, and smaller independent troupes formed during the period. Many of the members of these groups, particularly those comprised of university students, subscribed to the ideas of radical economic reform and leftist governance.

In addition to theatre artists with socio-political agendas, performance became a popular tool for protest and propaganda among certain groups of activists. The techniques of Augusto Boal, Paulo Freire, and Enrique Buenaventura entered Chile in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and became part of radical efforts to educate and energize marginalized groups through "Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed."[8] At different moments, each came to work in Chile; their ideas were also used by students and activists who had attended their workshops and projects in Brazil and elsewhere. Boal, Bueneventura, and Freire all developed their ideas from a leftist worldview;

thus, their work centered upon the economically and socially disadvantaged, whom they wished to teach critical thinking skills. The focus on creating a critical consciousness that dissected social circumstances and encouraged new, creative visions of more egalitarian constructs, appealed to artists and educators supporting the movement to re-create Chile as a socialist democracy.

The election of Salvadore Allende in 1970 seemed a culmination of the revolutionary spirit and grassroots activism of the times (Hickman 90). In his 1998 memoir Looking North, Heading South, Chilean sociologist and playwright Ariel Dorfman (best known for his 1991 play Death and the Maiden) speaks of the fervor and theatrical activity of the period. Canonized classics such as Shakespeare and Shaw remained popular during this period, but performance centered on the contemporary situation of Chile came to the forefront. According to Versényi, “The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the creation of a directly political theatre that, if it did not necessarily point the way towards a particular solution, had as its explicit aim the fomentation of a consciousness of class struggle” (174). At its very core, the revolutionary theatre of this period was didactic and nationalist, and tended towards consciousness-raising and critical thinking.

The desire for radical social change stimulated a shift in the techniques used by performers. Street theatre and community projects intended for non-professional actors became increasingly popular. It was during this period that

the concept of collective creation (making a piece through group collaboration and experimentation) in opposition to the concept of individual authorship, began to gain popularity with Chilean performers. Groups formed specifically to experiment with the style; collective creation attracted professional and amateur practitioners alike by providing an opportunity for them to contribute to the production as a whole, including design elements (Hurtado 154). Chilean theatre historian Maria de la Luz Hurtado summarizes the period of the 1960s in this way:

> The 1960s were fundamental for Chilean theatre, for they saw the renewal of aesthetic forms and organizational styles, a wider commitment to the profession, a stronger involvement of all social classes in theatre art, the development of spaces and new social organizations, all within a framework of freedom of expression. (“Chile” 155)

Their efforts at grass roots mobilization and social education had the support of Allende’s government, which provided subsidies to university companies. They also had mass media exposure through regular filming and television broadcast of productions.

The movement towards democratic socialism did not appeal to all sectors of Chile's populace. The wealthier classes especially resisted these reforms, as they stood to lose the most from nationalization of industry and agrarian redistribution. Many members of the Chilean congress came from

these conservative groups, and loudly protested changes to traditional economic and political policies. Radical left-wing groups, dissatisfied with the pace of reforms, began organizing their own *tomas* (takeovers) of ranches and farms. The Church took umbrage at Allende's planned educational reforms, which modeled the soviet East German system (Hickman 105). The middle classes resented the shortages of goods, inflation, and anti-religious (specifically) anti-Catholic sentiment. By the end of 1972, tempers were high, the economy buckling, and several factions were quietly preparing for what they felt was an imminent civil war. The *Unidad Popular* party began to split, leaving Allende politically weakened and vulnerable (107). Following a botched coup in June of 1973, workers took control of multiple industrial centers and factories; strikes began to escalate into an "almost total paralysis of commercial, professional and industrial activity throughout the country" (107). Hickman indicates that the country collectively watched and waited tensely for some "decisive event" to bring the crisis to a head. On September 11, 1973, the military, supported by the congress and aided by the U.S. CIA, seized power from Allende and the Unidad Popular in a swift, decisive *golpe* (coup).

The military coup of 1973 brought the theatre, and many other institutions in Chilean society, to a screeching halt. For a time, government reorganization and police action made performance impossible; even sporting events and social celebrations were cancelled, and a nightly 10 p.m. curfew

enacted. Many of the more outspoken artist/activists (including Dorfman) were forced to flee the country; others disappeared after being arrested by military forces whose task it was to purge the "Marxist cancer" from the citizenry. In a few extreme cases, entire *groups* were arrested and held for months. Teatro Aleph, a radical and experimental company of practitioners, took their practice into exile in Paris after their release from prison, and were one of the few activist pre-*golpe* companies to survive the crisis.

Grinor Rojo's Muerte y resurreción del teatro Chileno 1973-1983 ("Death and Resurrection of the Chilean Theatre, 1973-1983") follows the immediate affect of the *golpe* on theatrical activity in the country, and traces its recovery following the early days of repression and political purging. Catherine Boyle focuses on the process of creating theatre under politically charged, authoritarian circumstances in her Chilean Theatre 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood. Both of these books address the response of the theatre to the country's situation, and the ways in which they sought to voice their understandings of the current conditions, to protest the loss of freedom and the unprecedented persecution of many citizens, without drawing too much dangerous attention from government censors. Many of the productions in this period reflected upon the changes and losses following recent events, and pondered social conditions that sought to silence, control, and marginalize many segments of the population. Rojo describes the "death" of the Chilean theatre following the *golpe*, and the slow process of reviving

the practice. Many professional and university groups during the 1970s clung to repertories of classical plays and light comedies to avoid confrontation with the new government. Both Rojo and Boyle, however, offer multiple examples of plays written during the second half of that decade that offered subtle expressions of social distress and indirect criticisms of authoritarian methods. Both authors also trace the development of increasingly aggressive and outspoken resistance during the 1980s, particularly as the country prepared for an election that would determine whether the current regime would stay in power. Between 1982 and 1988, theatre artists produced a wide variety of work that dealt with loss of utopian dreams, the trauma of torture, disappearance, and exile, and the distress occasioned by living under the confines of a police state.

In 1988, the population of Chile voted not to extend the presidency of General Augusto Pinochet, and to hold popular elections for a new president the following December. This return to democracy signified a new beginning for the society, but created a moment of uncertainty for the theatre, especially with regard to socio-pedagogical, activist, and protest performance. After the return to democracy, many artists' energies suddenly dissipated as the subject of their protest disappeared from view. By 1990, much of Chilean theatre shifted away from overt socio-political discourse and towards a new interest in the avant-garde and in psychological themes. In time, especially as practitioners returned from exile, performances emerged to deal with the

trauma of disappearance and torture during the Pinochet years. Dramatic increases in consumer spending (and credit card use) spurred a second wave of performed critique about materialism and consumer culture. Additionally, family and gender issues have become part of the social discourse in recent years: more women have joined the professional workforce and families have become dependent on two incomes, couples have challenged legislation that prevents divorce, and gay and transgender individuals have become more organized and vocal in their struggle for acceptance. Many theatre productions of the last decade have foregrounded discussions of feminism, gender, sexuality, and modern domestic/family concerns.

Teatro infantil has been present and engaged during the last 40 years of Chile's history, and has responded to many of the same issues as the adult theatre. The genre has also attempted to grapple with the problems facing the nation, confronting social justice, poverty, and political strife. It has often sought to participate in the ongoing discourse about the social and political character of the nation. The intended audience, however, has not traditionally exercised a significant amount of influence or decision-making power; thus, the practice has been overlooked in discussions of nationalist and socio-pedagogical theatre. One of the primary goals of practitioners participating in the *teatro infantil* movement has been to rescue children from their marginalized status as theatre-goers and participants in the culture, and to empower them with some kind of agency in the life of the nation.

Simultaneously, that empowerment has been designed to secure the place of professional performance within the nation by establishing children as active consumers of theatre now and in their adult future. For this project, I am attempting to uncover the nation-building and pedagogical practices of the professional *teatro infantil* movement, in order to examine the relationship between performance and society within a practice that has previously been ignored by scholarship. To lay this groundwork, I will outline the history of the form.

History of *Teatro Infantil*

The 1981 article "Sintesis historica del Teatro Infantil en Chile," written by Manuel Peña Muñoz, spends some time addressing the historical antecedents of *teatro infantil* in Chile. He briefly addresses the games of pre-Colombian and post-colonial children that used dramatic elements; he addresses puppet shows, circuses, magic lantern and shadow shows, and other forms of popular entertainment that toured Spanish colonies, and that local amateurs learned to produce for private amusements. He lists the earliest extant dramatic texts intended for production by and for children. These include Amelia Solar Marín de Claro's Maria Cenicienta in 1884, and La Vuelta Al Mundo en 80 días in 1885 (an adaptation of Jules Verne's Around the World in 80 Days). In the early 1900s, several compilations of plays for school children appeared (6). From the early days of Chile's history,

dramatic activity for children has diverged into two distinct trajectories: professional performances by adults creating stage plays for child audiences, and creative dramatics. The latter focuses largely on improvisation and theatrical play, and is used by educators and artists to work directly with children and adolescents in classrooms and workshops. Creative dramatics rarely produces work for public consumption. The bulk of my analysis focuses on the first of the two branches, the professional theatre produced by adults for children, and on its cultural practice of educating the young in social, ethical, and personal concerns.

The creation of the *Teatro infantil* genre in Chile has been primarily a 20th century project. Earlier periods featured dramatic activities popular with children—the games and amateur entertainments addressed by Peña Muñoz —performances that children might enjoy, and certain plays published with their tastes in mind. After 1900, however, favorable conditions for the genre's formation developed. Peña Muñoz indicates that in the 1930s, professional playwrights and other writers began writing consistently for children, producing mainly musical comedies and fantasies of the *zarzuela* and *sainete* styles--folk styles that featured pastoral narratives, and light, romantic content, and relied heavily on music and dance.[9] According to Rebeca Uribe, in "Desde la antigua Grecia los niños participaban en espectaculos publicos," the period between 1955-1969 was a golden age for adult theatre that also

produced a number of plays for children by nationally recognized playwrights, including Alejandro Sieveking and Jorge Díaz (16).

The latter half of the 20th century (1960-2000) saw radical changes in events and ideals in the broader society that repeatedly altered the direction and fortunes of professional and university theatre. Beginning in the 1960s, while theatre artists were actively participating in the social dialogue on new directions for the country, a corresponding movement began in the production of theatre for child and adolescent audiences. At that time, a number of practitioners began to articulate a pressing need to establish a children's theatre movement that would function independently of adult genres. This field emerged out of the activism and progressive attitudes of the time. Peña Muñoz mentions that the 1960s represent a period of "total renovation of *teatro infantil*" (10), and that during that time begins "a more elaborated and artistic [conception] of children's theatre. There exists a creation of decoration and costuming conceived in a more professional style, and consideration of the production with the same dedication and effort as would be given to a production for adults" (10). He specifically mentions the 1963 play La Princesa Panchita by Jaime Silva as a groundbreaking work in the new style, a play that remains popular in the Chilean *teatro infantil* repertoire. Chapter Two offers a detailed discussion of this play and its early significance.

From its beginning, the movement has been preoccupied with the socio-pedogogical use of theatre with young people. Chilean theatre

practitioner Monica Echeverría, in a 1965 article for Apuntes (Universidad Católica's theatre department publication), makes the literary birth announcement of Chile's *teatro infantil* movement. The piece is a statement of philosophy, a report of the current field, and a rallying cry to her contemporaries, exhorting them to join the cause. In it, she iterates the goals and significance of a fledgling movement to provide educational theatre for the children of her society. A founding member of ICTUS, a professional and activist troupe formed by students and professors of the Universidad Católica, she served as director for its *teatro infantil* branch. Echeverría regarded the genre as an apt tool for educating Chile's children, and her article suggests that it can be used both to provide cultural and moral instruction and to foster the development of a child's creative and communicative capacities. She justifies the idea first by stressing the importance of educational theatre practice to other societies—including Ancient Greece, the Middle Ages, colonizing Jesuit priests, and the then-contemporary Iron Curtain nations. Then, she outlines her philosophy for a pedagogy of creative development—using Ionesco's writings to construct the theatre as "the art . . . that should give each spectator the possibility of living, of being a poet" (3), which she regards as inseparable from an educational paradigm of theatre. Finally, Echeverría details the birth of the movement in Chile through her own work and that of her colleagues, and outlines ways that the practice of *teatro infantil* can expand to become an independent field. Two of Echeverría's own

plays, Aventuras del Gallo Quiquiricó (n.d.) and Nuevas Aventuras del Gallo Quiquiricó (n.d.) are mentioned by Peña Muñoz as notable examples of the new tendencies of the 1960s.

Teatro infantil would be one of few genres to escape the worst government repression of the 1970s. Before the *golpe,* the Allende administration had officially recognized the pedagogical utility of theatre for children; in 1971 the Ministry of Education co-sponsored a project with the Municipality of Santiago and the Teatro del Nuevo Extremo. An August 14th article in the Santiago newspaper La Nación announced this collaboration, describing the "discovery" of theatre as a pedagogical tool. The article signaled that education and children's theatre were being brought together in a cohesive fashion, creating an officially independent movement. After this point, the major newspapers began consistently offering frequent listings of children's shows, articles and reviews, and interviews with key practitioners. Following the military coup that ousted Allende's government, placed General Pinochet in the presidency, and reorganized the society to eradicate left-wing tendencies, *teatro infantil* became a viable alternative for many theatre artists who found their normal avenues of expression closed due to censorship and threats of persecution (Hurtado, "Chile" 155).

The movement offered a creative outlet for their skills, an audience base whose interest in the theatre could not be misinterpreted as revolutionary, and a source of income when the closure of university and

professional adult venues left many artists unemployed. Several important professional groups dedicated solely (or primarily) to *teatro infantil* emerged during this period. In 1975, the Chilean Teatro Nacional ("National Theatre") housed its first teatro infantil production—Jaime Silva's La fantastica isla de los casianimales ("The Fantastic Island of the Ani-maybes," a play on the words *casi*: "maybe" and *animales*: "animals")—signaling the acceptance of the genre as a viable artistic product by official arbiters of culture whose responsibility it was to determine the performance season of the government-sponsored theatre. Peña says that "these works represent a notable evolution in *teatro infantil* and mark a tendency to renovation that will serve–we hope–as a motivation to other actors, educators, and playwrights to artistically educate new generations through theatre" (10). [10]

In the 1980s, the genre would grow in size, capability, and influence, attracting the patronage of both the Pinochet regime and the post-1988 democratic government. During that decade and continuing into the 1990s, the field would become actively engaged in the social discourse, especially in attempting to interpret the Chilean reality for children and suggest to them appropriate ways of understanding and responding to the circumstances of a given cultural moment. Following the 1988 election that denied Pinochet another term as president, Chile began the process of reviving democracy. The theatre of the 1990s, including performances for children, reflects the difficult and contested restructuring of political and social institutions, and

social conflicts and resolutions that have transpired in the years since the end of the military regime.

Methodology

This project derives in part from three separate trips to Chile between 1999 and 2002. My first visit was during a six-month period between September 1999 and February 2001. During that time, I lived in Santiago, Chile, and traveled to other cities in the metropolitan region and elsewhere. Using the archive of newspaper clippings housed in the Pontífica Universidad Católica (PUC), I looked for evidence of children's performances during the second half of the 20th century. The holdings of the library included several years between 1965 and 1979, and a full complement of clippings from every year beginning in 1980. All of the major Chilean newspapers are represented in the collection. El Mercurio has a conservative bent, as do its affiliates La Segunda and Las Últimas Noticias. La Cuarta aims at more sensationalist reporting. La Nación, the government newspaper, reflects the orientation of the current adminstration. La Tercera and the now-defunct La Época have more moderate, slightly conservative views. Fortín Mapocho tends toward leftist sentiments.

I also searched the Universidad Católica library for scripts of children's plays, practical manuals, journal articles, and related resources on *teatro infantil* within the country. I conducted a similar search at the Biblioteca

Nacional de Chile during two short visits in April 2001 and January 2002. During all three visits, I sought contact with Chilean educators and professional practitioners in the children's theatre movement, and conducted a series of personal interviews. Many of these practitioners provided me with secondary materials on their work—posters, press packets, photos, and the like. I also attended weekly performances in the Santiago area, taking notes and occasionally recording the event on video or film. I have included sample interview questions and production note-taking guidelines in appendices at the end of this study. These investigations have provided me with a wealth of primary material on Chilean *teatro infantil*; I found most individuals and organizations very receptive to my interest and eager to assist any project that might help foster the dissemination of information about the movement.

Clar Doyle's treatise on educational theatre as an activist project makes a good general philosophy for considering the work done in Chile. He espouses beliefs about pedagogy and performance that parallel many of those held by Chilean artists and educators, while modeling self-reflexivity and the consistent application of a critical lens to his ideas. Doyle approaches his project as an advocate for educational theatre, and carefully outlines a framework for proceeding that considers the affects of social structures, and practitioners' own backgrounds and biases, and encourages rigorous questioning of the ideologies from which methods emerge. This framework may be used to investigate the motives and methodologies applied to

children's theatre practices. Unlike other forms of socially active and education-based theatre, less research and analysis has been done on Chile's *teatro infantil*.

While I was carrying out field research in Chile—conducting interviews, observing productions, and reading archived clippings—I began to see patterns of beliefs and methodologies emerging within the practice of Chilean children's theatre. I believe that these patterns will open a new window of insight to the broader study of Chile's theatre and its life as a nation. Certainly the practitioners with whom I have spoken feel that their field has been dismissed as trivial and superficial, primarily because their focus audience is not fully matured. However, most indicated that the practice of children's theatre has been important to them, and important for Chilean society, stressing that it focuses on the social group most in need of organized, well-considered guidance and direction. Many of these practitioners spoke of the difficulties in producing theatre for children, lamenting especially their struggle to secure financial resources to produce plays and support themselves economically. They insisted, however, that these problems did not outweigh the allure of working with a group that traditionally responds to performance with overt pleasure and engagement, and of influencing that group to benefit their personal development, the survival of the theatre, and the good of Chile. These strike me as compelling reasons to undertake such a study: to better understand how performance intervenes in Chilean society by approaching its

developing members, and how social structures and historical circumstances influence the manner in which performance is conceived and enacted in the service of pedagogical goals. I intend this analysis to serve as an example of how children's theatre may be examined to offer a fresh perspective on social structures within a given culture, and hope that it might stimulate similar research projects on theatre for young audiences within other cultures.

The majority of my information on the plays and productions comes not from scholarly or practical writing within Chile, but from journalistic and oral accounts. I have also tracked the sources on children's theatre practice that Chileans used to educate themselves with regard to methodology, though these are relatively few. It will be important to consider the cultural structures affecting the production of these shows. In the discussion of pedagogical *teatro infantil* practices, Bennett's ideas about production and reception are especially useful. I have not chosen to include extensive documentation of the audience's responses (a series of pre- and post-show interviews with children and their parents would make a challenging and rewarding project for someone interested in the reception of pedagogical theatre), but I do consider critical and financial success as indicators of an audience's reception of a production. Rather than an analysis of how audiences process the ethical and cognitive information encoded by producers, my approach considers the approval or disapproval of the audience for the content and construction of a show implied by popular success or failure.

At the same time, it is useful to consider how artist-educators believe their audiences will accept and interpret pedagogical information. Practitioners have a pre-established perception of their audiences' cognitive abilities, and they attempt to construct productions in ways that will help fix the audience's reception of themes and messages according to the producer's desires and expectations. The interpretive process encoded on the producers also functions as an ideological lens for the audience (Theatre Audiences, 92), and will help determine *how* and *which* messages can be received. As they share a culture with the producers, they access the same perceptive framework in their experience of a performance. Bennett says, "Theatre audiences bring to any performance a horizon of cultural and ideological expectations" (98). That can prove problematic, or providential, for the producers depending on the kind of ideas and behavior that they intend to teach the audience. Parents and school educators—as the decision-makers who generally choose artistic product for their children—will tend to support a production that affirms their preferred values and criticize or refuse to patronize one that presents ideas contrary to their own. Artist/producers, who often heavily invest themselves in the popular success of their shows, must negotiate the reception process of these decision-makers, especially when considering pedagogical content or artistic practices that will conflict with established ideological norms and aesthetic tastes.

Additionally, Bennett indicates that “a crucial aspect of audience involvement . . . is the degree to which a performance is accessible through the codes audiences are accustomed to utilizing, the conventions they are used to recognizing, at a theatrical event” (104). For example, the ability of a child to perceive and accept a pedagogical message may also be affected by whether or not they have learned the signs and codes necessary to receive the intended information. A child might fail to perceive or misunderstand an encoded message about air pollution if they have never been exposed to it as a particular problem in Chile, especially if the producers, pre-supposing a previously formulated concept of that issue on the part of the audience, do not present them with a usable definition of air pollution or an appreciation of its relevance to Chilean social life. In many cases in Chile, practitioners attempt to draw crowds by including in their advertisements a synopsis of the kinds of aesthetics and themes they can expect children to experience at the performance. They stress the morals they consider important for children to learn, such as studiousness or cooperative spirit; the social problems that will be addressed, like environmental degradation or television addiction; or popular narratives and aesthetics that will be featured, such as fairy tales or Andean music. Though these factors do not replace artistic quality as the primary selling point for productions, they have often had success as "value added" marketing to convince parents and educators to bring children to a show or commission school appearances.

Social engines working within the community will also affect whether a given production will have access to the public in the first place, by giving or withholding financial support, granting use of venues, or proffering other markers of validation and approval (88). This has great significance for Chilean companies; endorsement and financial support from the government's Ministerio de Educación and/or corporate sponsorship can guarantee the show a long run, opportunities to tour, elaborate production values, and the economic well-being of the troupe and their families.

A conscious survival imperative also affects the intentions and efforts of professional practitioners. During an interview, I asked director Verónica Marquez of the Valparaíso-based troupe El Baúl why she thought *teatro infantil* was an important genre. She told me, "There are several important points. First, they are our future spectators, it introduces them to theatre from the time that they are very small" (1/19/00).[11] She went on to say that it was equally important to show children how theatre ought to be done: "They should be clear about what it requires with regard to music, costume, set design, all of the work that a production team has to do to mount a production."[12] After many of their productions, children would often tell her that they, too, wanted a career in the theatre. The importance Marquez places on *teatro infantil* centers on the capacity of the practice to do three things: create lifelong playgoing habits, demonstrate the criteria of artistic quality, and inspire children to explore their own dramatic potential. It is telling that

Marquez's responses focus not on the immediate benefits to the child, but rather on planting seeds that will come to fruition later in their lives. Her comments represent the opinion of many practitioners in the contemporary field.

As a primary influence on the practices of the movement, I trace the growth of anxiety among theatre professionals concerning the survival of theatre in Chile, and how this anxiety has led to greater attention to children as audience members. Much of the rhetoric, however, has not placed primary value upon the child in her current social role, but upon her position as "future spectator," as the audience member that she may, with guidance, become upon reaching maturity. The overall feeling within the movement over the last twenty years has been that children are essential to the survival of the theatre. They must therefore be cultivated as an audience, which entails exposing them to "good" theatre now (to solidify their interest), and equipping them with tools to evaluate performance as they mature (to ensure consistent quality of product in the future of the discipline).

Clar Doyle also expresses a belief that artistic quality is necessary to the success and survival of the discipline. He gives equal emphasis, however, to the need for self-reflectivity in the practice. Theatre, and all art, is irrevocably “produced and experienced socially” (22). Every play, every dramatic performance, will reflect the culture in which it is produced—its ideologies, values, and concept of the world it inhabits. The unique advantage

that the arts have—including theatre—in their creative and imaginative practices, is that they may serve as “a scalpel to society and in this way serve as a powerful educational tool” (11). They may reveal ideology and values, question concepts of the world, seek to offer alternatives to problematic or unjust attitudes and systems. The process of creating art, however, like the process of creating and maintaining a society, is inherently complex and difficult:

> It is particularly crucial for us to realize that our reproduced culture is a process of deliberate continuity that represents a selective sifting. It is equally crucial to acknowledge that the selected sifting is done by those who have the power to sift. This is simply to admit that the sifting is done by agents who have agendas and vested interests. The questions that must be continually asked in education is who does the sifting? For whom is the sifting done and for what reason? (15)

Theatre is a product steeped in and influenced by the society from which it emerges, and which it in turn is trying to influence. The concern, therefore, becomes the sifting process in which artists continually—and consciously or subconsciously— engage in creating product for their audiences to consume. When we consider the pedagogical nature of many *teatro infantil* practices, the social and moral content that it so often carries and attempts to impart to the developing members of a society, the need for

critical consciousness and constant reflection becomes extremely pressing. That desire to critically consider and create in a responsible fashion—monitoring the presence of values, affirming or rejecting commonly held ideologies or viewpoints—inevitably encounters obstacles when it comes up against the artists' equally pressing and valid impulse for self-preservation.

For Chilean practitioners, this means that the survival imperative, which influences the selection process for material and modes of production, depends largely on the need to draw audiences for the present and the future. How does one balance the critical responsibility to examine one's material for social and cultural integrity with the need to meet the public's approval and thus draw revenue and acclaim? What processes are necessary even to determine satisfactorily what constitutes integrity and socio-cultural responsibility for the artist and the theatre?

With these things in mind, I approach the practice of pedagogical *teatro infantil* as a project ultimately engaged in the task of nation-building, of working from given definitions of Chile as a nation and promoting certain visions of the culture from nationalist perspectives. Following Bhabha, I approach "nation" as a process rather than a product, an unstable but persistent idea that competing groups use to drive socio-political agendas. In different historical moments, competing forms of nationalism have come into conflict with one another, and have played out their debate on the stages of the country. Practitioners have approached children as audiences upon whom

established or new notions of citizenship can be written, hoping to influence the future direction of the country by inculcating children with their own understanding of what the nation is and ought to be. In the process, they attempt to place theatre spectatorship within the realm of a citizen's responsibility to their culture. Kruger's examination of national stages as sites of struggle between cultural hegemony and resistance, and places where national character is identified and defined, offers insight that I apply to the project of nation-building in Chile.

The historiographical scope of this project is limited; I have pursued my research with the question of nationalist activism in mind, privileging performances that exhibit pedagogical intent. I have not considered performances without intentional didactic content or that insist that theatre should not serve any purpose but that of entertaining the audience. In addition, I have largely ignored the use of creative dramatics in Chilean classrooms, except as they reveal additional information about professional performance and values encoded in plays for children. This study also serves as a starting point for collecting and critically considering theatre created for a child audience, a field that has traditionally been ignored by Latin American theatre scholars. My perspective is not that of a child educator or practitioner of children's theatre, but that of a Latin Americanist intrigued by *teatro infantil* as a new way to study the interaction of art and culture in Chile. This project offers a fresh perspective on the study of Latin American theatre; it also

promotes a view of children's theatre as a sophisticated genre worthy of greater respect and academic attention.

Chapter Outlines

CHAPTER 2: THE INFANCY OF TEATRO INFANTIL: The bulk of the chapter concerns a discussion of the 1960s and 1970s, outlining the development of *teatro infantil* as an independent movement and addressing early pedagogical projects in performance for children. Following a discussion on antecedents of the genre, I examine how the movement emerged in an initial period of radical social activism and governmental policy change. Then I describe how it reorganized itself to meet the demands of the post-1973 military regime, becoming a haven for practitioners who could not safely work in other genres. The prolific period of the 1980s and 1990s, which will be covered in Chapters Three and Four respectively, became heavily invested in working out the conflict, trauma, and polarization that arose during the two previous decades. Both left- and right-wing elements sought to reach children through theatre to support the development of ideologies sympathetic to their causes. The restructuring of Chilean society, first by the Allende presidency and then by Pinochet’s government, particularly with regard to socioeconomic issues, education, and family, will figure into my analysis. I also trace the growing division in society between conservative and socialist groups, a socio-political rift that would eventually polarize the whole society. This rift and its

repercussions became very significant to the messages encoded in performances for young audiences during the 1980s and 1990s. Newspaper clippings and articles provide documentation for the productions that occurred and groups/individuals operating during each period. Doyle's discussion of drama as a social force, which addresses ways that educational theatre can promote liberation or oppression within a given community, drives my reading of the historical events and how practitioners wielded educational theatre to promote specific causes or viewpoints to children, and whether they exhibited self-reflexivity or a critical perspective on their own work.

Both Chapters Three and Four consider the development of children's theatre organizations, growing government support (through the Ministerio de Educación and its backing of educational theatre), and increasing connections between producers in Chile and the international community of Children's Theatre (especially the International Association of Theatre for Children and Youth [ASSITEJ]). Additionally, these chapters address messages that combat what Said has called "the homogenizing processes of modern life" (Culture and Imperialism 331). As I stated earlier, concerning both plays for adult and child audiences, the topic of consumerism and the presence of foreign investment and businesses has become increasingly significant. The post-colonial problem of consumer culture, and the potential for a post-modern colonializing force of U.S. and Western European

businesses infiltrating (and often dominating) foreign markets, poses a perceived threat to Latin American autonomy. [13]

The drive to survive occupies many of the artists and educators practicing children's theatre in Chile (as in the U.S., Europe, and elsewhere). These chapters address the belief that professional theatre can only survive if children acquire an active desire for it, so that they will continue to seek out and acquire (that is, purchase) theatrical performance in adulthood. I investigate the ways in which practitioners attempt to foster a theatrical "habit" in juvenile audiences, and their projections about the future of Chile's theatre. Additionally, I question the unchallenged notion within the field that children must not only be taught to consume theatre, but to make qualitative judgments so that only "worthy" theatrical efforts are allowed to prosper. Who determines the criteria for "good" theatre? How are those determinations made? What kinds of practice do they esteem, what kinds do they exclude? How have political and social beliefs at different moments influenced this determination?

CHAPTER 3: TEATRO INFANTIL RENEWS ITS SOCIAL CONSCIENCE: THE GROWTH OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVISM THROUGH ARTISTIC EXPRESSION IN THE 1980S: The 1980s brought economic and social stability back to Chile, saw the return of democracy, and began the reorganization and reflection that sought to undo (or at least redress) the worst damage done by fifteen years of authoritarian

government. First, this section addresses *teatro infantil* during the second decade of the dictatorship, investigating the ways it served both a government agenda of consolidating power and provided subtle forms of rejecting the rule of the military regime. Next, the chapter studies the months following the 1988 plebiscite, and the ways that practitioners sought through play selection (and playwriting) and production values to alter children's attitudes and behavior to promote healing and progress in the period of re-democratization and after. In addition, the chapter traces the response of *teatro infantil* to a pressing need for social stewardship, and considers the solutions performances offered for rising concerns for the Chilean nation: pollution and the environment, conflict and division within the community, and increasing consumerism.

CHAPTER 4: HEALING AND WHOLENESS: FACING THE FUTURE AND COPING WITH THE PAST AFTER THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY: After Patricio Aylwin replaced Augusto Pinochet in the presidency, the nation began a long process of repairing the social damage done by years of authoritarian leadership. Freedoms of speech, assembly, and protest were reinstated. Exiled artists and intellectuals began to return. Government commissions began to research and redress the claims of human rights violations. As the 1990s progressed, a collective need to confront the trauma of the past to stimulate healing and re-unify the culture would heavily influence performances created for children. A body of productions were created that promoted unity,

repentance, and forgiveness as core values, in the hope that the next generation would make significant progress in healing social breaches caused by the divisive years of the dictatorship. At the same time, other productions continued to address the need for social stewardship, expressing concerns carried forward from the previous decades. Problems of pollution and environmental protection appeared in increasing numbers of children's plays, as did concerns about materialism and consumer culture. As the genre prepared to enter the new millenium, artists began to devise productions that could address multiple social issues, and make connections between them, emphasizing the child's responsibility to the nation at the moment and in his or her future as an adult.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: Summarizing and re-evaluating my own arguments, I address socio-pedagogical techniques in the practice of Chilean children's theatre. I pose questions for future study and other ways that this inquiry could be approached. Secondarily, I wish to reaffirm the fitness of children's theatre for scholarly study as an untapped resource for better understanding how a community uses performance to build itself, ensure its survival and continued health, and transform itself, by intervening in the socio-cultural development of its offspring.

Chapter 2
Historical Antecedents, Early Modern Plays, and the Development of the *Teatro Infantil* Movement

Teatro infantil emerged in Chile during the 20th century, amid sweeping social change and power struggles between opposing ideologies, social classes, and a multiplicity of nationalist discourses proffered by competing political and social organizations. While early individual performances for children drew on fairy tales and traditional narratives to provide light entertainment, or delivered compact, didactic lessons via playlets designed for classroom instruction, an independent children's theatre movement would develop in mid-century, and would exist to serve what Mónica Echeverría calls "profound social necessities" (3). This chapter traces the antecedents to the *teatro infantil* movement and follows its development through the turbulent period between 1960 and 1979. I argue that *teatro infantil* practitioners have from its beginnings envisioned a role for theatre in the work of nation-building and intended to influence the ideas and attitudes of citizens from the earliest possible stages of their intellectual and social development. These practitioners also intended to inspire creativity, aesthetic taste, and love of the dramatic arts in their young audiences, and did not separate that aesthetic training from the social project of creating good citizens. Simply put, the good citizen is one that exhibits both strong ethical and social character and a refined appreciation for the arts. I also examine the affect that the military *golpe* and ensuing dictatorship had on *teatro infantil*, and suggest that the

movement was used both by the military regime to solidify its control and by artists attempting to mitigate the effects of repression or subtly resist authority. Ultimately, I place all of these activities within the continuing effort to define and perform "nation" in Chile.

Manuel Peña Muñoz indicates that dramatic play and entertainments have been part of the lives of children in Chile from pre-Colombian times, when the Araucano natives incorporated the imitation of animals and tribal activities into their games. His 1981 article “Síntesis histórica del Teatro Infantil en Chile” (“Historical Synthesis of Children’s Theatre in Chile”), published by the Ministerio de Educación in Cuadernos de Teatro ("Theatre Notebooks") in an issue dedicated to *teatro infantil*, points to this activity as the genre’s earliest antecedent.

Rebeca Uribe’s article “Desde la antigua Grecia los niños participaban en espectaculos publicos” (“Since Ancient Greece Children Participated in Public Spectacles”) written for the same issue of Cuadernos de Teatro, points first to the ancient cultures of Egypt and Greece as creators of performance by and for young people, particularly with regard to the inclusion of children in the spectacles. She offers them as precedents of the Catholic Reform of the 16th century and the pageant work of Saint Phillip Neri, which paved the way for the participation of children in religious processions and oratories that occurred on festival days in Catholic countries and colonies like Chile.

Peña also says that children of the colonial settlers enjoyed performances by traveling acrobats, prestidigitation, and marionettes. In the 1800s, dramatic games, puppets, and amateur theatricals became popular in Chilean homes as a means of diverting and teaching the young; in the bustling international port city of Valparaíso, where foreign troupes often came to play, the first printed editions of plays for child audiences and performers began circulating. He indicates that the oldest extant of these texts is María Cenicienta ("Mary Cinderella" 1884). In 1885 a children's adaptation of Around the World in 80 Days circulated, which Peña calls a "good reflection of the [Chilean] taste for French culture during that period" (9). These early scripts also reflect the general reliance of pre-20th century producers on fairy tales and literature for subject matter in plays for children.

The collective result of these different performative traditions (ritual and recreational) in classical and early Hispanic-American societies, in Uribe's thinking, was the eventual development of a critical social understanding about the place of children with regard to artistic cultural products. "By the end of the 19th century children were considered participants in artistic-cultural and religious demonstrations" (16). She goes on to stipulate: "however it was not until the 20th century that a more open orientation in the educational practice would begin to be endorsed, and a clearer concept of the nature and function of theatre for children would be acquired" (16).[1]

By developing dramatic performance for children both as participants and as spectators, the institutions controlling artistic and cultural production in Chile—the Church, the educational system, and later, the professional theatre—have acknowledged that the theatre has significant potential as a tool for the integration of their progeny into the social body. They simultaneously recognize that preparation of children as makers of art and culture should begin early to assure their ability to appreciate and create a certain quality of artistic product. Theatrical performance presented for young audiences, in Chile and elsewhere, can be examined for evidence of both the process of nation-building through instructing young citizens and the stimulation of artistic creativity and aesthetic taste. Careful study of the development of *teatro infantil* from this pedagogical perspective may excavate the presence of what Bennett calls the "ideological underpinning of the accepted codes of cultural production and reception" (Theatre Audiences 92) as they relate to *teatro infantil* and its pedagogical dimensions. Later, in Chapters Three and Four, I address how the notion of "quality" artistic product and instruction about citizenship can be complicated by the professional theatre's own drive for survival.

As Uribe notes, the real work of building a children's theatre movement in Chile began during the 20th century. According to Peña, the first seminal Chilean text for children's theatre appeared in 1905, Teatro Escolar ("School Theatre" or "Student Theatre") by Adolfo Urzúa Rozas, which he describes as

a collection of short comic playlets intended for use with children in schools. The term *teatro escolar* refers specifically to drama performed by and for students in classroom settings. Over the next decade, a number of these collections appeared, many of them patriotic or didactic in nature. Peña suggests that their value lies mainly in their reflection of a particular historical and sociological moment in Chile rather than in their literary or aesthetic merit. He says that "the children's literature is a testimonial document to history and these pieces of ephemeral patriotism for children show us a trail to something of great sociological value" (9).[2] He refrains, however, from commenting on the nature of that sociological value. He offers no analysis of what specific ideological or institutional assumptions of the time might be drawn from them; he only gestures to them as a potential source for critical examination.

In part, his general focus on artistic considerations in the articles reflects the overall feeling during Peña's time that the purpose of theatre pedagogy was to stimulate creativity and taste. His reticence also reflects the political climate of the time. Peña's own moment in Chilean history—1981—was a dangerous time to show overt inclination for political commentary about the nation. It is difficult to say whether his own politics leaned towards socialism or traditional conservatism, as he maintains a carefully neutral tone in his writing for Cuadernos de Teatro. Though he does not engage in an extensive analysis of material from the early 1900s, Peña's comment reflects

his understanding that theatre arises from the influences of a given social and cultural moment. The statement also affirms his belief in the usefulness of these plays as a source of cultural information. Doyle articulates a similar opinion regarding drama in classrooms:

> Those of us who work with drama must realize that the scripts we present to our students and colleagues are not neutral, value-free, asocial, or ahistorical. Since scripts represent a snatch of someone's life and circumstances, we can examine them for the light they allow on someone else's reality and, therefore, on our own. (65-66)

These early *teatro escolar* anthologies emerged during the era following an 1891 civil war, in which a military action initiated by Chile's congress had wrested power from the president (José Manuel Balmaceda), the chief locus of political power in the nation and a traditionally authoritarian office. The congress became the dominant force in governance for the next thirty years. In that time, problems of economic and social inequality began to dominate public discussion, prompted by an 1891 proclamation from the Vatican, the *Rerum Novarum*, that called for worldwide reforms to eradicate poverty and establish more equitable treatment for the proletariat and the poor. These issues came collectively to be known as the "Social Question"—the problem of vast economic gaps between the wealthy and the working class, embodied by the desperate poverty in which the majority of urban and

rural Chileans lived. Adult-oriented theatre was very active in the debates surrounding these problems and how to resolve them. A variety of forms emerged to express the viewpoint of different social and political groups—among them social melodramas, *conventillos* (a genre characterized by political sentiment and tragic or pathetic sensibility), and *campesino* (agrarian worker) political dramas (Hurtado, Teatro Chileno y modernidad 147).[3]

Few programs or reforms emerged from the debates, however, and Parliamentary government in those years (Congress held controlling political interest until 1920) was largely ineffectual, divided, and opportunist. The landed oligarchy fought against spreading socialist and unionist movements for control in political and economic spheres. Left-wing groups blocked moderate reforms because they felt them insufficient. The best course for the nation and wisest solution to its problems of social and political inequality were contested between members of the various parties in Congress and working class organizers seeking a role in political decision making at that time. Issues of patriotism likely carried great significance in the education of the children within the young republic, as students in both privileged and poorer classes would as adults need to choose between the competing ideologies. The kinds of classroom dramas written as heuristic devices, following Peña's logic, offer insight into the social direction teachers or authors hoped to impress upon children.[4]

This period parallels the situation in Chile at the time of Peña's article (1981), published in the midst of another restrictive regime, this time established by Pinochet's congressionally supported military action against the Allende presidency. Similar struggles had occurred between left- and right-wing factions over land reform, nationalization of industry, and economic redistribution; a period of social and artistic repression followed the congressional power play both in 1891 and 1973. Peña, in gesturing toward the sociological information of *teatro infantil* of the earlier period, might also be offering an oblique reflection on the role of some theatre in his own time.

In the 1920s, schoolteachers wrote the majority of published children's scripts, including No nos dejes caer en la tentación (Do Not Let Us Fall into Temptation, 1919), Blanca Nieves (Snow White, 1920), La verdadera hermosura (True Beauty, n.d.), and El Necio Orgullo (Foolish Pride, n.d.). The titles suggest a strong focus on moral content and didactic intent. Peña indicates that a significant shift occurred during the 1930s, when established Chilean literary figures began writing for child audiences and performers. Poet Oscar Jara Azócar, novelist Eduardo Barrios, and playwright Antonio Acevedo Hernández all published *teatro infantil* pieces during that decade. Magdalena Petit's El cumpleaños de Rosita (Rosy's Birthday Party, 1937) gets special mention because the author focuses on artistic rather than moral considerations. Peña calls it a "step forward" in children's playwriting because

it did not privilege didactic content over art, but featured comic and imaginative writing (9).

Increasing involvement by literary professionals in the writing of *teatro infantil* during the 1930s suggests that its practice was moving beyond the classroom—the intended performance space of a majority of children's plays up to that point—and into the world of professional theatre, a site that it had only occasionally occupied in Chile's cultural history. Recalling that the 1930s were also a decade of official censorship in the theatre, during which both activist and traditional performance decreased sharply, *teatro infantil* probably offered a needed creative and financial resource to artists, as it would do in the period following the 1973 *golpe*.

En Viaje magazine, a monthly news and leisure publication distributed in major Chilean cities, printed two significant commentaries on theatre for children in the early 1950s. Through these articles, the magazine promoted the development of a professional practice dedicated specifically to young spectators, and expressed a belief that theatre had a role to play in the formation of the young as citizens. Both left- and right-leaning practitioners in Chile have consistently acknowledged this understanding over the growth of the movement. The first article was a reprint of a French essay by Marcel Lasseaux, translated and adapted for the Chilean public by En Viaje journalist R. Marin. "¿Que espectáculos ofrecemos a los niños?" ("What Plays Are We Offering to Children?"), in March 1950, outlined a set of criteria for meeting

the needs of the audience. Using three Parisian theatres as a model for producing children's theatre, Lasseaux suggests that first, children have the right to experience professional theatre, second, that they deserve performances designed especially for them, and third, that children are a finicky public that will not hesitate to reject what displeases them. He warns of the dangers of taking them to adult theatre, which he calls "morbid and licentious." Exposure to such plays could have long-term impact on the child's personality:

> because the child is malleable, not possessing a critical sense that would allow him to analyze good and bad. In these conditions, the notions they receive, because they are ill-defined, will be deeply imprinted on their impressionable minds, and will contribute, unpredictably, to the formation of erratic judgement in life, or encourage the development of the bad latent instincts in every human soul.[5] (76)

The solution, according to Lasseaux, was to provide theatre that would not have a "demoralizing effect," one that would take into consideration the child's tastes while prudently avoiding the excitement of their baser instincts.

> The child is as capable of cruel ferocity as great kindness and justice. They like to feel **fear**, which spurs them to demand strong and tragic situations. They like to watch the wolf eat Red

> Riding Hood's grandmother, but they then imperiously demand he be punished.[6] (77, emphasis his)

The piece ends by asking, "Would it be too much to ask that the state take interest in funding a healthy and sensitive childhood diversion, one that will also judiciously raise the intellectual level of the nation?" (76).[7]

The second article, "Teatro para niños" by Patricia Morgan, appeared in November 1952. Morgan, who was involved in the children's theatre program housed in the Teatro Municipal, used the article as a platform to call for major reform and expansion for *teatro infantil* in the country. It begins by lamenting the "neglected state" of children's theatre in Chile, and by insisting that in bigger countries—England, France, Germany, and the U.S.—the government takes great interest in the education of children.

> The education of a nation should begin at the base; a good seed always bears good fruit, and if the spirits are fed as well as the bodies, we can hope that when the little ones, who have received a good spiritual education, reach maturity, they will be men of truth, capable of confronting all problems as their country requires. These children, fortified from a very young age with a complete education, will be great citizens and will avoid the perils that life presents them, because they are spiritually fortified.[8] (79)

The theatre, she insists, is a natural instrument for providing this spiritual and ethical dimension of the child's education. Unlike movies, which negatively influence a child's health by "exciting the nervous system" and presenting inappropriate ideas, theatrical performances stimulate a child's sense of beauty while presenting them with the consequences of good and evil choices (79). She ends her argument by insisting that the country needs regular access to *teatro infantil* rooted in both artistic quality and moral instruction. She pleads with the president, General Ibañez, and his government to help provide "the children of Chile with appropriate spectacles, which will inculcate from the time they are small true sentiments of art, goodness, and beauty" (79).[9]

Taken together, these articles represent a growing belief within Chile that professional children's theatre had a role to play in the formation of good citizens and the future well-being of the country, and that greater official support would have to be given for performance to meet its potential in enriching the lives of the young. They also demonstrate the conviction that the ideal citizen should have both high moral character (able to distinguish between right and wrong and choose goodness over evil, embodying "truth"), and a refined taste for art and beauty, exemplified by love of quality performance (identified by a solid narrative, appropriate themes, and high production values).

By the mid-1950s, the Teatro Municipal de Santiago, the capital city's municipal auditorium, had developed a regular program of children's theatre. The university-led reform of theatre in the 1940s had already established a precedent for social institutions to provide the public with artistic and cultural experiences. With that in mind, the Teatro Municipal project signals a significant change in the status of *teatro infantil* both as an art form and a social institution. Use of the civic venue suggests official sponsorship of the program by one of the government's ministries, which would have included access to the space and probably funding to create shows and pay performers. Municipal sponsorship and a place in that highly visible public venue represented an increase of stature for children's plays, signaling a favorable change in opinions about their significance by official arbiters of culture and greater access to audiences and financial profitability.

Limited physical evidence remains to document the *teatro infantil* of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Archives I visited had few newspaper clippings, and librarians at both the Universidad Católica and the Universidad de Chile grimly admitted to me that many of their records had been destroyed following the 1973 *golpe*. In addition, Charles May reports that *teatro infantil* productions during the late 1960s experienced difficulty finding audiences consistently and companies struggled to survive, due largely to competition from cinema and television (Chile: Progress on Trial 174). Moreover, producers of children's theatre struggled against a general conception that

their work had less value—artistic, social, and intellectual—because of their intended audience. As with children's theatre in many western countries, artists producing the work in Chile have had to contend with attitudes toward the intelligence and tastes of young people that marginalize and disempower both the performance and the audience. Thus, as many journalists, intellectuals, and theatre professionals believed that theatre for children "mattered" less than theatre for adults, *teatro infantil* performances often did not get notice in newspapers, historical texts, or other documentation.[10] In spite of these difficulties, however, the available material suggests that this was a momentous period for the genre, characterized by a profound paradigm shift that would pave the way for remarkable growth. Peña indicates "a total renovation of children's theatre" (10) occurred in the 1960s. [11]

The decade of the 1960s in Chile comprised a time of large-scale change, of radical paradigm shift on multiple socio-political fronts. New ideas about governance and economic distribution challenged the established political order and the prevailing social and economic class structures. A sweeping resurgence of nationalism questioned the predominance of foreign investment and participation in Chilean industry and commerce, and spurred renewed interest in cultural, folkloric, and artistic forms that mapped and celebrated the distinctiveness of Chilean identity.

Published texts of *teatro escolar* from this period, scripts and materials used by teachers and students for classroom activities and school

performances, reflect prominent social concerns and changing paradigms as part of the educational curriculum. Antonio Mulato Ñuñque's manual Escenario (1959) was published in Temuco, Chile. It featured more traditional didactic playlets like "Agua, toalla y jabon" ("Water, Towel, and Soap"), alongside semi-political sketches such as "En tiempos de dictadura" ("In Times of Dictatorship"). The former features a dialogue between Water, Towel, and Soap, in which they insist that all three partners are necessary to successfully clean the body and the clothes. The latter is an absurdly comic sketch where a police official deals with a painter, a protester, a detained suspect, and an angry couple. The humorous tone is disturbing in its cynicism; the self-importance of the police inspector and foolish antics of his visitors play out over the background noise of the poor detainee screaming in the next room during an interrogation.

Chile: Dramatizaciones de su historia (1961), written by Oscar Jara Azocar, was a set of short sketches intended to emphasize important Chilean national symbols and historical figures. The highlight is "Soy el futuro de Chile," a monologue and chorus on the child's place within the nation. The child soloist announces, “I am not part of history, but I am the future of my homeland. I do not yet know the details, but someday when I am big, my role in serving it will also be bigger and more effective” (23). He then praises the accomplishments of Chilean heroes and exhorts:

> We do not honor these heroes by simply evoking and reading about their achievements, but by imitating their actions, feeling the splendor of their ideas, applying to the present their noble teachings, understanding day by day the value of their inestimable legacy, cultivating their example of self-denial as they preceded us in this, incomparable land of ours. [12] (23)

The child then mentions his own present responsibility:

> While I study, beneath the loving roof of my home or in my school, I dream of the prosperity and happiness of my country. I am not history, I am the future; but I take strong inspiration in the memory of those who wrote it with their lives and now look to us as the firm hope of the country.[13] (25)

Through this monologue, Jara Azocar uses the child soloist both to articulate a vision of the future for the country and the responsibility of the future citizen. The soloist articulates an image of the nation as independent, happy, and prosperous, full of natural beauty and resources, and populated by competent, committed people. Children participating as narrator, chorus, or audience are encouraged to imitate Chilean heroes in their dedication and self-sacrifice to the cause of nation-building, and by speaking the lines (in a classroom or presentation for parents), pledge themselves to that cause. "Soy el futuro de Chile" would have been useful to a variety of groups seeking to promote their own vision of nationhood and duty, as the venerated heroes

and ideals mentioned by the soloist are general enough to be endowed with specificity on a case-by-case basis. For one performance, those heroes might be Bernardo O'Higgens and San Martín, for another, the labor activists of the early 1900s. The tone of the piece is exuberantly patriotic, hopeful, and clear in connecting the nationalist dreams of the past with the bright possibility of the future.

In Luis Emilio Rojas's Desde las aulas: poesía y teatro infantil ("From the Classroom: Poetry and Theatre for Children"), "Un discusion positiva" ("A Positive Discussion") features a school child rejecting the temptations of cigarettes and alcohol. "Homenaje a los padres de la patria" ("Homage to the Forefathers of Our Country") celebrates the accomplishments of the heroes of Chilean history, and "Historia social del cobre" ("Social History of Copper") tells the story of the Chilean copper industry and argues for the necessity of its nationalization.

These three texts serve as examples of the direction that classroom drama was taking with regard to social and moral instruction. The Chilean child was still expected to learn time-honored values such as cleanliness, studiousness, and rejection of vices/addictions. In addition, he was presented with a clear and patriotic understanding of his role as a future participant in history, and inculcated with the progressive, socialist ideologies that the government was also pressing into reform legislation.

The professional theatre for children also reflected these sweeping changes. Mónica Echeverría, in the article "El teatro infantil" for Apuntes, provides a detailed overview of the state of professional *teatro infantil* in Chile during the mid-1960s; in it she approaches her own moment as the earliest period of groundbreaking work in the field. Although Peña cites much earlier work in the developmental process of the genre, she rejects early examples of child-oriented performances as evidence of an established children's theatre practice. Calling them "conventional spectacles, mounted without any artistic seriousness," she stresses that "they do not mark the beginning of this genre" (4).[14] She calls Jaime Silva, a young Chilean educator and playwright, "the true founder" of *teatro infantil* and names his La Princesa Panchita (1958) as the initial production of the movement. Panchita also constitutes a sea change in *teatro infantil* for Peña and Uribe.

In light of the social climate of those years, Echeverría's rejection of earlier modern performances for children as part of the Chilean *teatro infantil* sphere takes on added cultural and political significance. The "conventional spectacles, mounted without artistic seriousness" emerged from the tastes and ideologies of a long-established and now contested conservative and colonialist social order (4). She calls Silva's play the beginning of the "true children's theatre, original, serious, and imaginative" [15] and specifies that La Princesa Panchita contains "language and situations of our own, with music inspired by our own folk traditions" (4).[16] While she definitely privileges the

artistic merit of Silva's play as the deciding factor in its superiority over previous attempts, Echeverría does not separate the aesthetic value from the play's grounding in the proper—that is authentically Chilean—cultural foundation. As Bennett indicates, the ideology to which Echeverría and her associates subscribed (nationalist, reformist, and left-leaning) cannot be separated from the performance that they privileged.

La Princesa Panchita, A Sea Change in Chilean Teatro Infantil

Interestingly, La Princesa Panchita does not seem particularly innovative by current standards. Silva's dialogue is clever and attractive; the plot is well-paced and simple. Yet it is by contemporary standards a very conventional story, full of clichéd characterizations. Kind, lovely Princess Panchita loves the honest but poor Prince Juan. Her domineering mother, Queen Pancha, wants her to marry for wealth and power; her weak-willed father, King Pancho, wants only the pleasures of food, wine, and rest, and to enjoy them unmolested by his wife. At first, Panchita's parents hope to betroth her to Prince Carmelito, their godson. But he is a child-like eccentric, and Panchita does not love him. He kindly agrees that they should be friends. Exasperated, her mother sets up a competition, a race, in which the winning prince will marry Panchita. The palace servant, a fairy named Chela, sees Panchita's distress and agrees to use magic to help her. She prevents all but three suitors from entering the contest, and promises to distract the other

contestants so that Panchita's lover will win. Panchita agrees to help by stalling the fiercest competitor, wicked Prince Juan Rudo (John the Coarse). He tricks Panchita, however, and kidnaps her in his truck. When she refuses to marry him, he decides to leave her tied to a tree in the forest, where she will die of exposure or be mauled by wild animals. Prince Carmelito stumbles onto the scene of Panchita's peril, and rushes to inform her sweetheart, who comes to the rescue on his horse. Good Juan quickly defeats Juan Rudo, and Panchita embraces her sweetheart and her friend Carmelito. The play ends abruptly, with all of the characters together in the forest, singing a "Arroz con leche," a traditional Latin American folk song.

Though well written, the play reinforces a number of gender and class stereotypes that now seem dated. Panchita is an idealized virgin, sweet and beautiful, devoted to the right man, and unable to act for herself. Chela, the fairy, for all her magic powers, is a typical working class servant. She speaks in a working class dialect and addresses the family with the formal "usted" while they respond with the informal "tú." She is dedicated to her aristocratic employers and faithfully assists Panchita, for she is both loyal and lacking the capacity for independent thinking. The hero Juan is strong, authoritative, and though poor, well-born. He is virile and tender to Panchita. Carmelito, the wealthy suitor, is good-natured but rendered impotent and ineffective by his indulgent upbringing. The characters and narrative, while charming, did not try to disrupt traditional class or gender roles. Neither was the play especially

experimental in staging. Photographs from the initial and subsequent productions show attractive, but traditional, costumes, simple and melodramatic staging, and a realistic acting style. The revolution in performance that this play initiated was not conceptual or thematic, but was found in its basic approach to creating plays for young audiences.

Echeverría singles out the play for two reasons. First, it has artistic merit as a literary effort and its production aesthetic strives to match the artistic attention given to professional productions for adult audiences. Second, it is grounded in Chilean folk tradition (local music and setting) and cultural sensibilities; she claims it as a unique product of her society. She stresses that Panchita is superior to past efforts at theatre for children because they were "conventional spectacles" and lacked "artistic seriousness." She claims that Silva's play "directed other authors to the true path of artistic creation" (5). Moreover, she gives the original production credit for changing entirely the direction of children's theatre in Chile. "This premiere production should force Chilean children's theatre out of its dull mediocrity and launch it into the field of creativity" (5).[17]

Both Uribe and Peña agree that the original 1958-1959 production of this play was a turning point for *teatro infantil*. Uribe places it within overall changes occurring in the field between 1955-1969, a "golden age" of Chilean theatre characterized by prolific production and professionalization of the practice. She describes the advent of Panchita as part of developments

“paralleling the adult theatre, national playwrights were born and more representative works of children’s theatre emerged” (16). For Peña, it represents a singular, transformative event:

> Now there is a more elaborated and artistic conception of theatre for children. There are scenery and costumes conceived in a more professional manner, and productions are approached with the same dedication and care/refinement as one would give a production for adults.[18]

He also stresses that Panchita has raised the stakes for practitioners: "Easy improvisations and adaptations of classic stories no longer suffice. An original text with an attractive argument is necessary, as are new, defined characters in a good dramatic framework" (10).[19]

In the eyes of Uribe, Peña, and Echeverría, Princesa Panchita signals the start of a new paradigm for children’s theatre, one that would pave the way for an independent movement. Silva’s playwriting created a new standard for the dramatic texts for child audiences. He created an original story, rather than revisiting fairy tales or myths, and strove to construct a solid narrative with engaging dialogue, humor, and depth of emotion. Moreover, it placed the story within a local *folklórico* context—using Chilean dialect, music, customs, and geography. The initial production was approached with an intent toward the same seriousness and professionalism as adult theatre, placing emphasis on solid acting (which critics and theatre professionals

praised), and attractive costumes and sets. Most important, all of these efforts were directed towards producing a performance intended specifically for children. Silva's play modeled a new attitude, endowing the child audience with the same importance previously given to adult-oriented theatre, and investing creative and practical energies in productions that reflect both a sense of young people's value as an audience and the particularities of their tastes and intellectual needs. In a sense, Panchita and later the *teatro infantil* movement rescued children from the marginalization previously practiced by professional theatre.

For Echeverría, Silva introduced an entirely new set of possibilities in creating theatre for young audiences. In the year following the first production of Panchita, Echeverría, together with playwright Jorge Díaz[20] and director Claudio Di Girolano, established a branch of ICTUS focused on children's theatre. In her 1965 article, she outlines the philosophy and methods of their work, as well as their assumptions about their audience.

- Narrative and dialogue should be reinforced with appealing costumes and music. "A child cannot long tolerate dialogue, we should not forget that for him it is much simpler to see and hear than to comprehend."
- The characters, theme, and dramatic situation should be connected immediately, and clearly exposited.

- The ending should be clear and convincing, and good should be rewarded while the evil are punished. "The child doesn't understand a lack of justice, the complexity of the human soul and life."
- Children should not, however, be limited to "happy and tranquil scenes," because "children know that life is not really like that and will feel betrayed by this kind of theatre." Children need to see contrast, including hardness and cruelty.
- Children should be presented the ethical material, but not pointed to any foregone conclusion. They should be trusted to make appropriate intellectual/moral determinations from the information they are given. (8-9)

She evinces much faith in the ability of children to appreciate and enjoy the theatre; moreover, she insists on their right to a theatre of their own. Echeverría's ideas did much to establish the need for an independent practice dedicated to the child audience. She expresses clear ideas about how performance material ought to be structured and presented, what qualitative standards ought to be applied, how children receive and process information, and what ultimate social and cultural ends the practice will serve. Moreover, she affirms the longstanding belief that theatre has the ability, and a responsibility, to present moral and ethical information to the audience with the aim of assisting in their social development.

In the early years of the movement, its primary goals were to create quality artistic experience for young audiences, and practitioners like Echeverría were committed to the cultivation of good taste, not unlike Camilo Henriquez's efforts to promote "buen gusto" in the adult theatre of the early republic. As with that earlier project, the process of creating "a sense of beauty" was ideologically loaded. Echeverría, in her manifesto, insists that "today, children's theatre is an artistic movement that obeys profound social necesities." She invokes Ionesco's belief that "actors should not only imagine, but live what they imagine and thus they will provoke happenings and deeds unforseen by themselves and their spectators" (3). In her article, she stresses that creation of good habits and ethical values ought to be an intrinsic part of performances for children. By equipping the young with aesthetic taste, good values, and tools to create art themselves, theatre practitioners were contributing to the creation of a social body that could actively and positively interact with the culture. They would have the skills to effect change on a cultural level. In the midst of the social and economic concerns of the time, with Allende's party and other activists—including many theatre artists—attempting massive reforms (nationalizing industry, agrarian land redistribution, centralizing social services) in the face of conservative resistance, the ability to imagine a better, more beautiful world and the capacity to construct it would be very desirable skills indeed.

Between 1958 and 1970, a body of plays were written for young audiences by Chilean authors, with an emphasis on a sense of “belleza” (beauty) and quality of narrative. Peña lists the ones he considers most significant: Alejandro Sieveking's El Paraíso semi-perdido ("Paradise Semi-Lost," 1958); Echeverría's El gallo Quiquiricó ("The Rooster Cock-a-doodle-doo," 1963), Chumingo y el Pirata de Lata ("Chumingo and the Tin Pirate," written with Jorge Díaz, 1964), and Nuevas aventuras de Quiquiricó ("The New Adventures of Cock-a-doodle-doo" 1965). Uribe names others: Jaime Silva's Panchita and others that followed, including Arturo y el Angel ("Arthur and the Angel," n.d.), Los grillos sordos ("The Deaf Crickets," n.d.), and Las travesuras de Don Dionisio ("The Tricks of Sir Dionysus," n.d.); El Robot Pin-Pong (n.d.), La Huasita y Don Iván ("The Peasant Girl and Sir Ivan," n.d.), and Tres niños de la mano ("Three Children By the Hand," n.d.) by José Pineda; La terrible cuncuna ("The Terrible Caterpillar," n.d.) by Alicia Morel, the author of children’s storybooks;[21] and Honorato, el caballo de circo ("Honorato, The Circus Horse," n.d.) by Alejandro Sieveking, whose adult plays have made him a significant figure in Chilean theatre.

Jorge Díaz also wrote a number of scripts, which were to be produced by ICTUS; his first effort at playwriting was, in fact, intended for children. Though he is primarily recognized for absurdist plays criticizing Chile's modern problems, Díaz is also one of the most produced and prolific writers of children's plays in the Spanish language. An ongoing goal of the growing

movement was, and continues to be, the fomentation of playwriting by national authors to create a pool of quality scripts for interested professional and amateur companies.

During this time, the movement would focus on improving the artistic foundations of productions for children, and the formation of aesthetic taste in audiences. Both of these were considered essential to the life of the movement. But ethical training would not cease to be one of the theatre's responsibilities. Indeed, pedagogical dimensions of performance would proliferate in these years. La Nación, one of the major Santiago newspapers, ran an article on the pedagogical dimension of the theatre as a "new discovery" in 1971. It reports the interest of the new government in supporting the arts as instruments for stimulating cultural change. "Never before has the theatre had such a boom as in these times," proclaims the text:

> Now it is no longer enough to produce a show just to entertain people, to produce digestible plays. They must have content, explore a reality or denounce a problem. The theatre is the principal helper of history in these times. [22] ("Pedagogia")

As a means to this end, the Ministerio de Educación (Ministry of Education) established two projects that year. The first was a collaboration between the Municipality of Santiago and a theatre group called Teatro del Nuevo Extremo (Theatre of the New Extreme). The second was new collaboration between the Ministry and the Facultad de Ciencias y Artes

Musicales y Escénicas (Faculty of Musical and Scenic Arts and Science) at the UCh. The goal of this partnership, according to the article, is the diffusion of culture to schoolchildren by means of touring performances brought to their schools and neighborhoods. According to María Teresa Fricke, a member of the UCh Acting Faculty, the primary goal of the Ministry/UCh collaboration is to promote learning about the arts, including theatre. “Our objectives are clear,” says Fricke, “As well as entertaining, we are trying to give an understanding of the theatre, which is an unfamiliar art to most children.”[23] She indicates that the importance of this process is two-pronged. First, it will train children to be the kind of audience that producers desire, and second, it will give children an understanding of how to create theatre on their own, which contributes richly to their personal development. Citizens benefit the nation through spectatorship and artistic creation by raising the aesthetic standards of the culture and fostering theatre that supports appropriate ideologies. The belief that theatrical play is a key ingredient in a child’s growth (and through the child, the nation's growth) echoes Echeverría’s beliefs, and continues to emerge as one of the strongest elements in the establishment and maintenance of both professional companies for children and the use of creative dramatics with them in other settings.

In the early 1970s, the new paradigm for *teatro infantil* began to spread from Santiago, the metropolitan center of Chile, into the provinces (regiones) and to smaller industrial cities. The Universidad de Chile of Antofagasta, a

mining city in the distant, desert north, sponsored a production of Echeverría's script El circulo encantado. The play ran for over a year, touring to local schools, neighborhoods, and outlying areas, and was seen by over 20,000 people. A 1972 Antofagasta edition of El Mercurio reports that the production "brings a message wherein beauty and tenderness unite to amaze the eyes and the souls of the spectators." The date indicates that the production began not long after the beginning of the Ministry of Education and UCh partnership operating out of Santiago. How this partnership might have developed in the radically changing republic, especially in light of the left-wing reforms under way, can only be speculated. For the work of the Universidad de Chile, as well as the government organizations and social structures in place at the time, all dissipated in the wake of the military take-over on September 11, 1973.

Post-*golpe* Children's Theatre: The Professional Development of *Teatro Infantil* after 1973

Following the 1973 *golpe*, much of Chile's regular theatrical activity came to an abrupt halt. Members of many established groups with left-wing ties and politically active agendas went into exile, some after detention and questioning. Most university theatre programs, with the exception of the conservative Universidad Católica (PUC), were dismantled after the new military government seized all of the universities, considering them hotbeds of

Marxist political activity.[24] They dismissed much of the faculty, and completely restructured their activities. The theatre school of the Universidad de Chile—which was a very politically active, left-wing program—met a worse fate, bombarded and destroyed on the day of the coup (Rojas 28). Though most universities and their theatre programs were allowed to reopen the following year, government policies requiring them to be self-funded so weakened them that theatre historian Grinor Rojo called them “castrated” (35).

In the months following September, and during the remainder of the decade, many companies like the PUC chose to produce seasons of Wilder, O'Neill, Chekov, Shakespeare—the standard Western canon. According to Grinor Rojo in Muerte y resurrección del teatro chileno 1973 to 1983 (“Death and Resurrection of the Chilean Theatre 1973 to 1983”), the military government issued a 20% revenue tax on all theatre productions *excepting* those designated by the government as having “cultural value” (41). Productions designated as “commercial” were subject to taxation, a move that crippled all but the most financially successful shows, and gave official censors an easy means of closing those whose content troubled the censors; those given a “cultural” designation were exempt. Rojo goes on to insist that the determination of cultural value had less to do with genuine merit than the absence of potentially objectionable content: "This is why some shows while obviously commercial, though ideologically neutral (if these exist, we believe

that none are definitively so), were classified under the cultural category, while other shows that were obviously cultural, but ideologically critical, were classified as commercial" (41).[25] In addition, the nighttime curfew in place between 1973-1983 curtailed the regular performance practices of most independent troupes. For those artists who did find ways to continue performing, fire marshals and other officials could find ways of closing productions for “violations” of municipal codes. These were years when the creation of performance was an incredibly frustrating, and potentially dangerous, process.[26]

Faced with a crisis of survival—both personal and institutional—many practitioners turned to *teatro infantil* as a kind of refuge (Hurtado, “Chile” 166). One of the few branches of performance that had escaped the censorious gaze of the military regime, the genre was well positioned to offer an alternative to disenfranchised artists. The audience was neither politically aware nor socially threatening; typical performance hours were on weekend afternoons, well before the curfew hour, and offered at least the possibility of financial gain. Moreover, the efforts of *teatro infantil* enthusiasts during the decade before the *golpe* had done much to improve the image of the form as a legitimate pursuit, making it more appealing to professional theatre artists looking for a new outlet.

While *teatro infantil* continued largely undisturbed by the events of the military take-over, it was not unchanged. In December 1973, the joint

patronage of the Bishop of the Chilean Catholic Church and the Office of Pensions produced La Pascua de Pierroto ("Pierrot's Christmas"). Periodical announcements for the production advertise the involvement of Raúl Osorio and Eugenio Dittborn as co-collaborators on the play. Both were senior faculty of the Universidad Católica's theatre program, the only university-based group in Santiago not dismantled following the *golpe.*[27] They mention that the performance was to be staged at the Gran Palace, a venue belonging to the Universidad de Chile, and indicate that this production is part of a plan to sponsor weekly shows for children "that promote authentic Christian values for the human of today" ("Alegría y Paz").[28] As the military junta now in power stressed the need for a moral *limpieza* (cleansing) of the nation, and since a highly conservative "decency" movement was building, the "Christian values" represented in this Christmas play became part of the larger effort to order the social world. The social institutions involved in sponsoring La Pascua de Pierroto had a potential political investment in the solidification of conservative ethics, and in promoting theatre that did not demonstrate the Marxist or progressive influence they were trying to counter.

Additionally, the production was anchored in the migration of professional and university theatre towards productions of the classics in remaining theatrical venues. La Pascua de Pierroto was an adaptation of Moliére; this connection with Moliere evoked a "high art" perception associated by the Chilean public with French artistic products, and sought to

give the play additional cultural currency.[29] Newspapers also stressed the "most important company in charge of the presentation," ("En la Gran Palace") reinforcing the professional importance of Osorio, Dittborn, and their collaborators. This gestured towards its cultural value, thereby legitimizing the appropriateness of its moral framework.[30]

One of the first companies to emerge in the post-*golpe* era was Alicia Quiroga's Cía. Remolino (Whirlwind), which began in the latter half of 1973. Quiroga, a principal actress in DETUCH—the theatre company of the Universidad de Chile—worked initially with the *teatro infantil* troupe Pio Pio y Compañía. Concurrently, she directed Pin-8, a group of student actors from the UCh, with whom she also mounted a children's show, La Fantasmita Pluft ("Alicia Quiroga: de actriz a directora."). [31] These experiences solidified her commitment to the form, and she indicated in a 1973 interview with the Santiago newspaper La Patria that she intended to cultivate these new ties to young audiences. Cía. Remolino was born out of her determination to continue producing work in the genre.

Part of Uribe's article "Desde la antigua Grecia" features an interview with Quiroga about her troupe and her philosophy of production for children. She gives a brief history of Remolino, which began with the production of children's plays in open-air venues around the Municipality of San Miguel in Santiago, mounting 12 shows in three years' time. In 1976, the group found a permanent space, a venue called the Galpón de Los Leones (The Lions'

Den), in which they were still housed at the 1981 date of the interview. Quiroga's approach to *teatro infantil* included the educational objectives of both aesthetic and social development.

> In the first place one should set out with the absolute clarity that theatrical activity for children is a formidable educational resource. In the child's viewpoint, the theatre stimulates his psycho-physical growth. All of the plays that we have done are participatory, in which, through diverse elements in the narrative, it teaches moral values, stimulates their feelings and contributes to motivate the child in his development.[32] (16)

She suggests that two schools of thought have evolved over the development of *teatro infantil:* one insists children should be exposed to elements of darkness—fear, cruelty, injustice—and a second omits harsher elements for the psychological health of the audience. "I think it is positive to eliminate dangerous aspects," Quiroga insists, "their tragic results have already been proved by television" (17). [33] She argues that a happy ending cannot counterbalance the presence of fearful or horrific events. "It doesn't convince me of anything that they ultimately get Red Riding Hood out of the her grandmother's [*sic*, the wolf's] stomach. These are the kinds of things we're trying to change" (17).

In addition to avoiding violence and disturbing subject matter, the group makes a conscious effort to present and affirm for their audiences

examples of good citizenship. “We are even careful with the vocabulary we use. We always try within the dialogue to stimulate the consumption of milk, to inculcate habits of cleanliness, of order, of studiousness.” Quiroga goes on to indicate that their rehearsal process includes inviting a group of children to watch a near-ready production and soliciting their input about their enjoyment and understanding of the show. They trust the judgment of the children to indicate whether the production communicates and entertains successfully, and make adjustments as necessary. This process is vital to the effectiveness of a play as a pedagogical tool. She stipulates that the pedagogical process should not disrupt the child’s natural maturation. “In the end, we are concerned that the child continue being a child; we avoid making them grow up before it is time. The child needs his childhood” (17).[34]

Quiroga might also have found *teatro infantil* an artistic alternative, as well as a necessary instrument of development for the young. The Theatre Department of the Universidad de Chile, where she was a key company member, was dismantled by the incoming authorities immediately following the September *golpe*. When Quiroga began Remolino, she was likely otherwise unemployed, and looked to *teatro infantil* as an alternative, as did a number of performers (according to Hurtado).

Though Pinochet's government reorganized the major university theatres of Santiago, journalistic evidence suggests that they permitted programs outside of the metropolitan region to remain intact, perhaps

because they were so far removed from the political and geographic center of Santiago. One such was the theatre department of the Universidad de Chile in Antofagasta. This program, among its other projects, produced work for children and initiated extracurricular programs for students to train in the arts. Yolanda Montecinos, a Santiago-based theatre critic for Las Ultimas Noticias, contributed a feature article on the Antofagasta company and their 1974 season for the metropolitan edition of the newspaper. The article emphasizes the longevity of the company in their community (over 12 years), the professionalism of the artistic faculty, and the programs that they developed to serve the community. She identifies their *teatro infantil* program as one of the three specific fronts on which the program was working. Their planned '74 season included a production for children, José Pineda's popular El Robot Pin-Pong. Montecinos stresses the importance of the child audience within the educational project of the UCh, indicating that the program "has not put aside its responsibilities in regard to the project for primary school students, which already has two years worth of preparation" ("Aquí, Antofagasta"). [35]

The university-run Escuela de Desarrollo Artístico (School of Artistic Development) was also celebrating the first anniversary of its special Grupo de Teatro Infantil (Children's Theatre Group). The company, comprised of children participating in the extracurricular program, presented short didactic plays with the assistance of professional actors from the University. The work of the faculty—whom she portrays as experienced professional theatre

practitioners—with children suggests that their significance as an audience was growing in the provinces as well as the capital, and that the UCh philosophy included a sense of responsibility for educating them as performers and spectators.

The article makes no mention of political changes in the last year, or to the fate of the UCh in the capital. Montecinos addresses the 1972 season and that of 1974 without a suggestion of a break between them. Instead, it implies a continuity of effort for provincial theatres, an attempt to confirm normalcy, though mention of productions during 1973 is conspicuously absent. Certainly Montecinos and her employers had good reason to avoid speaking too directly about the *golpe* or its affect on the theatres. The government would undoubtedly be alert to signs of criticism, and the public likely did not long to revisit those difficult days. So the picture that Montecinos painted of the Antofagasta group was, in a sense, an idealized vision of Chilean theatre for that time. It spoke of a place, distant from the capital yet still part of the nation, where professional performance had a long-established practice conducted by respected artists for the benefit of a responsive community. In her article, Montecinos portrays *teatro infantil* as an important part of that vision.

Also in 1974, the magazine Que Pasa published an interview with Jaime Silva, creator of La Princesa Panchita and other early plays of the movement. Following a period of travel in Latin America, the U.S., and

Western Europe, Silva had taken a position with the Acting Faculty at the UCh theatre program, and wrote scripts for the children's television show "Aventuras de Cachencho." Following the *golpe*, he left Santiago, to join the faculty of the Universidad Austral in Valdivia, a port city in far southern Chile. The article stresses his relationship to theatre as cultural education, both for children and adults. Highlighting his new appointment as the Chair of the Facultad de Bellas Artes (Faculty of Fine Arts), the article outlines his success and satisfaction with working in Valdivia, and his intentions for continuing theatrical production in the region. The interview also details several of his recent productions and plans for coming plays. Many came from the Western canon (Tennesee William's Glass Menagerie, Ionesco's The Lesson, and The Doctor in Spite of Himself), or were children's plays (his own Las travesuras de don Dionisio), and Chilean folklore (Pedro Urdemales, often marketed for child audiences). Silva's choices reflect that "safety net" of classical and *teatro infantil* plays that dominated university stages in Santiago, indicating that even in the distant provinces artists were choosing to avoid potential conflicts with government censors. Silva's presence and his activities also indicate that performances for children were reaching these provincial areas as artists moved away from the capital; they helped to solidify the significance of the movement throughout the country.

In July 1975, Las Ultimas Noticias printed a review written by Yolanda Montecinos of the Teatro Nacional production of Silva's script La fantásica

isla de los casianimales ("The Fantastic Island of the Ani-maybes"). Montecinos gives little information about the plot, beyond indicating that the benevolent and powerful queen Abuelostra is threatened by the malevolent Bum, but her faithful friends and subjects thwart his efforts to seize power. She also indicates that the characters are magical hybrids, mixtures of animal and supernatural elements, with anthropomorphic qualities. Montecinos spends the bulk of the article praising the play for its "positive text, in both the structure and moral framework; songs with strong content, attractive characters, colors and fantasy elements, and good use of mechanical resources " ("La fantástica isla de los casianimales").[36] She calls Silva the "best writer of children's plays in the country" and goes on to emphasize that the play successfully portrays the conflict between good and evil and the reality of man's imperfection without resorting to violent imagery. The need to avoid violence seems especially poignant in light of the recent memory of military actions during the *golpe*, and continuing activity in the police state during the next few years. Montecinos praises the production for encapsulating most of the ideals expressed in Echeverría's 1966 manifesto: solid aesthetic production from a quality script, presentation of an edifying moral in which goodness defeats evil, and sympathy for the child's viewpoint and intellectual abilities.

The article attests to the growing influence of the genre. It also signals increasing attention to professional performances for children, as does the

location of Casianimales in the new Teatro Nacional. Loren Kruger indicates that “the literal place of performance or exhibition (the stage or museum, the building and its geographical location) plays a role in the cultural recognition of theatre or art” (12). This venue belonged to the Universidad de Chile, and had been known as the Gran Palace. Following the university reorganization conducted by the military regime, the government adopted the theatre as an official national venue and rechristened it the “Teatro Nacional.” In 1975, the theatre department of the university had reopened, and the venue was again housing theatrical performances under government sponsorship. Kruger goes on to explain that “place and occasion thus signify the means and the site on which national prestige . . . is staged, acknowledged, and contested” (12). In this case, presentation at this particular venue carried an implicit affirmation of government support for the production, a move that signaled an increased acceptance of *teatro infantil* as an important form. *Teatro infantil* was now one of the forms through which national prestige could be staged and acknowledged. If Silva and or the producers of Casianimales objected to the new government or its policies, they remained silent on the subject. Likely, their desire to raise the fortunes of the *teatro infantil* movement and further their own careers outweighed any potential political considerations, especially considering the danger of voicing opposition.

In Muerte y resurreción (1985), historian Rojo angrily rejects government patronage of the venue, the former Gran Palace, as a gesture of

domination; he regards it as a usurpation of the space that properly belonged to the UCh as an independent entity. He simultaneously laments the reduction of the UCh theatre program to a shadow of its former self, and condemns the government's effort to consolidate the various performing arts into one "national" (Rojo puts the term in quotation marks) grouping under the roof of a "national" theatre, and where they would determine and control what performances merited inclusion in the distinction of being "national" arts (34). Kruger refers to the struggle for ownership or use of such social places: “The physical site and the material apparatus of theatre function within a social semiotic matrix and that site and apparatus signify social place as they mark social places” (12). In that sense, the implied declaration of ownership of the social place, through their occupation/sponsorship and re-naming of the physical site of the Gran Palace, was a move on the part of the military government to control social discourse through that important social place. Clearly, Rojo understands the actions of the dictatorship as an effort to bring the arts into their particular nationalist discourse, and rejects their idea of nation under Pinochet both as false and as a betrayal of the arts. With that in mind, the production of *teatro infantil* productions like La Pascua de Pierroto and La Fantastica isla de los casianimales in the Teatro Nacional indicates that the government included children’s theatre as a means through which social discourse could be controlled.

Like the UCh in Antofagasta, Santiago universities would identify the need to work with children to develop their interest in theatre arts. In August 1975, the PUC sponsored their first festival of performances by children. The featured performers were groups of primary and middle school students directed by students at the PUC School of Theatre Arts. The purpose of the festival was to "promote theatre activity among children" ("Se inició festival de teatro"). [37] With their professional numbers decimated by conditions of exile and the climate of government suspicion towards professional theatre, these universities needed somehow to rebuild the discipline of theatre within Chile. Programs like the ones at the UCh-Antofagasta and the PUC emerged from the need to create a new generation of spectators and practitioners.

Archive materials from the last four years of the decade contain little information about *teatro infantil*, but materials from the 1980s indicate that the genre was slowly and steadily growing. Groups like Remolino, Taller 71, and Kleine U were consistently producing shows for the public and building an audience base. The 1970s, particularly the period after the *golpe*, were a time that allowed the *teatro infantil* movement to put to down roots, establishing itself firmly in society and in the realm of professional theatre. The stability gained during this time would allow the movement to experience exponential growth during the years to come.

Conclusion

The period of 1963-1972 brought an entirely new paradigm for producing plays with a child audience. Young people could now be considered an independent group who needed and deserved productions tailored to their tastes and developmental stages. Moreover, theatre broke free from didactic classroom settings to take a more visible position on professional stages. Production values and aesthetics became more dominant considerations for plays aimed at child spectators, as did original and carefully crafted content. All of these new developments helped open potential avenues of communication for progressive activists to approach children and encourage them towards certain modes of political thought and action. The *golpe*, however, changed the social circumstances under which *teatro infantil* was created. Beginning in mid-1973, the movement would take on added significance to social authorities and windows of opportunity to disenfranchised Chilean theatre practitioners. All of these changes created the conditions that would determine the character of contemporary professional *teatro infantil* in Chile. The movement would place emphasis on production aesthetics and artistic quality, it would seek to create performances specifically tailored to the character and tastes of children as the producers understood them, and it would maintain belief in the pedagogical usefulness of the theatre. Government agencies would adopt attentive attitudes towards children as budding members of society, and to

potential sources of pedagogical influence over their development. The growing importance of children as future socio-economic decision-makers in Chile began to raise the stakes of their ethical and cultural development for both state and theatrical institutions. Much of the work that has come out of the movement has been convinced that children have many social and ethical lessons to learn to participate successfully in Chilean society, and that they will readily accept instruction when it is presented from the stage. In the 1980s, the genre would begin consistently to incorporate and combine what Uribe describes as two separate aims of theatre work with children: “the formation of certain knowledge” and “the training of aesthetic taste” (16).

Chapter 3
Teatro Infantil Renews its Social Conscience: The Growth of Socio-Political Activism Through Artistic Expression

Teatro infantil continued to grow and expand as a movement in the 1980s, even as other theatrical forms began emerging as creative outlets and vehicles of protest for Chilean performers. While many artists found ways to negotiate the risky business of mounting critical, activist adult performances, *teatro infantil* still offered creative and rewarding opportunities to practitioners seeking ways to participate in the culture. Child audiences still held an attraction for many theatre professionals, who saw the movement as a place where they could safely and productively contribute to the arts and influence the direction of the country (either by supporting or opposing dominant values). The government considered the audience and the field non-threatening politically, and as the decade progressed, showed greater interest in supporting *teatro infantil* as a way of promoting their own values and ideology among juvenile citizens.

This chapter addresses the development of *teatro infantil* during the 1980s, marking the ways that it responded to social and political events of the decade, particularly in moments of crisis and regarding issues of national concern. I argue that pedagogical performances served multiple purposes in the project of constructing visions of good citizenship, articulating the most pressing needs of the country, and instructing children on their responsibilities

to the nation. Beginning in the 1980s, the professional field of theatre has had a pressing need underlying its practices of aesthetic and social teaching for child audiences —the necessity of its own survival. This remains true to the present moment. The drive for continuance has contributed to and complicated the process of creating *teatro infantil* in the years following the *golpe*, particularly since it functions in two divergent directions: a capitalist project that must establish a steady pattern of consumption of artistic product with the audience positioned as consumer, and a civic project in which ideological engines like government agencies must be convinced to collaborate in an effort to promote cultural richness in the nation.

Based upon the changes instituted during the 1960s, Uribe suggests that by 1981 a philosophical distinction developed between theatrical work *with* children and theatre *for* children.

While *teatro escolar* [classroom theatre, theatre with children] has didactic objectives and serves to favor the formation of certain knowledge; *teatro infantil* [theatre for children] reaches for aesthetic aims such as the creation of a sense of beauty, to train aesthetic taste. (16)

Indeed, much of the dramatic writing done by Chilean teachers in earlier periods had pedagogical efficacy in mind—the cultivation of patriotism, study habits, behavior, and morals. Extant dramatic texts and newspaper reviews, however, belie Uribe's assertion that the "formation of certain knowledge" was the goal only of classroom theatre, as does her own

published interview with Alicia Quiroga. Certainly, one of the primary goals of the early movement prior to 1981 was to develop a sense of beauty and cultivate artistic taste in children. Like Uribe, some Chilean practitioners have from the early days of the movement rejected the legitimacy of a didactic imperative in professional productions for children. Claudio Pueller, a PUC-trained director who began his career in *teatro infantil* in 1981 with the group Saltalauchas, asserts that didactic elements handicap a play as an artistic achievement. Pueller, who currently serves as president of the Chilean branch of ASSITEJ (International Association of Theatre for Children and Youth) and director of the Balmaceda Youth Center for Arts and Culture, believes that :

> the artists who make good theatre are the ones who have freed themselves from thinking that the child must be taught and must participate [as with audience participation] and when one liberates oneself from this prejudice then their theatre can be much freer and more honest.[1] (11/29/99)

Pueller's work during the 1980s, however, often included plays with overtly values-oriented content.

The budding theatrical movement of the 1960s had rejected the plays of their forbearers as artistically inferior, but did not object to didactic messages *per se*, only to privileging pedagogical concerns over artistic quality. Echeverría includes a moral element in her criteria for creating

meaningful theatre experiences for children. She advises that plays for young people include “a moral dilemma of easy comprehension, which provokes a thoughtful response in the child” (8), which will in turn have an edifying affect on their intellect or character. [2] She specifies that a correct approach will, unlike classroom dramas, allow children to deduce their own ideas from the material presented rather than forcing them to accept pre-formulated educational information. She reiterates:

It is said that the child needs freedom to establish judgment. It is not necessary to give him pre-made ideas. Present him with the Good, the Bad, Beauty and Ugliness in such a manner as to permit him to discover them through a personal critical process that will bring him to accept the good and reject the evil. [3] (8)

Clearly, Echeverría believes that there is a place for social and moral learning in a professional children’s theatre movement. She also believes that children are capable of ethical discernment and will reach proper, or socially beneficial, conclusions when exposed to a moral lesson during a playgoing experience. During the 1980s, this aspect of the practice began to emerge more frequently.

In addition to carrying forward the project of aesthetic advancement set out in the 1970s, *teatro infantil* during the 1980s began more directly to address social and ethical concerns. Prior to the birth of the *teatro infantil* movement, pedagogical uses of theatre had been primarily exercised within

the classroom, and teachers produced the bulk of scripts focused on values- and knowledge-formation. The work of practitioners in the 1970s, which insisted that the primary goal of theatre for children should be the creation of an entertaining experience rich in artistic quality, created new expectations for scripts and production values. Yet they did not override or dismiss the utility of dramatically presented lessons and morals. Rather, they created an atmosphere in which pedagogical concerns might break free of the classroom and insinuate themselves into the leisure activities of Chilean children and their parents. As the second post-*golpe* decade in Chile progressed, the *teatro infantil* stage became a place where the dominant ideology could be reinforced for maturing members of the social body. Concurrently, it became a site where that ideology and its values could be challenged in favor of competing ethical viewpoints and social values, and where the future decision-makers of the country could be influenced with regard to Chilean social problems and their potential solutions. Thus, it served both dominant and resistant discourses.

Good Citizens, Good Habits: The Formation of the "Good" Chilean Child

The first productions to feature educational content as a significant part of their make-up combined recent ideas about art appreciation and creativity with traditional "classroom drama" themes of character and habit. These appeared at the start of the decade. A 25 September 1981 feature in La

Nación highlights the momentary situation of *teatro infantil* in the country. Author Nury Constenla C. offers a brief summary of the origins of the discipline, followed by a description of three established groups. Alicia Quiroga and her group Remolino stressed the importance of theatre to the psychological growth of the child, and of play-watching as a bonding experience for parent and child. Her work often featured informal conversations for the adults in attendance, designed to increase their ability to enrich the child's understanding and growth. Remolino's most recent production at the time, Princesa Mañunga y el Corderito Dorado ("Princess Mañunga and the Golden Lamb") was a folkloric piece aimed at "teaching the child to value his roots and to understand his country, his heritage, and its national dance" ("Teatro Infantil: Alimento espiritual").

The group Amigo Ombú, comprised of graduates of the Pury Durante Theatre Academy,[4] began their work with the idea that children ought to be introduced to theatre early in life. Their practice, characterized by collective creation, concentrated on educating adults and children at the same time, in the hope of uniting families in the appreciation of dramatic performance. Grupo Piralé—a group that began by presenting translated German plays at Santiago's Goethe Institute of German Culture—also preferred collective creation as a means of making plays for young people. Comprised of teachers, the group produced work both for children and adults, and in their *teatro infantil* endeavors, believed in the value of

audience participation and improvisation. Like Remolino, their works contained an overtly didactic element, such as El viaje en globo ("Trip in a Balloon"), which sought to stress the importance of personal cleanliness and daily hygiene. In addition, their work was geared towards combating the television habits of children, which they believed had a serious negative impact, making them passive and neurotic. Nury Constenla portrays all three groups as dedicated and self-sacrificing, committed to the noble goal of benefiting the nation's children.

A 1981 review by critic Gloria Leiva M. praised several other productions, including El Gato con Botas ("Puss in Boots") by Cía. Comedias and Las aventuras de Panchilín ("The Adventures of Panchilín") by Taller 71. She credited them for using attractive production elements and audience participation to encourage children to develop their creativity and imagination during free time, rather than indulging in television. She also recommended La vuelta a la manzana ("Around the Block") for its imaginative presentation of the values of friendship, love, and kindness, and Baño de noche y aire ("Bath of Night and Air"), which tried to form good habits of hygiene in small children ("Palco reservado").

Issues of citizenship and model conduct—studiousness, good hygiene, responsibility, cooperation, and friendship—made regular appearances in public performances for young audiences over the decade, and often figured prominently into the media information published for

productions. Press releases and newspaper announcements often included mention of the didactic content, and reviewers frequently addressed the messages encoded within productions, evaluating their ethical or scholastic suitability and the skill with which they were communicated through performance. By 1988, the year of the vote that ended Pinochet's presidency, several groups had established reputations for marrying edifying content with good production values. These included Taller 71, Kleine U, and Grupo Piralé, among others. Such groups, in addition to their appropriation of traditional *teatro escolar* messages, also sought to ameliorate the divisions and anxieties caused by political strife in the years of Pinochet's presidency.

Why Can't We All Just Get Along?
Post-*Golpe* Polarization, Social Anxiety, and Cultural Crisis

In the years following the *golpe*, Chilean society became increasingly divided along socio-political lines, between those who supported the Pinochet-led government, and those who had allied themselves to Allende's socialist reform movement. During the 1980s, *teatro infantil* began to exhibit a preoccupation with the social strife surrounding this polarization, mounting productions that attempted to foster reconciliation and create in children habits and values conducive to healing the wounds of ideological division. In News from the End of the Earth: A Portrait of Chile (1988), former British Ambassador John Hickman describes the schism:

> For liberals around the world and the adherents of the *Unidad Popular* in Chile, Allende was the champion of the poor and the under-privileged mass of Chileans. Notwithstanding the disasters of his Presidency, he remains the charismatic leader who had charted a new road for them and been martyred in a good cause. For the Right the UP, if not Allende himself, clearly wanted to destroy Chile's traditional political system and way of life; the left wing ideologues of the UP were the people who had reduced the economy to ruins and the nation to the brink of civil war. A military coup offered the only way out. (115-116)

Between those who saw the *golpe* as the immolation of their utopian dreams and those who saw it as "the only way out" of a disastrous economic and political mess, a tremendous social rift occurred and few individual Chileans refrained from aligning themselves on one side or the other of this ideological line.

By 1981, the social and economic situation in Chile had stabilized. The financial outlook had greatly improved, with the GNP and employment rates steadily growing. The most blatant human rights violations had ceased, and the original siege-state declared by Pinochet and his allies had been lifted. Civil liberties, however, remained under suspension, and the freedom of the population greatly curtailed under the rubric of guaranteeing the nation's security. Large sectors of the populace still lived at or below poverty levels,

and increasing numbers of displaced people (many of them the families of former members of labor unions, Unidad Popular, and other blackballed liberal and left-wing groups) coalesced into *poblaciones*—shanty towns—on the fringes of larger cities. Though economic growth and public calm bespoke a sense of national well being, underlying currents of social distress permeated many sectors of society. The nation's children were certainly not expected to grasp fully the depth of the repression or its effect on the culture, but *teatro infantil* did attempt to address issues of conflict and division. Often it sought to promote solidarity and reconciliation, but it also served as a forum for challenging the ideals promoted by pro-government channels.

Nury Constenla ends her profile of Remolino, Amigo Ombú, and Grupo Piralé with a summation of the state of *teatro infantil* at the start of the 1980s. She refers to the 1981 issue of Cuadernos de Teatro, which featured the published script for La Princesa Panchita as well as Peña's thorough article on the history of *teatro infantil*. Constenla quotes Peña to summarize the goals of the movement at the start of the new decade:

> Good children's theatre should be a tacit weapon against violence, aggression, delinquency, bad taste, and it should extol beauty, magic, poetry, and playfulness. To this end, it should carry an implicit cargo of emotion, action, and content of peace and brotherhood.[5] (qtd. In "Teatro Infantil: alimento espiritual")

Mindful that the publication Cuadernos de Teatro came from the government Ministerio de Educación, via their branch of cultural extension, the promotion of values like peace and brotherhood and the eradication of violence, aggression, and delinquency, take on veiled suggestions of social control and the maintenance of order so crucial to Pinochet's regime. However, they also reflect the social distress caused by political polarization and a standing desire to foster "peace and brotherhood" in the next generation. While most children's theatre groups carefully avoided aligning themselves with the political right or left (at least before 1988), many expressed concern with the social climate of the decade and exhibited a desire to restore open communication and unity between people.

The Tercera de la Hora column "Palco Reservado" ("The Box Seat"), written by Gloria Leiva M., occasionally featured *teatro infantil* offerings, often selecting plays whose themes would become increasingly significant as the decade progressed. In her column for December 4, 1981, she praised the Teatro Urbano Contemporaneo (TEUCO) for their version of Antoine de St. Exúpéry's internationally popular Little Prince, the tale of a pragmatic and gentle little boy who longs for companionship and rejects the self-serving logic of the adult world. On his travels, he meets people of influence, wealth, and learning, but finds their priorities skewed and their feelings cold. She applauded the street theatre group's adaptation for its quick pace and their style of itinerant presentation that made the story accessible to a broader

cross-section of Santiago *comunas*. TEUCO's production was the first of several staged renditions of that story during the '80s, for the social content of the bittersweet narrative—its insistence that friendship and understanding matter more than social standing, political power, or economic abundance—resonated with audiences in the increasingly turbulent times. On December 25,1981, she recommended El baúl mágico ("The Magic Trunk"), which used puppetry, song, and dance to engage children while teaching them the value of an optimistic outlook on life.

Though cautious optimism seemed appropriate in 1981, the surface calm that characterized the start of the decade ruptured during the economic crisis of 1982-83. In the months that followed a sharp and sudden decline in the nation's financial situation, a series of public protests erupted across the nation, including participants from several socio-economic classes. These included short boycotts of factories, offices, and schools, and noisemaking demonstrations that entailed honking car horns or banging pots and pans. The first popular protest occurred on May 11, 1983, and continued on a quasi-monthly basis for the next three years. Hickman rejects the opinion of some observers that these were "simply an outburst against Pinochet and in favor of a return to the democratic ways of the past, its roots were much more complex and not primarily political" (182). Instead, he suggests that "it was primarily a demonstration against the condition of the country, the bankruptcy engulfing so many small people and the grinding poverty of life in the

poblaciones" (182). The catalyst for the protests might have been economic rather than political. Hickman, however, stresses that the power and intensity of the demonstrations "by a population which seemed to have been cowed by ten years of repression was a revelation of the intense frustration felt by the majority of Chileans at the failures of the military regime" (182).

A resurgence of political and grassroots activism accompanied the protests, as labor associations began to regain influence among the people and displaced political parties created an *Alianza Democrática* ("Democratic Alliance," led by the Christian Democratic Party) to assert pressure on the government. The military regime did not wait long to respond with police and armed forces to unremitting street demonstrations; these continued, especially in the *poblaciones*, in spite of the "iron fist" tactics that resulted in the death of 26 civilians by mid-1983 alone. Violence also permeated the means of protest used by some dissenters; MIR (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*, "Leftist Revolutionary Movement," an underground political organization) stepped up its terrorist activity, including bombings and the assassination of an army general, the Pinochet-appointed governor of Santiago. In December 1984, the situation reached a critical mass, and Pinochet again declared a state of siege in Chile. The government suppressed six opposition publications, arrested three leaders of the *Alianza Democrática*, and sent 140 people into internal exile.[6]

Even after the outcry of the general public had been quelled, violence and conflict between the government and radical fringe groups continued to escalate. Between 1985 and 1988, the year of the plebiscite that denied Pinochet another term as president, new terrorist movements emerged to execute a number of bombings and kidnappings; protests grew more aggressive as militants among the demonstrators sought to push confrontation between armed forces and the crowds. According to Hickman, many of these radical dissidents belonged to Left wing groups that hoped to spur a popular uprising to overthrow Pinochet and establish a communist government. Fueled in part by his particular loathing for socialist and communist ideologies—believing that "only he stood between Chile and another Marxist disaster" (189)—Pinochet refused to enter into negotiations with more diplomatic political groups seeking social change and a return to democracy. The *carabineros* (police force) and Army developed undercover units to enact counter-terror operations that resulted in a number of disappearances, assassinations, and the horrific emolation of two protesters by Chilean soldiers.

As the conflicts between terror and counter-terror escalated, organizations like the *Acuerdo Nacional (*"National Accord," a confederation of Chilean political parties), the Vatican, and the U.S. and European nations increased international and internal pressure for profound socio-political change, most specifically for open elections and the safeguarding of human

rights. Following a failed assassination attempt in late 1986, Pinochet and the military regime experienced a surge in public support, in part because many moderate Chileans were so horrified by steadily rising terrorist action from the radical left that they preferred to support what Hickman calls “the devil they knew” than the shadowy, volatile unknown (189).

Performing for Children in the Midst of Crisis

In these years, the Universidad Católica began their program of *teatro infantil*, a project that they described as “a permanent line of children’s theatre, carried out with imagination, artistic quality, and an ethically sustained vision of the world” (Hurtado Memorias teatrales 102). In a 1983 article for the PUC theatre publication Apuntes, Paz Yrarrázaval Y., the director of the school, announced the intentions of the department to contribute substantially to the field of *teatro infantil*. She insisted that the work done in the country during the 1970s was not sufficient to meet the needs of the nation’s children, though a number of individual troupes made significant contributions. She also stressed that *teatro infantil* was continuing to attract participation from key national playwrights and performers, but needed permanent venues to lend stability to the work; the PUC intended to provide such a space (“El teatro infantil: un nuevo proyecto de extension teatral U.C.” 66-67). Their first production was El pájaro azúl, a 1984 adaptation of Maurice Maeterlinck’s The Bluebird, a play about learning to find happiness in one's own situation in spite of life's difficulties.

Within the PUC project (which was rather short lived, ending by 1990), the most notable socially engaged productions were Los niños que no podían ser niños ("The children who could not be children"), and La pandilla del arco iris ("The Rainbow Gang"). The 1985 production Los niños que no podían ser niños depicts the story of an uprising by fairy tale characters such as Red Riding Hood and Tom Thumb as they protest the constraints of the fairy tale universe that prevent them from being real children ("Para cabros chicos"). The story was drawn from a UNICEF publication dedicated to promoting children's rights, and the production corresponded to a UN declaration on international children's rights that year (Hurtado 102). La pandilla, produced the same year, addressed ecological issues. Critic Yolanda Montecinos recognized both productions in a year's-end summation of outstanding theatrical productions in Santiago, praising them as part of an effort to raise the overall quality of *teatro infantil* as a genre—and lamenting the failure of children's television to be worthy of the same merit ("Teatro 1985").

In certain cases during the mid-1980s, *teatro infantil* productions drew criticism for themes that could carry political sentiment. For example, a March 1985 version of El ultimo traje del emperador ("The Emperor's New Clothes") by the *callejero* group TEUCO (responsible for the 1981 version of El principito) attracted criticism (and faced potential penalization) for having a priest, rather than a child, declare the emperor's nudity. The character humiliates the leader before a confused crowd of his subjects, who cannot

see the “magic garment” but fear to admit it. As the Catholic church was one of the few organizations that offered much criticism or resistance to the policies of the military regime, the play could be interpreted as a commentary on the current situation in Chile, which had recently been declared in a state of siege. In an interview with El Mercurio, director Juan Edmundo Gonzalez actively denied that the play carried a political message, insisting that the choice to use a priest instead of a child had more to do with the available pool of actors than any thematic concern. He also stressed that they made specific choices to avoid political confrontation; they removed from the costume of the emperor a presidential sash, for example.

Though Gonzalez protested the accusations, the use of the priest was likely a subtle move to protest recent government actions. The decision of the group not to use a presidential sash, which Gonzalez offered as a sign of their desire to avoid political symbolism, indicates to me that the group was very aware of political events in their country and of the implications of their staging choices. They would have been aware of Catholic activism and criticism of government actions. When their casting choice did attract the attention of the government, the group was forced to deny that the character had a loaded meaning, for their own safety if not that of the whole movement. Their excuse might also have been calculated in the event of an accusation. It certainly drew added attention to the production (and the notion of political protest) that it would otherwise not have received.

The Chilean economy began to recover in 1986, and by the date of the 1988 plebiscite, showed considerable growth. It seemed a strong possibility that Pinochet would win the yes/no decision scheduled for October, and he was confident of another seven years in office. Thus, the activists of the combined political parties, dissidents, and other supporters of a return to democracy began a vigorous “No Campaign” to force a change in the balance of power.

Exiled Chilean theatre artists began returning to their homeland in those years, and university and professional theatre for adult audiences began to experience an outpouring of creative activism, in which absurdist, avant garde, and postmodern techniques became popular methods through which performance could address psychological, economic, and political problems of oppression and resistance. These fruitful years are addressed in detail by Catherine Boyle in Chilean Theatre 1973-1985: Marignality, Power, Selfhood (1992) and by María de la Luz Hurtado in Teatro chileno y modernidad: identitad y crisis social (1997). Increasing activity in these areas might suggest a decline in the status and activity of theatre for children during this period; however, the return of exiles and upsurge in voices of opposition did not decimate the ranks of children’s theatre practitioners. Rather, the *teatro infantil* of these years also reflected the social anxiety caused by political strife, increasing violence, and growing ideological divide. A number of productions with values-oriented content began to focus on issues of

human rights, violence, strife, and the importance of tolerance and conflict resolution.

Most children's theatre productions in the latter part of the decade managed to avoid conflict with the government, and yet they found a number of ways to address social justice in their content. PUC, for example, produced a version of Michael Ende's Neverending Story, La historia sin fin, in 1987. Both this and the earlier Pájaro azúl narratives featured children searching for meaning and contentment, first by attempting to escape their unhappy reality and then by learning ways to change and improve their circumstances. Another 1987 PUC production, Computadora última generación "supports a new ecological vision, questioning uses of new technology and information in relation to humanist values" (Hurtado 122). The most notable productions in this vein, however, are Don Anacleto Avaro, El fantasmita Pluft, Los grillos sordos, and El Principito.

Anacleto Avaro (Mr. Anacleto Avaricious) is a one-act comedy that tells the story of an avaricious old man, made suddenly wealthy by the demise of an uncle, who learns the value of generosity through a magic spell. The company La Rueda presented this Chilean folktale in the Banco del Estado (Chilean State Bank) venue, with a script written by nationally recognized and critically lauded playwright Isadora Aguirre. Originally appearing in the mid-1950s, Aguirre's story resonated in 1987. It portrays a conflict between the community and the shadowy, powerful Juan Malulo. The town and Juan

Malulo, who takes devilish glee in creating social strife, battle over an individual who must choose whether to expend his effort and resources on himself or others.

The play shows the attempts of Anacleto, a selfish man, to keep others from sharing in his good fortune, and his eventual realization that everyone must work for the common good. Anacleto asks the help of Juan Malulo to work a spell that will protect him from the villagers who come to beg his beneficence. Much to Anacleto's chagrin, however, the spell ultimately causes him to give the whole of his new inheritance to the public trust. The character Pedro explains how the money can be used to benefit the whole group: "We can distribute this money between all of the village's necessities, we can pave the streets, install electric light, build schools, thousands of things!"[7] The villagers are so overjoyed at his gift that Anacleto's popularity skyrockets, and the group elects him mayor. For his part, Anacleto is so touched by their genuine gratitude and affection, that he finds joy in giving and declares himself a happy man. In the final moments of the play, the voice of Anacleto's conscience reiterates for him and for the audience the lesson of the play:

> ANACLETO: Ah, ah. He who gives more, receives more. That seems like a moral to me.
> VOICE: Yes, this is the moral of this story.
> ANACLETO: And the moral, isn't that a little saying that goes at the end of all stories?
> VOICE: That it is, Anacleto.

ANACLETO: Then, is this story finished?

VOICE: That it is, Anacleto. [8]

(Don Anacleto Avaro 60)

Newspaper coverage of the production in El Mercurio and La Segunda emphasized the moral as explicitly as the final scene of the play. El Mercurio summarized it as the story of "an old man, avaricious and egotistical, who changes his attitude towards others when he discovers that he can do good if he is generous" ("Estrenan Obra Infantil").[9] The fictive demonstration of the need to put aside self-interest in favor of collective good, and especially the kind of society-building that the people of Anacleto Avaro hope to accomplish, had immediate resonance in the second half of 1987 as Chile began to emerge from the economic hardship of recent years. Anacleto's discovery of self-fulfillment through community involvement also struck chords as the country prepared for the coming plebiscite in the wake of protests, terrorist attacks, and restrictive governance.

Also in 1987, Cía. Sur Oeste presented a version of Jaime Silva's Los grillos sordos ("The Deaf Crickets"). In the play, two selfish crickets individually amass great wealth, while ignoring the hunger and poverty of neighboring ants. Finally, they realize the error of their ways, and come together as a community. "In the end," states Las Últimas Noticias, "solidarity triumphs, egotism yields to love, and the lonely crickets learn that only when they share will they find the happiness they have never known" ("Grillos y

hormigas que enseñan”).[10] As with Don Anacleto Avaro, the narrative in Grillos juxtaposes abundance with desperate need, and shows a community where the membership is polarized into two isolated groups; the sharing of resources and goodwill finally unites these groups into a cooperative, healthy whole. In both cases, the economically advantaged—individualist, conservative—elements of the community must make the greater effort to change.

According to director Manuel Gallegos, the children were often so upset over the behavior of the selfish crickets that they would mount the stage to castigate them. Actor Claudio Lillo states that the ultimate goal of the production is to stimulate critical thinking among the audience: “The children return to their houses and comment on what they saw. It is very important for the communication between parent and child. Our goal is to help reaffirm values like solidarity, love, and peace. We think that the group must continue teaching these messages” (“Grillos y hormigas que enseñan”).[11] Lillo makes an important connection between what happens in the theatre and what happens in the home. Performances offer information that children can critically consider with their parents, stimulating dialogue and social learning for both. In the case of Grillos, the critical dialogue should focus on the economic means to achieving “solidarity, love, and peace” (“Grillos y hormigas que enseñan”).

In 1988, the production El fantasmita Pluft ("Pluft the Little Ghost") dealt with similar humanist issues. The script, written by Brazilian playwright María Clara Machado, tells the story of a ghost-child named Pluft who lives in an abandoned house with his mother, and who has a profound fear of living people. When a little girl in danger takes refuge in Pluft's house, he overcomes his phobia to befriend and assist her in escaping from an evil pirate. The play demonstrates the value of compassion through Pluft, who identifies with the little girl in her struggle to resist her captor, and stresses the value of understanding as the two children overcome their differences to form a friendship. It also demonstrates the importance of community involvement, as the entire ghost community gathers to help rescue Mirabella from the pirate.

The group producing the show, La Cámara, received funding for the project from PRODART (Producciones Artisticas), a government organization created to support the arts in Chile. Early in its run, the production participated in the "Day of the Child" celebration –an international awareness holiday declared by UNESCO—sponsored by the Municipalidad de Maipu. A month later, PRODART ran announcements for the production in La Nación, Las Últimas Noticias, and La Época advertising its run in the Teatro Cariola. The articles emphasized two aspects of the production: the quality and distinction of the cast and design team, and the aesthetic and ethical value of the show. It described Fantasmita Pluft as "a sweet and clever story of pirates

and ghosts, with lovely songs with which attending children sing along. It emphasizes universal values like love, kindness, and friendship" [12] ("El Fantasmita Pluft"). The La Nación article, which featured the official PRODART insignia at the bottom, also stressed the availability of the production for weekday appearances at schools, public facilities, and businesses.

The values addressed in the play—lessons about overcoming childhood fears, putting aside distrust or anxiety to create relationships, and working together to defeat a common enemy—correlated to social anxieties of the time. Government sponsorship of Fantasmita Pluft through PRODART suggests that the play promotes values useful to the existing power structures. With an election pending that would determine whether the current administration would continue to hold power, it would be advantageous for the government to demonstrate patronage of "universal values like love, kindness, and friendship." The availability of the production for touring to schools, businesses, and public spaces in addition to its weekend appearances at a traditional venue would make possible the demonstration of that patronage to a greater portion of Chilean society. This did not necessarily indicate that the producers of the play supported the military government, or that they shared the administration's ideas about how love, kindness, and friendship ought to be defined for Chilean children. They might as easily have considered the military regime an enemy not unlike the one Pluft and his

friends defeat; their political beliefs do not emerge in the production in any obvious way. It does imply that both La Cámara and PRODART found the messages in Fantasmita Pluft applicable and appropriate to the country's situation.

Both groups were counting on the interpretive framework of shared culture to lead the audience to appropriate ideological conclusions after seeing the piece. According to Bennett, “As the artist works within the technical means available and within the scope of aesthetic convention, so audiences read according to the scope and means of culturally and aesthetically constituted interpretive processes” (92). Whether or not their ideological positions were the same, both PRODART and La Cámara counted on the spectator to “read” the play the same way that they did, to share a common identification with the protagonist, and to understand how “love, kindness, and friendship” applied both in Pluft’s social situation and their own. For PRODART, correct interpretation would mean that the audience saw the government as a generous patron of the arts and accepted hegemonic ideas about virtue and community, which perhaps the producing group shared. If, on the other hand, La Cámara held veiled sentiments of opposition to the government, they also counted on the interpretive lenses of the audience to understand and identify with that position. Because El fantasmita Pluft was a children’s show, it was uniquely suited to be used by both groups whether they shared ideological viewpoints or not. The intended audience was already

positioned as ideologically and politically neutral (and therefore open to influence), and the values generic enough that any faction could claim them.

Yolanda Montecinos favorably reviewed this production, comparing it in quality and spirit to the premiere of La Princesa Panchita, and offering it as proof that the level of children's theatre in Chile was steadily improving while consistently remaining above the quality of competing programs from television networks. Montecinos focused primarily on the merits of the actors, direction, and production values. She added, however, that the show also succeeded in agilely communicating the message of the story, a "gentle lesson about the timeless fears of all children" ("Un grato montaje").[13] Following this successful initial run, during which it was viewed by more than 8,000 spectators, La Cámara was invited to participate in the La Batuta national festival of *teatro infantil* in January 1989.

El Principito has long been a familiar narrative to Chilean primary school students, as the book is part of the required reading curriculum in the school system. Stage versions of St. Exupery's story appeared five times in the latter part of the 1980s. As with the 1981 TEUCO production, all of these placed importance on the values associated with the story. The first was a recorded version on audio cassette featuring popular Chilean actors in 1987. The project was mounted as part of Chilean observance of the Day of the Child (in which Fantasmita Pluft also participated), with the stated objective of "bringing together the Chilean family to listen to the story, to produce

[interfamily] communication with it" ("El Principito Renace").[14] Actors Marcial Edwards and Fedora Kliwadenko, who first conceived the idea, indicated that their own identity as parents spurred them to want to create dialogue within families, to foster learning by providing material that parents could use to guide and instruct their children. In an interview with La Época reporter Myriam Olate, Kiwadenko indicates that "we think that this generation of parents, during their adolescence, found themselves sensitized [made more sensitive or open] by this story. We all feel touched by the beauty of St. Exupery's messages" ("Quisimos congregar a la familia"). With that in mind, Edwards suggests, parents can assist their children's development by listening to the dramatized story together. He describes the success of an initial airing of the cassette for a trial audience: "They were able to ask their parents why he wanted to say this thing or why another thing happened. Immediately, the little ones, and the adults, empathized with the Little Prince" ("Quisimos congregar a la familia").[15]

The second version premiered in the city of Viña del Mar in February 1988, with partial funding from the Chilean French Cultural Center. [16] The Cultural Center also sponsored a production in Santiago in May, staged by the company La Batuta. In this rendition, producers made small changes to the story to emphasize certain thematic elements. The Principito in this production was not a child from a distant star, but a normal earthling boy. The purpose of this, according to director Mateo Iribarren, was to create deeper

identification between the character and audience members, because “he is a normal child who questions many things and who wants to be heard” (“Principito Revive las Estrellas”). [17] Exupery’s narrator in the story, a stranded pilot, stresses that the most valuable lesson he learned from his visitor is that “That which is most important is invisible to the eye,” and that profound human relationships come from reaching for the invisible qualities of spirit and life in others. Iribarren calls this theme the key factor in La Batuta’s decision to produce the play; it is “that which is most important in the development of the child, and the rediscovery of those values as adults, because we often forget them” (“El grupo teatral la Batuta”) [18]

This production added layers of meaning to the interaction between the Little Prince and the adults whom he meets. The Vain Man speaks with a French accent, and the Business Man who “owns” all the stars wears the star spangled hat of Uncle Sam (“Un Principito Juvenil”). The addition of these characteristics refers to the relationship that Chile had with the United States and France. Both heavily invested in the Chilean economy and were highly influential on the commercial and popular tastes of Chileans. A number of Chilean theatre artists studied in France or the U.S. during this decade. The Vain Man and Business Man represented stereotypical characterizations of the French as shallow and arrogant, and Americans as cold and obsessively preoccupied with profit. El Principito, the Chilean child, rejected their logic as foolish, flawed, and unrelated to what is really important in life. Though not an

agit-prop production, the Principito's reaction signified a rejection of French and U.S. ideals by the producers, who were not alone in their concern about foreign influences on Chilean society.

Two other versions of El Principito appeared in June 1988, prior to the plebescite, and June 1989, prior to the presidential election. These received less media attention than previous productions, though the 1989 version had the official sponsorship of the Parque Metropolitano Cultural Center ("'El Principito' al parque"). Both of the producing groups, Teatro Callejero de Feria (which also mounted a version of Fantasmita Pluft) and Dando Tumbos, stressed in their press releases the social message communicated by the story, and its focus on the importance of proper values formation in the development of the child.

The popularity of El Principito during the later years of the 1980s was ascribed in the media to a deep, lasting love for the story within Chilean society, as well as widespread belief in the importance of its message for children and their parents. The growing anxiety of the times, concern caused by political division, consumerist attitudes, and social unrest suggest another level of immediacy for the narrative. It offered to children and their parents the possibility of a reality defined by the closeness of human relationships, and the capacity of the individual to reject economic and political considerations in favor of less divisive ideologies. These productions, especially the recorded version, relied on interactions within the home to influence the child (and

hopefully the parent as well) in his or her relationships with other members of the society outside the home. They promoted a collectivist vision of society—one that prioritizes human relationships over the individual drive for economic and political power both in private and public spheres.

Stimulating Environmentalism, Creating a Generation of Conservationists

During the second half of the decade, environmental issues also came to the forefront of Chilean concerns. Journalistic reporting signaled a rising interest in the problem within the theatrical community, including *teatro infantil*. Chilean periodicals, especially the newspapers of Santiago, became a venue in which practitioners could draw the public's attention to plays with environmental themes. As a cohesive sub-genre within *teatro infantil*, the ecological plays represent an effort on the part of practitioners to introduce a new consideration to the concept of the good citizen—environmental stewardship. A concerned citizen must be preoccupied with the conservation of natural resources and the eradication of pollution. These were issues of great importance for the nation (and elsewhere in South America) beginning in the 1980s, as a large hole developed in the ozone layer over the region, deforestation and environmental degradation threatened to destroy rainforest ecosystems and despoil popular tourist destinations, and more Chileans began to suffer ill health effects from smog and other contaminants. Due to

internal pressure from the population and increasing activism on the part of international groups to raise awareness and concern for global warming, deforestation, and other issues, both the military regime and the democratic government succeeding it would have to address the environmental problems of Chile.

Frambuesita y el Pan Duro ("Little Raspberry and Mr. Hardbread"), mounted in the second half of 1987, portrays the problem of disappearing forests through the adventures of a little girl who serves as guardian of the forest, and her efforts to thwart the evil Pan Duro in his attempt to turn all of the trees into stone. Through audience participation, children had the opportunity to help convince Pan Duro to change his ways, which according to the La Nación report on the show, helped inculcate the lesson of conservation.

The following March, the group Proskenio, composed of university acting students dedicated to the production of children's theatre, offered La Princesa Campesina ("The Country Princess"). It addressed both social and environmental concerns through the story of a princess who tries to prevent an evil king from stealing the color from the world and leaving it in darkness, striving to convince children to take an active role in protecting their society ("Comienzan estrenos infantiles"). A La Época feature on the production described the efforts of Proskenio "not only to form the spectator of the future, but to contribute to the personal development of the child" ("Obra 'La princesa

campesina'").[19] The members of the group, Luis Dubó, Gianula Canelos, and Sergio Piña, believed that *teatro infantil* had an important role to play in the development of the child, and that values-oriented messages played a central part in that participation. Dubó indicated that *teatro infantil* offered the possibility of counteracting negative influences to which Chilean children were exposed through television and materialism. "The consumerist society uses children to teach them messages that contribute nothing to their personal development. We think that theatre can have as much reach as television, but in a more positive way."[20]

To that end, the group focused their efforts on methods to increase the effectiveness of their communication with children. For Dubó and Piña, this meant studying child psychology and development, and the tastes of children with regard to performance. In the interview, Piña lists the elements that, according to his research, best engage the child's interest and enjoyment: music, color, and movement. These became pedagogical tools for Proskenio; Piña indicated that "we use these creatively to present the values we want to transmit." Their attitude reflects that of many practitioners during the 1980s, that aesthetic choices were the best tools by with which to deliver educational content.

1988: An Unprecedented Prolific Year

The year 1988 was exceptionally fruitful for *teatro infantil* practitioners, yielding a wide variety of productions for young audiences. Media coverage

for the genre more than doubled that of the previous year, and other years in the decade. In addition to Fantasmita Pluft, El Principito, and the early ecological plays, a number of other notable plays emerged to grapple with the social problems of the moment.

The April 1988 Cía. Papalote production of La Escuela Refrescante (The Refreshing School), written by Jorge Díaz and directed by Ana Reeves, featured the child Paloma, who is bored with school, and her friend Don Isidro, an inventor whose games make learning fun. Announcements for the production in El Mercurio, La Época, and Las Últimas Noticias stressed the play's effort to "demonstrate to professors and students that the use of creativity and imagination in learning will enrich the academic life [of young students]," as well as inculcating the values of friendship and respect for the office of the teacher.[21] Critic Yolanda Montecinos praised the production for successfully combining attractive and entertaining production elements (scenery, costume, music, dance, acting) with edifying content. "Combining an intelligent and direct text," she says, "with production and good scenic elements, the result is an hour of gratifying entertainment, affirming, and with a clear and positive message" ("La Escuela refrescante"). This production enjoyed both critical and popular success, indicating that both critics and parents found the messages appropriate for children, and that the young audience at least enjoyed the experience.

Also in mid-1988, La historia sin fin (another adaptation of Michael Ende's Neverending Story), and Jugando con el cuerpo (Playing with the Body) marketed themselves as educational or edifying for young audiences. The former, an open-air production by director Horacio Videla and the UCh theatre program that used circus and street theatre techniques, stressed a thematic focus on restoring the role of books and reading for children. Ende's story follows the adventures of a young bibliophile who strives to save a fantasy world and its child empress from "The Nothing" by interacting with the book and engaging his own imagination with the story. Press coverage of the production emphasized the lesson about the enriching nature of reading, and the colorful, captivating production values that stimulated the development of creativity and imagination in children attending. Jugando con el cuerpo, a collaboration between Argentine playwright Perla Laske with Chilean children's television actors Roberto Nicolini and María Pastora, was a musical comedy that used audience participation games to teach children about the workings of the human body and how to care for it.[22] In an interview with El Mercurio reporter Rosario Larraín, Laske explained, "It talks about the muscles, the brain, the senses . . . everything that I felt mattered in a detailed study of the body. Through games and songs, the children constantly learn, without noticing it, everything that they need to know about their bodies ("Canciones y Encanto").[23]

In her review, Montecinos praised the success of the production in skillfully combining play with pedagogy: “The objective is realized, the children learn, they are stimulated and have conversed, for an hour, with two of their favorite and most dedicated performers [Nicolini and Pastora]” (“Dos atros de la tevé"). Her major criticism stemmed from what she felt was inconsistent quality in the music and choreography, on which she blamed the stars’ immersion in television aesthetic. Montecinos insisted that the pedagogical aims of a production could not merit praise without equally good aesthetic quality.

In May 1988, Kleine U produced La Pandilla del Arco Iris (“The Rainbow Gang”), one of several plays written for children by Jorge Díaz on the topic of ecological conservation. The group had access to the theatre space at the Banco del Estado, a venue built by the bank and open to public performances. The play follows the Rainbow Gang in their efforts to keep Mr. Smog from ruining their city, while he and his henchmen encourage the citizens to litter the ground with their refuse until the city is filled with trash. Newspaper reports (press releases, previews, and reviews) of the production indicates the preoccupation of the group with marrying a readily identifiable lesson with enjoyable production elements. The first announcement, in La Nación, states that the play “addresses in a fine, pleasant, and very entertaining form the problems of a city contaminated by smog, a problem that closely affects us.” It goes on to promise that it “gives a message that

children can easily grasp," that "all is not lost and children are the only ones who can save the city, cleaning it with a trash bag and a song" ("Pandilla enseña hábitos"). [24] A second article in Las Últimas Noticias offers similar comments with an added emphasis on the success of the production thus far. Two later articles in El Mercurio, one which features La pandilla and the other which suggests it as one of several suitable weekend choices, repeat prior information on the ecological content and tailoring of the message for children, adding that "through this story, children will learn to be clean, orderly, and cooperative, for the famous gang is concerned with ecology in a musical, happy environment" ("Tres obras").[25] The production continued to run well into August, when La Tercera spotlighted it as very entertaining for parents as well as children, and indicated opportunities for audience participation in addition to a gift for each child.

It is significant that the Banco del Estado opened its doors to this production, and that it received coverage in all of the major Santiago newspapers. The support of the production implied by recognition from both sectors indicated that *teatro infantil* was gaining recognition from influential sectors of society and that its pedagogical practices met with approval, particularly with regard to social problems considered urgent across society. Such support also indicated that groups like Kleine U were able to broach these topics, often criticizing the society as wasteful, careless, or irresponsible, in a way that was non-threatening to parents, educators, and

the government. The script Pandilla is unflinching in its portrayal of the culture (which is general enough to apply to cities in most western countries) as thoughtless and destructive, with only a handful of good souls to save it from being despoiled by the rest. Parents, educators, the media, and the government took no offence at Kleine U's production, however, nor at any other after it. Perhaps adults in the audience exempted themselves from criticism offered by the play on the grounds that it was intended for children rather than themselves. More likely, its identity as a pedagogical entity gave it license to make commentary that other genres could not, as it was generally accepted as being for the benefit of the young.

Also in 1988, Grupo Piralé produced Algo Huele Mal ("Something Stinks"), a translation of a successful German children's play by the internationally recognized Grips Theatre, a children's company in Berlin. The play depicts two little boys who seek to change the habits and attitudes of their neighbors that contribute to the pollution of their environment, especially through the creation of smog. La Época, El Mercurio, and Las Últimas Noticias all ran annunciatory articles for the production, emphasizing the ecological concerns central to the narrative as well as the success of the original production in Germany. While Las Últimas Noticias focused on the thematic and plot elements, with an added commentary on the newly renovated space utilized for the production, La Época additionally stressed the longevity of the group and its relationship to the Goethe Institute, where

they worked producing theatre for over ten years ("Algo huele mal"). El Mercurio pointed out the social immediacy of the subject matter to the Chilean public, and noted that "the artistic team guarantees a healthy and entertaining amusement with their production" ("Algo Huele Mal").[26] These examples of newspaper commentary affirm the fitness of Grupo Piralé to offer such a production by citing their history and reputation as producers of *teatro infantil*. The comments of El Mercurio also attest to the growing importance of environmental concerns to the nation by including them in the designation of a "healthy" and edifying amusement for children.

Two more ecological plays emerged in late 1988. Both Las aventuras de la muñeca Dormilona y Camilo el travieso ("The Adventures of Sleepyhead the Doll and Camilo the Mischievous") and El arbol y la bruja ("The Tree and the Witch") focused on the importance of flora to the ecology and human life. The major Santiago newspapers ran coverage of both productions, and all articles stressed the centrality of the ecological message to the plays. The La Época announcement for Las aventuras also stressed the music and games integral to the action; El Mercurio focused on the aesthetic means—color, music, fantasy, and magic—by which El arbol delivered its pedagogical message, as well as the involvement of professional theatrical designers and actors in the production.

The success of these individual diverse productions during 1988 says much about the increasing value of pedagogical content among the critics

and parents whose approval determined the success of any *teatro infantil* production. The presence of good educational content did not outweigh the necessity of providing entertainment value, but commentators like Montecinos certainly noticed and approved when a show encouraged children to be good students, develop their creative capacity, or increase their biological and social knowledge of the human body and its care. Their approval often translated into ticket sales, as parents sought entertainment for their children on a weekend afternoon.

Teatro Infantil After the Plebiscite: Waiting and Hoping

Pinochet lost his bid for continued presidency in November 1988. The end tallies, 44 percent for "Yes" and 55 percent for "No," opened the doors to a new era for Chilean society, which could begin after a new president stepped into office following the scheduled December 1989 open election. [27] As the final results of the plebiscite indicate, however, popular opinion was split almost evenly along ideological lines between those who favored the authoritarian leadership of Pinochet (and believed him the country's savior) and those who felt the regime had held Chile hostage for 15 years. Much of the society spent that last year of Pinochet's presidency waiting, holding to the promise of change and restoration in a new era soon to come. For its part, the *teatro infantil* maintained the themes and practices that it had built up over the decade.

In January 1989, *teatro infantil* performances accompanied the visits of the Bibliobus—a mobile library project sponsored by the universities—to outlying municipalities of Santiago. The Noisvander Mimes' performance of Guillermo Tell ("William Tell") and Mientras los niños duermen ("While the Children Sleep"), and La lección ("The Lesson") by the actors Jacqueline and Jorge Boudón were intended to encourage audiences to attend Bibliobus visits and stimulate their desire to read. In June of that year, La blanca sonrisa real ("The White Royal Smile") by the Cía. La Escena focused on the importance of dental hygiene. The action follows the adventures of a young troubadour in the kingdom of the mouth, and his efforts to help the inhabitants of the palace keep their environment clean and white in spite of the efforts of the evil witch Cariadura ("Tooth Decay") to promote corrosion. Coverage in La Segunda, La Época, and El Mercurio stressed the quality of the acting and appealing characterizations along with the overt didactic content.

The number of environmentally conscious plays for children continued to rise in 1989. For the March 1989 Cedexpro tour of *teatro infantil* two of the seven productions chosen—La pandilla del arco iris and El arbol y la bruja—centered on ecological lessons. El arbol was also invited to participate in the summer theatre program of the Municipality of Maipu in January of that year (with the added lure of games, contests, and prizes offered in the pre-show entertainment). Kleine U presented two more pedagogical, earth-conscious

productions that year: Abracadabra, pata de cabra and El Señor Smog, both by Jorge Díaz. The first concerns a young witch who practices environmentally friendly magic—walking instead of riding a broom, using herbs and homeopathic methods to help her friends of the forest, and changing hunters into friends of animals; it played on the stage at the Banco Estado Cultural Institute. The second was a newer version of La Pandilla del arco iris, this time presented in the supermarket Marmentini Letelier, which built a theatre venue on the premises where parents might leave their children while shopping. Group member Mon Ramírez explained to El Mercurio that the production was actually the idea of the supermarket, which would offer for a small price an opportunity for parents to shop in peace while their children were wholesomely entertained (and received a small prize). In the same article, the group promised that "children [would] not be bored" ("Grupo de 'Kleine U'"). Announcements for all of these productions included specific mention of the social messages presented. Though they did not explicitly state that the environmental content increased the social value of the production, it formed a significant part of the content of the articles, suggesting that the messages did carry cultural currency. In the case of the supermarket-sponsored Pandilla del arco iris, the business attempted to cash in on the appeal of such productions to parents, by promising that their children would be safe, happy, and productively occupied with learning a worthy lesson while they shopped unmolested.

Also in 1989, Alejandro Sieveking wrote and directed La Cometa Vita-Zeta. Like Díaz, Sieveking's work for children shows pedagogical tendencies not present in his adult work and carries overtly values-oriented content. Cometa Vita-Zeta follows the efforts of a band of animals to keep their planet safe from a group of littering, polluting aliens. Sieveking's national reputation as a playwright drew much attention to this production, which received coverage from all major Santiago newspapers, twice in the leading publication El Mercurio, which emphasized the music, costume, and special effects as well as the moral focus of the plot. La Tercera indicated that it was available for in-school performances as well as appearing at the public venue Galpón de Los Leones. It also made the list of plays included in the 3rd Festival de Teatro Infantil held that year with sponsorship from ACHITEJ.

Conservation issues continued to appear as well, in plays like Las semillitas ("The Little Seeds") by Cía. El Baúl. The play deals with " a small part of the number of ecological and environmental problems faced by small and large cities of the country" ("Teatro ecológico").[28] The group "wishes to rescue the seeds of creation that will permit the world and humans to preserve nature" ("Teatro ecológico").[29] They also express the hope that "children and their parents will join us in the cry that multiplies in the conscience of every human soul to fight against contamination and that we will understand together that we must not strip the world of her original vestments to dress her in a plastic suit" ("Teatro ecológico").[30]

For the members of El Baúl, the ecological problems of the country (and by extension, the world) were critical, and the consciousness of both children and parents must be stimulated to recognize and combat the problem with a fervor not unlike political activism in the country. In a sense, this production was a manifesto of conservation, intended to create a lasting change of conscience in children and adults.

In August, Cía. Kleine U, one of the discipline's most stable and consistently producing troupes, presented Mentiras y Mentiritas, No Rosita ("No Lies and Fibs, Rosita"). The narrative told the story of a little girl who habitually lies to her elders. During a fitful dream, the toys in her room come to life to punish her for this misbehavior. According to El Mercurio, the dramatic situation sought "to motivate little ones to good behavior" ("Mentiros y mentiritas"). [31] The report on the production described the use of audience participation, in which children took part in the trial of the little girl and helped her to repent of her wrongdoing. In addition to emphasizing the moral lesson that children would take away from the piece, the article suggested that they would benefit from participating and from the production style by having their imagination stimulated.

Again, these groups enjoyed success with these productions because they managed to appeal to critics, parents, and children. Educational content reflected personal qualities that were traditionally considered important by society—good hygiene, respect for parents, and

literacy/interest in literature. The commitment to quality in acting and design were an end to themselves, but they were also the means by which these messages could be made palatable for children.

In examples cited for both 1988 and 1989 (immediately before and after the plebiscite), performances for children worked for the benefit of the theatre through their specifically established cultural values of creativity and a love for the arts, and by encouraging children to prioritize creative pursuits and arts patronage over television. These productions often also worked for the established social order (in this case, the Pinochet regime). Of course, they represented values promoted by most societies—cleanliness and care for the body, respect for parents, work ethic, and educational drive. In that sense, such messages always work for existing power structures, as they promote stability and respect for authority.

The First Festivals

The growth of *teatro infantil* as a site for social pedagogy and ethical debate reflected overall gains by the movement in its effort to improve the quality, status, and viability of theatre for children. Print media announcements and feature stories on performances for children increased exponentially during the 1980s; newspapers began to offer more regular reviews of children's shows. The stability and influence of the genre greatly increased, due to the combined influences of greater interest from practitioners, government support, and the potential danger surrounding

production and attendance of many adult performances. By the latter half of the decade the movement had gathered sufficient support and resources to begin sponsoring festivals and tours. In January 1987, the group La Batuta sponsored the first national festival of *teatro infantil*. These festivals featured productions from the previous year's theatre season; this festival was competitive in nature and open to productions receiving critical and/or audience attention during the regular season. The La Batuta festival would continue to grow, eventually joining forces with ACHITEJ. It also opened the door for other, smaller festivals in Santiago, Valparaiso, and the larger cities of the provinces. In March 1989, Centro de Difusión, Exposición y Promoción Cultural (Cedexpro, "Center for Diffusion, Exposition and Promotion of Culture"), a government arts program, sponsored a tour of *teatro infantil* productions to cities in the south of Chile. Four of the five productions chosen to participate in the tour had strong pedagogical content, and emphasized these messages in their publicity.

These festivals and tours signaled increasing organization in nation-building projects of *teatro infantil*, as the performances served as ambassadors for theatre in Santiago and throughout Chile. The plays included in the festivals and tour represented what the movement and, in the case of the Cedexpro tour, the government, considered the best examples of art and pedagogy available for children. They were held up as examples of the best marriage of high production values and strong social values.

Teatro Itinerante: Government Sponsorship and Theatrical Evangelism

While independent groups were formulating their own practices of educating through performance, the Chilean government began a project to increase the cultural value of the arts and promote arts appreciation across the nation. For the theatre, this took the form of a professional company whose purpose was to tour the country offering performances, focusing especially on smaller provinces, rural areas, and cities in the far south and north, all too distant from the metropolitan center to have regular access to arts events. Teatro Itinerante began during the 1979-80 theatre season, a project sponsored by the Ministerio de Educación with cooperation from the Universidad Católica—again, the only university theatre program that had not been dismantled or suspended following the *golpe*.[32] The touring plays were not so much overt propaganda for the military government as an effort to raise the cultural level of the country by demonstrating the arts to all social sectors. Bennett, drawing on Anne-Marie Gourdon, asserts that "the love of art occupies a central place in bourgeois society and thus interest in the theatre demonstrates both taste and merit" (93). In initiating this project, Pinochet's regime was attempting to demonstrate its own "taste and merit" by serving as a patron of the arts, and working to ensure that the whole society, from metropolitan center to desert north and polar south, also exhibited proper "love of art."

Each year, the Teatro Itinerante included two plays in their repertoire: one for adults, and one for children or all audiences. The same director and cast mounted both productions, and traveled with the necessary costumes and scenery in a bus specially fitted for the purpose of a theatrical tour. The first season, La Princesa Panchita was chosen for the *teatro infantil* portion of the tour, which usually ended with a run of both plays in Santiago. At the end of 1980, 30,000 Chileans had attended Teatro Itinerante performances. In 1983, another play by Jaime Silva, Arturo y el Angel ("Arthur and the Angel") filled the *teatro infantil* slot. This play offered a mythic version of the story of Arturo Prat, a hero of the Chilean war for independence against Spain. In 1984 and 1985, Teatro Itinerante chose El ceniciento ("Cinderfella"), a retelling of the Cinderella story with a boy in the title role, adapted by Chilean writer Luis Barahona and composer Luis Advis. In 1988, they toured A Palos con Cirila, an adaptation for children of Moliére's The Doctor In Spite of Himself. The 1989 *teatro infantil* selection was Alejandro Sieveking's El Chinchinero,[33] the story of a young performer and his true love, a "gentle and magic children's story where goodness and true love always triumph" ("En Arica se presentan las obras").[34]

Many of these plays were also done by independent troupes during the 1980s; they were not specifically created to serve the purposes of the Ministerio de Educación. They were selected for use by the Teatro Itinerante because the Ministry, in its capacity as an official arbiter of culture,

considered them to be notable and praiseworthy examples of the art. All are traditional linear narratives written or adapted by respected Chilean authors, have been recognized by critics and professional practitioners as high quality scripts, and feature fairly conservative content with regard to morals and social structures.

The purpose of the Teatro Itinerante was, essentially, to proselytize for theatre as an art form, to expose to performance the rural populations that had no regular access to the arts as cultural products. Ministerio de Educación arts program director Marco Llerena describes the initial (and continuing) goal of the government in starting the project: "To permit the greatest number of people who lack financial resources to have access to manifestations of art, to access culture in the best conditions, with dignity" (11/11/99). [35] The experiences were also intended to make the audiences better citizens by increasing their love of art, which would serve as signs of the "merit and taste" that Bennett describes as desirable for bourgeois (conservative, individualist) culture.

The process of introducing the populace to the arts was imbued with political significance as well as artistic significance. For in the process of "spreading the gospel" of good theatre (that is, possessing artistic and cultural merit in the eyes of the arbiters of culture), the Teatro Itinerante as a government-sponsored program was necessarily in the business of promoting dominant ideologies. For *teatro infantil,* this meant offering productions that

embodied traditional ideas of good taste and good ethics. The plays that the organization chose for its tours were not radically different from the kinds of plays regularly offered in Santiago and elsewhere; indeed most of these plays had critically and popularly successful runs in the metropolitan area before being chosen by the Teatro Itinerante. They do, however, represent the most conservative of the kinds of plays available for children during the 1980s. Princesa Panchita, Arturo y el Angel, El ceniciento, A Palos con Cirila, and El chinchinero all adhered to traditional narratives, social constructs, and values, and, therefore, most readily appealed to the conservative tastes of those officials choosing a repertory to represent "high art" in for these provincial tours.

Recalling the relationship between performance and ideology that Bennett suggests, the work of the Teatro Itinerante cannot be divorced from the organization that produced it and which it serves. The vision of art offered to citizens in the provinces by these productions carried implicitly a vision of ethics, aesthetic quality, and cultural value approved by the ruling body that produced it. In offering artistic product to the children of the provinces, the government was in a sense controlling what those children learned about art and the world through those performances. At the same time, it was positioning itself as a benefactor of the arts and high culture by providing access to the arts for the underprivileged and uneducated sectors of the society for whom they were responsible. Patronage of the arts has a long

tradition of permitting the patron to lay claim to a positive public image. By promoting the theatre using the Teatro Itinerante, the military regime was subtly promoting itself.

The Moral Imperative of Creating a "Future Audience"

Projects like the Ministerio de Educación-sponsored Teatro Itinerante also began to emerge to fill a perceived gap in cultural development among social groups in the provinces, implicit in their lack of exposure to the fine arts. However, the belief that art enriches the life of the citizen was not new or novel during the early days of the Teatro Itinerante. It had surfaced early in the life of the nation—recall Camilo Henriquez's Society for Good Taste in Theatre—and had been adopted by businessmen seeking permission to build venues in the new republic, who presented theatre attendance as a staple in the well-balanced cultural diet of the average Chilean. That idea would become an important feature in the rhetoric of practitioners and educators in arguing the importance of theatre in the 1980s and 1990s. It began to surface in the writing of and about the movement early in the decade.

The Development of Survival Imperative Rhetoric

Survival imperative rhetoric is missing from early writing on the movement. Echeverría's article does not list the formation of an audience as one of the benefits or responsibilities of *teatro infantil*. Though she addresses quite clearly the utility of theatre and its history as a heuristic tool of

ideological engines, she does not mention early exposure and acclimation as a means of forming a playgoing habit among adult Chileans. Instead, she concentrates on how it will assist the child in participating creatively and socially throughout life. It is important to recall that in the first years of the movement, many practitioners of theatre for both child and adult audiences had institutional support. Agencies of Allende's administration in particular expressed interest in their work, agreeing with their conception of theatre as an effective means of improving the social conscience and cultural development of the nation. The possibility of theatrical performance losing viability as an art form did not enter the discussion. Though television and movies existed at that time as entertainment options, institutional support provided enough security that the arts did not have to compete in the free market.

Following the *golpe*, however, the alignment of many practitioners with leftist ideology, and their collaboration with the presidency to disseminate socialist ideas, nearly proved fatal for the Chilean professional theatre. As the field sought to rebuild, it had to rely on commercial success to survive. Censorship and taxation by the dictatorship severely complicated that process for many genres. Performances for children were an exception. The movement had even managed to benefit from the post-*golpe* crisis by providing an open creative and financial outlet for displaced artists from other genres. As it was not subject to government scrutiny, and was exempt from

the debilitating tax, *teatro infantil* offered a thread of hope to artists concerned for the future of the theatre in Chile.

The Future Spectator

Canadian educator M. Bronwyn Weaver, in her dissertation Empowering the Children: Theatre for Young Audiences in Anglophone Canada, differentiates between "children's theatre" and "theatre for young audiences" (TYA) based upon that need to create future audiences. She uses Dennis Foon, an outspoken supporter of TYA to illustrate the difference, stating that the former "sets out with the objective to entertain—with the hope of developing future audiences" and that these plays will rely on "fairytales or original works that place emphasis on spectacle, music, fantasy or adventure" (qtd. in "Empowering the Children," 1). The latter, on the other hand, "sets out with the objective to reflect the concerns and reality of its audience with the hope that the play will give the spectators some tools to better cope with a complex and confusing world" (1). While TYA might have the added benefit of creating lifelong spectators, that is not their primary concern. For Weaver, the difference is in whether producers place immediate value on the child as he is or upon the child as the adult he will be. In her opinion, the latter produces better theatre and better serves the audience.

In the economic and cultural reality of the modern world, however, a balance must be struck between serving the audience and complying with

economic and social necessities. The need to create the "spectator of the future" became increasingly important within the field over the 1980s, and practitioners of *teatro infantil*—as well as members of other sectors of the theatrical community—began more frequently to articulate the centrality of the issue to the practice. Critics, *teatro infantil* practitioners, and professionals in the adult theatre began developing practices geared specifically toward that end. In 1981, Peña had cited the importance of "artistically educating new generations" (10) in Cuadernos de Teatro. As early as 1982, the phrase "spectators of the future" or "audience of tomorrow" began appearing in newspaper coverage of *teatro infantil* events. That year, La Tercera published a feature on the young group Saltalauchas that posed the group as rushing to the rescue of neglected child audiences. In it, founder Sergio Guzmán stressed that they "are absolutely conscious that this is an abandoned sector, and by the same token, we understand that by concerning ourselves with them, we are forming the future spectator of theatre. Those are the principal objectives of Saltalauchas" ("Saltalauchas' al rescate").[36]

The Role of *Teatro Escolar* in Creating Audiences

The overall effort to encourage the development of young people as theatre consumers included fostering dramatic practice within primary and secondary schools, not as a heuristic tool to supplement the curriculum, but as an extracurricular program with its own independent focus. An August 28, 1980 article in Santiago's El Mercurio indicates that a number of schools had

developed creative drama programs and/or amateur theatrical troupes. Actor/director Hector Noguera and the PUC conducted workshops at one middle school. Chela Hidalgo—whose troupe had performed Princesa Panchita in the 1970s—developed four separate primary and middle school groups within the Instituto Hebreo ("Hebrew School"). Hidalgo's groups created their own dramas, and one produced a much-praised touring version of The Diary of Anne Frank. Other schools also sponsored workshops and residencies that helped establish interschool drama programs and created opportunities for students to run their own productions. In the early 1980s, various schools offered productions including works of Chilean playwrights, adaptations and dramatizations based on Neruda and other authors, collective creations by the students, and imported popular plays like Jesus Christ, Superstar. Such programs operated with the hope that early exposure to dramatic practice would enrich the development of children as individuals and citizens, cultivate a new generation of spectators, and propagate a new generation of practitioners. As adults, they would improve the overall state of Chilean theatre using the heightened standards and augmented skills that early, directed exposure was intended to provide.

Laying the Groundwork for "Good" Theatre in the Future

Following the slow return of professional performances to Chilean stages in the mid 1970s, a campaign was built to train young people, and in some cases, adults, to be proper spectators at theatrical events. The project had the cooperation of the Ministerio de Educación, which signals that this was more than a concern for the discipline of theatre; it was an important element in the work of building citizens, aimed at influencing the shape of the nation. In 1981, the Ministry of Education outlined the qualifications of a good spectator in their publication Cuadernos de Teatro:

When we refer to the "theatre public" we are thinking of persons capable of something more than the minimum amount of effort and concentration required by some forms of entertainment. To attend the theatre it is necessary to make a reservation, get there on the day of the show, making certain to arrive on time and to concentrate respectfully and in silence during two or more hours. [37] ("Presentacion" 3)

They stress, moreover, that these attributes must be developed in a human personality, for a "good" spectator is cultivated over time and with attention.

Adults willing to subject themselves to this ritual to attend an artistic representation are not generated overnight—they have been educated in an environment of cultural eagerness and from childhood have an awakened curiosity and interest in performance. For these reasons, the Department of Cultural Extension of the Ministry of Education feels that it is important to

collaborate with educational establishments in the labor of creating the public of the future.[38] (3)

Re-examining the social and political climate of the time period in which this article appeared calls into question the motivation of the government in assisting with the work of shaping spectators. Remembering the comments of Pueller, Hurtado, and Grinor Rojo on the theatre of this period, the government actively participated in censorship, taxation, and determinations of cultural value. The military regime generally approved of a very limited set of productions. Their newly established Teatro Itinerante displayed similarly conservative tastes in their choice of touring plays. Moreover, they advocated a distinctly passive spectatorship: one that strictly followed the rules for getting admission, arrived on time, and concentrated "respectfully and in silence." Such comments suggest that the theatre offered another cultural arena from which to monitor and control the populace. The behavior of the citizens in the theatre would model the appropriate behavior for the society in general—quiet, obedient, and conservative in taste.

Nevertheless, the Ministerio was correct in their assertion that the process of cultivating good spectators does not end with simply getting people to attend functions regularly; they must be able to appreciate and engage with what they experience. In this period an important and lasting philosophy began to develop within the movement and the professional discipline: the most important task of *teatro infantil* is to promote the

formulation of aesthetic taste in the child. According to its proponents, this effort would produce immediate fruit by improving the emotional and social heath of children. Ultimately, however, it would serve the more important goal of guaranteeing the survival of theatre in Chilean society. If taught from a young age to appreciate theatre, Chilean children would continue attending performances after reaching adulthood; moreover, they would be equipped with an aesthetic sensibility that would encourage “good” (artistically worthy) theatre to flourish while helping to eradicate irresponsible or poor quality performance. Their task of creating the good spectator carries a moral element as well: the survival and well being of the theatre makes a vital contribution to the overall health and prosperity of the culture at large. It is a cycle, a reciprocal relationship: a good society works to ensure the production of good art; exposure to good art makes good citizens, and by extension, a good society.

The task of creating a responsible spectator involves equipping the individual with a set of evaluative criteria against which any performance may be judged. Primarily, this means offering children intelligent and attractive spectacles from the time they are small. Critic Montecinos said, "These [are] details that merit teaching to the small public so they can learn to appreciate, from a very young age, the best perspectives on a modern spectacle" ("Dos astros de la tevé).[39] If children see “good” theatre from their first experiences, they will be predisposed to appreciate it.

As the decade progressed, practitioners would become more open and insistent about the pressing need to expose children to performance now in order to build spectators for tomorrow. A July 1987 article in La Nación describing a winter program of plays and puppetry for children stressed the motivation of Sergio Valero, the owner of the venue and organizer of the program, as "a zeal to give children the best possible art, conscious that the little ones who actually go to different manifestations of art, such as music, theatre, dance, etc., will be the artistic public of tomorrow" ("Teatro y títeres para los pequeños").[40] He followed this by linking spectatorship and citizenship in a recitation of the important human values presented by the performances: "love, friendship, solidarity," and to nationalistic pride by boasting that "all are modern and didactic and the majority by modern Chilean authors." The same month, La Tercera ran a short article on the newest production of Taller 71, stressing their seventeen-year history with the movement and their belief that "it is the best way to form a future public for this art [theatre in general]" ("Pinochio escribió una obra de teatro"). [41] After the return to democracy, as live performance faced increased competition from mass-produced forms of entertainment, the formation of tomorrow's spectator would take on ever greater significance. Producers would begin to position it as a crucial characteristic of the good citizen, and a necessary element in the health of the nation.

Conclusion:

This decade was a period of steady and significant growth for the *teatro infantil*. As it increased in strength and stability, practitioners grew more interested in social dimensions of the pedagogical potential inherent in the dramatic arts. The degree to which practitioners followed Echeverría's guidelines for concepts without foregone didactic conclusions varied among practitioners during the 1980s, but the importance of a didactic message as part of the overall make-up of a production increased across the discipline. As the social conditions of the country grew more conflicted and critical, and as anxiety within the populace began to increase, *teatro infantil* became a means through which action could be taken to protect the most vulnerable members of society—its children. As with the adult theatre, it was a forum in which contemporary problems could be debated and solutions suggested. It was an ideal location to lay the groundwork for ideas and ethics that could offer hope for future unification and healing within Chile.

Because of its fitness as a platform for reaching children, in whose hands the future direction of Chile clearly rested, both the established regime and its critics sought to create opportunities for delivering values in performance. This process included establishing morals and values considered essential to model citizenship, fomenting ideas and strategies for resolving the social conflicts between conservative and progressive political

and economic frameworks, and safeguarding the resources of the society especially with regard to the environment.

In spite of steady growth and increased recognition, practitioners began to feel concern about the future of professional theatre in the nation, and began attempting to instill the habit of playgoing as an important part of the Chilean lifestyle. In a sense, they were attempting to teach children that a good citizen is a lover of art, a consumer of theatrical product.

Following the plebiscite of 1988, the circumstances under which the theatre occurred changed rapidly, as did the nature of the social anxiety that would continue into the 1990s. During the next decade, *teatro infantil* would become engaged in the renegotiation and reconfiguration of social, political, and economic structures as the country returned to democracy.

Chapter 4
Healing and Wholeness: Facing the Future and Coping with the Past after the Return to Democracy

The work of nation-building has become more complex over the last decade. During the years of the dictatorship, two major positions dominated the cultural discourse: the authoritarian rhetoric through which the military regime sought to maintain control, and the resistant body that rejected the government's repressive tactics and, often, the traditional and conservative ideologies that Pinochet's administration embraced. Since the return of democracy, that binary has fragmented into something more like a group discussion, a variety of competing discourses on the nature of citizenship and nationhood, with a degree of overlap between many. In this chapter, I examine the concerns that have permeated the practice of social pedagogy in children's theatre following the return to democracy, uncovering the ways that *teatro infantil* has attempted to respond to and influence that continual discussion. A number of these are concerns carried over from the previous decade and related to ongoing issues for the country. Others have special relevance to the difficulty of negotiating human and organizational relationships and processes under new social circumstances, and of addressing collective and individual trauma experienced during the years of repression.

This chapter also continues the discussion on the drive for survival and how that instinct influences the decisions made by *teatro infantil* practitioners

with regard to style, form, and content. I outline the ways in which survival has become couched in ethical terms during the last decade, as the theatre seeks to justify its existence by establishing the benefits that it offers to society. I also address the way that this pedagogical project affects the other educational goals of the current *teatro infantil* movement.

Teatro infantil in the 1990s has faced a number of challenges and undergone many changes with the society on its post-military road back to democracy. A general election was held in 1989 for both the presidency and congressional seats. Patricio Aylwin, the spokesperson for the coalition that had campaigned against Pinochet the previous year, was elected president. Pinochet, however, retained leadership of the armed forces as Commander-in-Chief until 1998, thanks to a provision in the constitution that he helped write. No efforts to persuade or force him to resign would prove successful, but Hickman indicates that Aylwin, who took office in 1990, generally managed both to avoid confrontation and resist the political pressure that Pinochet and the military placed upon him (209-210).

The early years of the 1990s were economically stable, marked by steady growth occasionally troubled by inflation, and trends of export, private investment, and entrepreneurship continued much as they had during the 1980s. Aylwin's government did begin a program to increase public spending on the social problem of poverty, focusing especially on health care, education, and other assistance for the almost 40% of the population living

below the poverty line in 1989 (213). The new democratic government also focused on reestablishing international relationships, free trade agreements, and better connections to their South American neighbors. During Aylwin's term, some international observers struggled with the fact that Pinochet had not been entirely removed from the equation, and suggested that the presidency was little better than a puppet office. Certainly within Chile there was a degree of dissatisfaction with Pinochet's entrenchment in the military. Aylwin rejected these criticisms as uninformed. At mid-decade, as Alywin prepared to leave office (he would be replaced by Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle[1]), members of the Christian Democratic party in particular felt that the shift to democracy was not complete(219).

As indicated by the Constitution, however, Pinochet left the office of Commander-in-Chief in March 1998. Shortly after, while in England for back surgery in October, the British government detained Pinochet on behalf of Spain, with plans to extradite him for trial. Spain intended to try him for human rights violations against a number of Spanish nationals residing in Chile following the *golpe*. The Chilean government insisted that their sovereignty was violated by this move, and demanded that Pinochet be released to them. After a lengthy legal battle, involving the leaders of several countries, international human rights organizations, and the British high court, Pinochet was declared too ill to stand trial and released in March 2000. His failing

health and the aftermath of this international debacle have since kept him from participating in public politics.

As the government and the citizenry adjusted to new directions of public policy, changes in economic conditions, and radically different social circumstances, the professional theatre had also to adjust its perspective and practices. First, the rapid, profound shift in the political situation precipitated another kind of crisis for some practitioners. Director Hector Noguera, in an interview with New Theatre Quarterly says, “For some people it’s more creative [in the democracy]. For others, the Pinochet period was more inspiring, and now they do not know what to do. They are somewhat lost” (“Theatre After the Dictatorships: Developments in Chile and Argentina” 44-45). Another part of what performance has had to learn to negotiate is what Edward Said describes as a "battleground" in their efforts to define identity and nationhood: "Culture is a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another. Far from being a placid realm of Apollonian gentility, culture can even be a battleground on which causes expose themselves to the light of day and contend with one another" (Culture and Imperialism xiii). During recent years, Chilean theatre has become, at times, a battleground of different ideologies, as productions debate their understandings about identity, ideology, and social justice on stage. *Teatro infantil*, too, has become open to a multiplicity of discourses.

A 1992 La Nación article addressed the considerations and difficulties of creating professional theatre for children and adolescents under the new democracy; author Willy Nikiforos asked several practitioners for their opinion about the state of the field. Creating *teatro infantil* has become an increasingly complex undertaking, and yet, the years from the plebiscite to the present have comprised a time of continued growth and increased recognition of performances for young audiences. Claudio Pueller attributes the boom to the crisis in the theatre during the military regime. He summarizes the changes in *teatro infantil* in the midst of the military regime:

> The phenomenon of growth of children's theatre stems from the directors graduating from the universities around 1980. There was a migration towards children's theatre because it was a genre little disturbed by the dictatorship. There wasn't much choice: it was classical theatre or children's theatre.[2] (Teatro Infantil: A Pasos de Gigante)

Pueller recognizes that the socio-political situation has changed radically, however, and believes that practices of the 1980s will not be appropriate to the current situation. He summarizes both the inherent strengths of the discipline and its relation to the situation of flux in this new decade:

> It empowers the ludic, the corporal, the gesture. Music plays a strong supporting part. It experiments with techniques from the visual arts, often uses video clips. In those years [during the

> dictatorship], it wasn't good to be seen talking too much on stage, so you had to say things with images. I think in the '90s the expressiveness of the text is being recovered, because we know we'd like to say things, and the image isn't enough. The content is important, it has urgency. This is the route that children's theatre is taking, and it is looking for authors.[3] (Teatro Infantil: A Pasos de Gigante)

He stresses that the genre remains a viable creative option for artists seeking avenues of creativity and involvement, and points out ways that the genre can contribute to the culture:

> It has the possibility of fantasy, of assertiveness, of rupture, of challenging the codes of adult theatre. It offers magic, illusion, acrobatics . . . in the end, we in Chile are just recently giving it the social importance it deserves. That is why we need to professionalize, to raise the level.[4] (Teatro Infantil: A Pasos de Gigante)

Pueller, and other artists in the article, emphasize the need to raise the level of professionalism in the practice of *teatro infantil*. By this, they mean that changes must be made to reach for higher aesthetic standards and consistent quality of text and production values, and to establish new paradigms for the ways practitioners conceive of and relate to the child audience. Playwright Isadora Aguirre faults collective creation and

uncontrolled improvisation for the dubious quality of many productions, suggesting that a successful play for children requires careful structure, a feature often missing from collective creations. Claudio Arredondo addresses the disparity between children of different economic classes: More privileged children, whose access to technology, movies, and television renders them more worldly, will not accept simple conceits or unrealistic production values. The child of fewer resources, though lacking a degree of sophistication and education, more readily engages her imagination. Additionally, few plays take into account the tastes or specific needs of pre-teens and adolescents, who frequently must attend performances for school assignments, but find little joy in the experience.

The discipline-wide campaign to improve the status and professional quality of *teatro infantil* relates to a number of changing cultural circumstances. The end of the dictatorship indicated a new era of free speech for the theatre and necessitated a change in the roles that the performing arts claimed for themselves. Already many artists were participating in active political protest through performance in the last years of the 1980s, and the return to democracy promised new opportunities for a variety of styles. *Teatro infantil* was no longer the sole refuge for artists. In addition, technological advances were providing new forms of entertainment (computers and video games), greater economic stability increased disposable income that could be spent for movies and videos, and the popularity of television increased as the

number and variety of available programs skyrocketed. *Teatro Infantil*, and all forms of professional theatre, faced stiff competition for audiences. The discipline had to establish new initiatives to ensure its own survival, as well as prepare to engage critically and pedagogically with the social situation under the new government.

For children's performance, these concerns took a variety of forms. The publishing branch of Magister A.F.P., one of Chile's larger financial management firms, released Teatro Infantil y Juvenil, an anthology of winning plays by Chilean authors from the 1989 Concurso Nacional de Obras de Teatro Escolar y Juvenil ("National Competition of School and Youth Plays"). The goal of the anthology, edited by UCh faculty member and creative drama expert Ruben Sotoconil, was to "promote ethical values, stimulate solidarity, reflect the noble conscience of our teachers and the national characteristic of expressing ourselves in metaphors, the primary source of poetry" ("Presentan libro de teatro infantil y juvenil").[5] His statement attempts to situate theatre at the core of the culture by declaring it fundamental to education and inherent in Chilean identity. Sotoconil establishes the role of plays in determining the ethical character of citizens, reaffirms the place of teachers in creating good citizens (while recommending the text to them as a useful tool in that effort), and celebrates the Chilean national character as eloquent and poetic, tying it to the arts and creativity.

Theatrical practices with children also prepared to meet the future. For example, Ruth Baltra, an educator and the founder of the Organización Nacional de la Cultura y el Arte Infantil (Ocarin), used arts workshops all throughout the 1980s to promote the personal growth of Chilean children and to lobby for their rights. In 1991, Baltra began a new series of workshops in addition to her arts and creative drama programs for children. She situated the series within the changing social climate: "in the new era and in accordance with the situation of transition into democracy currently experienced by the country," and called the workshops a space "where [children] can participate in different scientific, humanist, social, and recreational activities, such as: 'Little Geniuses,' 'Defense of the Natural Environment,' 'Children for Peace,' 'Living Heritage,' and other initiatives" (Sueños infantiles en la pobla).[6] These programs offered children exposure to cultural and political topics significant in Chile at the moment—computers and technology, protecting nature and resources, promoting peace and understanding, and reclaiming Chile's cultural heritage and identity.

Professional *teatro infantil*, however, strove to play a far more significant role than either classroom or extracurricular activities for children. The genre continued to address topics such as environmentalism, peace and unity, and personal growth through good habits of hygiene and study. In addition, practitioners began more actively to criticize materialism and consumerism, emphasized the dangers of television and video media to the

child's development, and to create performances that addressed multiple social issues at once.

Continuing Concerns: Promoting Unity, Kindness, and Conservation

Several of the significant social issues of *teatro infantil* during the 1980s have retained relevancy through the last decade. Though circumstances changed as the years progressed, the basic concerns for social unity, tolerance and friendship, and responsible ecological stewardship have remained applicable to the situation of the society at large. The need for peace and reconciliation had particular significance in the early part of the decade, following the installation of Aylwin as president. The years of the military regime had been hard and brutal, with violence characterizing the actions of both the extreme right and left. People were haunted by their horrific collective memory of the period following the *golpe* and the policies of repression that characterized fifteen years of life in the dictatorship. Following his assumption of office, one of Aylwin's first acts was to set up a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation dedicated to investigating claims of human rights violations during the previous twenty years. This commission produced the Rettig Report (named for committee chair Raúl Rettig), which documented more than 3,000 cases of disappearances, assassinations, and executions, criticized the judiciary branch for not taking a stronger stand against these

actions, and made it possible for the families of victims to uncover the circumstances of their disappearance and death.

Following this report, a Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación ("National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation") helped families of victims to claim some financial compensation (208). Though an amnesty law passed by the military regime protected many individuals from legal prosecution, and though these commissions did not deal with cases where death was not the result (such as torture and exile), they made great steps toward recognizing and alleviating the harm done by military violation of human rights.

The early 1990s were not free from violence, however, as the right-wing senator Jaime Guzmán, who had played a key role in drafting the 1980 Constitution, was publicly assassinated a month following the release of the Rettig report in 1991 (208). Terrorists of the Frente Patriotica Manuel Rodriguez (FPMR) were blamed for the attack, and Hickman indicates that the act was widely condemned. "It showed starkly that not all the blood in Chile was on the hands of the military or its right-wing allies" (208). "The juxtaposition of the Rettig findings with the assassination of Guzmán," he indicates, "proved (yet again) how violence breeds violence. Subsequently, there appeared to be a greater willingness to let old wounds heal" (208). Hickman believes that any urge to pursue large-scale criminal prosecution of former military offenders, already complicated by the amnesty laws passed

before Pinochet left office, lost public support following this FPMR act of terrorism. [7]

Hickman also asserts that from this period emerged a social movement to alleviate tensions between right- and left-oriented segments of the population, and to promote a sense of unity and reconciliation. He quotes José Zalaquett, a member of the commission and prominent Chilean member of Amnesty International:

> It can be argued that in a country that has been deeply divided, repentance and forgiveness could bring about unity, and that unity, in certain circumstances, would reinforce the foundations of democracy. . . .Thus forgiveness could also be a means of prevention, if the truth has been revealed and there has been an admission of responsibilities. (qtd. 209)

Teatro infantil productions have often invested in this social project of fostering reconciliation and unity, beginning in the earliest part of the return to democracy. While their focus on harmony echoes that of producers during the dictatorship, practitioners have concentrated on specific post-dictatorship issues, especially forgiveness and healing, understanding for the opinions of others, and tolerance for ideological and social differences. Such productions, which enjoy freedom of speech and expression that would have been impossible during Pinochet's presidency, would increase in frequency and in the insistence of their thematic assertions, following the events of 1991.

These, however, have not attempted to justify the means or the ends of the former government; many have expressed a degree of left-leaning, collectivist philosophy. They do emphasize the need for responsibility and peaceable solutions, and reject violence as a viable alternative for solving problems.

In November 1990, the Corporación Cultural of the Municipality of La Reina supported the group La Puente in creating a musical for children, El poder del cariño ("The Power of Caring"). It tells the story of a witch whose only experience in life has been evil-doing, though her efforts to do ill always go wrong. When a group of friends—including an elf, a little girl, a gardener, a raccoon, and a parrot—enter her forbidden forest, they challenge her to find another way of life. Finally, she breaks her broom as a sign of her commitment to goodness ("Obra destaca el poder de cariño"). The producers described the show as "a magnificent effort to rescue and reencounter the most profound and essential values of man, such as love, solidarity, and respect" ("Este mediodía estrenan la obra 'El poder de cariño' ").[8] Additionally, the group hoped to awaken the "child within" for adult spectators, restoring to them a capacity for credulity and play. The play took first prize at the Festival Intercomunal de Teatro, a festival featuring representative productions from different *comunas* in Santiago, winning over the other, adult-oriented, productions. Critic Carola Oyarzún describes the moral lesson of the production:

> In The Power of Caring it is possible to reestablish order by means of caring, and as in this story, a kiss is capable of radically changing the condition and nature of a personality. This moral message supports another lesson [in the play] that is essential to the process of achieving this harmony and peace: Think, feel and act.[9]

Súbete al apa ("Climb on My Back") appeared in Santiago in July 1991, a product of collaborative effort between members of the group La Carreta. Playfully subtitled "No apta para mayors" ("Not Appropriate for Adults"), the production participated in the 1992 Festival Poblacional Latinoamericano de Teatro de La Granja, a yearly popular theatre festival in La Granja, a *comuna* near the outskirts of Santiago. Available newspaper reports said little to describe the actual production, beyond indicating the use of music and choreography, and a large cloth that functions both as scenery and property. However, Fortín Mapocho offered the following description:

> This is the story of three characters who are born innocent and who find themselves confronted by egotism and struggle against those in power. In spite of everything, they succeed in triumphing over dehumanization with happiness and solidarity.[10] (" 'Súbete al apa' con la carreta en la sala Abril")

Both Poder del cariño and Súbete al apa exemplify how *teatro infantil* tried to work out the problems of unity and community bonding following the

years of social rupture. They reflect, however, disparate visions of the nation; the former examines forgiveness and reintegration, and the latter survival and cohesion. Each reflects the shared social perspective and concerns of the producers and audience. The witch in Poder del cariño has long been participating in acts of evil and oppression, but only because she knows how to do nothing else. When she receives kindness and forgiveness from her former victims, she responds, and their community benefits.

The municipality where this production was funded and produced, La Reina, is a traditionally middle class area, with its cultural center situated in a residential neighborhood. The intended audience, as a social class seeking stability and public tranquility, had a strong investment in looking at the antagonist of the play as misguided rather than evil, and capable of being reintegrated into the social body with help. In addition, it placed themselves (as self-identifying with the witch's victims) in a active position to affect that change through caring. That the play won high honors in an intercomunal festival indicates that these concerns resonated with a majority of the Santiago community.

In Súbete al apa, three characters exemplify persistence and solidarity in the face of opposition from the centers of power; in the end, they emerge triumphant, resisting any course of action that would divide them or compromise their human dignity. The show played in La Granja, an economically disadvantaged sector of Santiago known for left-wing political

sentiment and proletariat activism. This audience, for whom survival had been especially difficult during the dictatorship, needed affirmation of their ideology and the merit of their struggle. The production also helped them to celebrate their collective triumph over adversity.

El Principito: A Moral Compass

El Principito continued to be a popular choice for dramatization during this decade. The book is a traditional favorite with Chilean families (it is quite beloved in many countries), and many primary schools in their educational system include it in their curriculum for literature. As in the 1980s, the story has appealed to a wide range of spectators as a touching portrayal of universal values presented through a captivating narrative. Of course, the perennial popularity of the story with audiences and the educational system have created a real financial incentive for production, which likely has contributed to the number of groups that have mounted a version. With each production, however, print media coverage has continued to declare the relevance of the story's thematic content to the social reality of Chile. For example, a 1995 La Época article announcing a cycle of performances in the municipality of Las Condes says that the project directors "consider Chile a country marked by intolerance," and that the lessons of El Principito directly confront the prejudices to which Chileans are prone, ("Presentan adaptación de 'El Principito' ").[11] That critique of the society, for which El Principito was

recommended as a cure, came imbedded in the announcement of the production's visit to a wealthy *comuna*.

In February 1992, La Esquina—featuring actors Claudio Arredondo and Marcela Stangher, who were known for adult theatre and television, respectively—produced their version in partnership with the Municipality of La Florida, and enjoyed great popular success. “I have been content with the response of the public,” states Arredondo in a Las Últimas Noticias article, “and I believe that the sincere message delivered by El Principito has reached people” (“La Florida respondió al teatro”). [12] The group offered a special Mother’s Day performance in May, granting free entry to all mothers who attended with their children (“Un principito te espera, Mamá”). The play also traveled to Viña del Mar in July for the Día del Niño celebrations of that community (" 'El Principito' de Saint-Exupery llegará mañana a Viña del Mar").

In 1995, the Ministerio de Educación joined with the French Embassy and the Municipality of Santiago to sponsor another version of El Principito, a *diaporama* (“slide show”) that featured still images of the story and recorded narration. The presentation toured primary schools across the metropolitan region and many of the provinces during 1995 and 1996. La Nación called it "one of the broadest cultural projects undertaken in the country up to this moment" ("Para mirar lo leído").[13] It required the labor of artists from many disciplines—composers to provide a musical score, painters to execute the

drawings, actors to voice the characters—in addition to the organizational efforts of educators and official sponsors. The story, while faithful to the original text, incorporated language, symbols, and visual references intended to infuse it with a distinctly Chilean flavor. "The desire of the producers," states La Nación, "is to transform the Little Prince into 'the' character of 1995, delivering to the public a work of impeccable artistic quality, that signifies true support [of art] through cultural patronage."[14] Project director Víctor Hugo Romo articulates the message that the project aims to communicate: "A child comes from another world, on what turns out to be a journey to the knowledge of love, friendship, death, and the great evils that trouble Man, to deliver a message that helps to create bonds between men, tolerance and respect for differences."[15]

Two more versions of El Principito appeared on Santiago stages during this decade. In April 1996, the group Panduro produced the next, concentrating on messages of love, loyalty, and "never renouncing one's need to know, to investigate, and to question" ("Actores jóvenes tras 'El Principito' ")[16] that were applicable to both adults and children in the audience. The goal of the group, composed of former students of the small Universidad Arcis, was to reach the largest audience possible and to connect, through a colorful and physical aesthetic, with a "generation of children who have been bombarded by electronic media" ("Teatro").[17] Teatro del Cuerpo, a dance troupe, mounted another production in September 1997. Director/

choreographer Vicky Larraín stated, "This is an attempt to reclaim the values that the author brings out, like the importance of friendship, loyalty, and fidelity. And he also makes a critique of businessmen and other archtypical personalities in society" ("Debuta Versión Teatral de 'El Principito' ").[18] The La Época announcement for the production, summarizing the plot, indicated "Each encounter is a window onto power, vanity, and lack of emotion that inundates human existence" ("Dos obras se estrenan esta semana").[19]

Across these productions, the belief in this story as a moral compass remains consistent. Producing groups have come from disparate backgrounds and pursuing radically different production concepts. Panduro emerged from the left-oriented Universidad Arcis and used simpler staging and colorful props and costumes to challenge the influence of media and technology; the La Esquina and *diaporama* versions had greater financial resources and offered more elaborate staging, and emphasized the metaphysical and interpersonal problems posed by the story. Vicky Larraín used dance movement and gesture as the driving force for her production, and emphasized elements of the narrative that challenge social hierarchies and economic policies. All, however have articulated repeatedly a belief that El Principito models a superior approach to human relationships while effectively challenging the ideological engines of social, economic, and political power.

That has been true from the earliest history of El Principito as a part of the Chilean theatrical canon. In fact, this narrative has been in a uniquely suitable position to serve a pedagogical role in the country, and to do so in a variety of circumstances. In the repressive atmosphere of the 1980s, adaptations of this story could safely contest the core values of the military regime. *Teatro infantil*, after all, had tacit government approval as a non-threatening art form; moreover, the story was generally recognized as a literary classic. Thus, TEUCO could perform their 1981 version on the streets unmolested at a time when *callejero* ("street") troupes faced constant threats of arrest and brutality from *carabineros*. As public resistance to Pinochet's administration grew stronger, La Batuta mounted their 1988 production that overtly identified the Principito as a Chilean child, rather than an ethereal boy from a distant star. In the moments where he reveals the moral bankruptcy of the adult stereotypes he encounters, endowed as they were by the producers with references to *gringo* cultural invasion, the character modeled for the children in the audience (and their parents) a rejection of the dominant discourse and its ties to foreign, individualist values.

In recent years, *teatro infantil* practitioners have found El Principito useful in addressing the problems of democracy. The same technique of grounding the story in the local cultural context through identifiable markers was used again in the 1995 *diaporama*, this time to encourage children to reject the intolerance that characterized their parents' views in favor of

respect for differences.[20] The last two productions, by Panduro and Teatro del Cuerpo, both spoke of a "reclamation" of values lost or corrupted by the competitive and technological economy that Chile has become. In their anxiety about what Edward Said has called "the homogenizing processes of modern life" (331)—in which technology and international business and cultural exchange have complicated and blurred concepts of national identity and specificity—the producers were counting on the narrative to combat the social disconnections that "media bombardment" and "power, vanity, and lack of emotion" have occasioned. The story of the Little Prince has a universal appeal because it resonates with many human social anxieties brought about by life in a modern, global context. Because it grapples with so many facets of the issue, and affirms the primacy of human identity and dignity in each, the narrative loans itself to a multiplicity of retellings in which different aspects can be foregrounded and discussed.

Other projects also focused on fostering humanist sentiment in children. In 1992, the group Teatro Nalpas launched the first of a planned trilogy of works adapted from short stories by Oscar Wilde: El Príncipe feliz ("The Happy Prince"), El gigante egoísta ("The Selfish Giant"), and El fantasma de Canterville ("The Canterville Ghost").

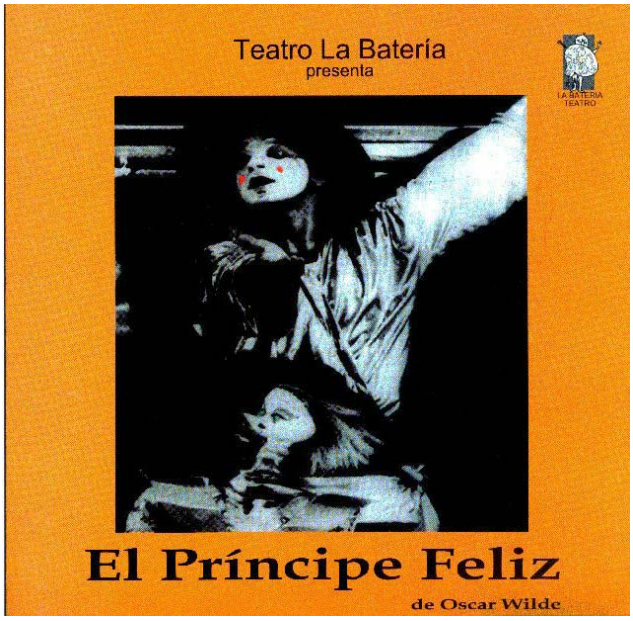

Figure 3- Promotional flyer from El príncipe feliz

Director Hernan Lacalle laid out the logic behind the project: "We chose Wilde for the transcendent quality of love and solidarity of his messages in these stories" ("Cuento de Oscar Wilde Estrena Teatro Callejero"). Former group member Marco Yávar has remarked about their work, "I believe in the most universal values, and I think that universal literature [that is, the classics], has them, generosity, sharing, not assailing others' freedom " (11/26/99).[21] The values that Lacalle and Yávar speak of as being "transcendent" and "universal" did not defy the notion of creating art with immediate relevance to the community; all three of Wilde's narratives concern the need for cooperation and generosity to benefit the economic and social health of the community. Instead, they may be read as an effort to imply an ethical

framework bigger than Chile, while still being applicable to the specific cultural situation, reflecting qualities that ought be a basic part of the human character. "We aren't using the theatre to transmit personal values," Yávar insists, "but more important, universal values" (11/26/99).[22] By declaring certain values—like communal solidarity and generosity—as universal and transcendent rather than personal, both Lacalle and Yávar attempt to give their messages (and therefore their work) increased legitimacy.

Conceived and executed with the social relevance of those messages in mind, all three plays premiered in Santiago between 1992 and 1993. El Mercurio described the first play, El príncipe feliz as "a production that speaks of misery and sadness, and where its director, Hernan Lacalle, emphasizes the themes of solidarity and fraternity" ("Un Príncipe y una Golondrina").[23] Ironically, the group split after this initial production. Lacalle left the company, taking the rights to the show with him, and founded La Batería.[24] Between producing the El gigante egoísta and El fantasma de Canterville, the remaining members changed the troupe's name to Teatro Nazca. After Nalpas disbanded, company member Marco Yávar formed Cía. Itinerante (eventually reclaiming the rights to El gigante egoísta). Príncipe Feliz and Gigante egoísta, respectively, have enjoyed tremendous popular success and have remained part of the regular repertory for each company.

The significance of these three productions lies in their thematic concern with social justice and human relationships. Wilde's selfish giant finds

fulfillment only when he shares his vast and beautiful garden with the children of his town; the spirit of the Prince sacrifices the treasures of his statue to meet the needs of his poor subjects, to whom he had been blind during life; the Canterville Ghost is released from his cursed wandering by the love and labor of an innocent teenaged girl. Marco Yávar explained to me his understanding of the purpose of *teatro infantil*, and the philosophy that has informed his own work, including El gigante egoísta:

> It has cultural value, spiritual information, cognitive information, information about developing different linguistic codes [meaning the various languages of the stage] . . . the child spectator is happy in ways that adults are not, and they don't have preformed judgements. They aren't prejudiced. So, the values that are sown in this work are fundamentally formative, educational, and recreational.[25] (11/26/99)

El gigante egoísta and El príncipe feliz in particular resonated with the political climate during their debut; both premiered during the Aylwin presidency with its focus on peaceable coexistence, its programs intended to better the economic situation of the poor, and the Rettig Commission's project of discovery and reconciliation. In addition, El príncipe feliz and El gigante egoísta feature highly stylized production elements—including the use of masks, puppets, live music, and dance movement—intended to appeal readily to the visual and ludic tastes of child audiences. In their practice, they

have rejected the use of elaborate scenery, lighting, or technical effects because, according to Yávar, these conceits are too reminiscent of cinema. Movies produce only a "visual memory" (11/26/99). Both Lacalle and Yávar's aesthetic center upon the actor, on the body and the voice, because this creates a visual memory *and* a "physical memory" based on the child's proximity to the actor (11/26/99). The child shares space with the performer, and after the show, can imitate the gestures and sounds that she has experienced. This fixes the event more firmly in the child's mind. Returning to Yávar's desire to produce cognitive and cultural learning during the experience, privileging the experiential relationship between actor and spectator also works to ground the performance more readily in the child's reality and better situates her to put learned values to use in her own life.

Certain elements also produce a sense of heightened symbolism that highlights key moments of pedagogy. In his essay for Semiotics of Art, Jindrich Honzl says "everything that makes up reality on stage . . . stands for other things" ("Dynamics of the Sign in Theatre" 74). He uses the example of one of his own performances to demonstrate how objects can take on different roles and serve as multiple signs in a performance. One mask meant one thing on a performer's face and then became another when it stood alone. Another mask used as scenery became a character when the actor's voice spoke through it. In the same way, the statue of the Happy Prince and Holy Child doll in these plays carried layered meaning through their

manipulation. The Selfish Giant interacts with a doll representing the supernatural child who opens his heart to sharing the garden with the town's children and later takes him to his final reward in Paradise. The statue of the Happy Prince is a small effigy that is ritually stripped of its finery to benefit the poor of the kingdom. In the case of Príncipe feliz, an actor doubles with the statue, providing the voice for the object that remains center stage at all times. When the Lark divests the statue of its finery, the actor also removes clothing and accessories. The overall effect is a that of a double sign, where the statue is an object but also a self-sacrificing human personality.

Figure 4-Effigy of Príncipe feliz, with Narrator and Lark

Hormigas, produced by Pimiento Morrón (Black Pepper), in August 1993, addressed environmental concerns and human social interaction. It tells the story of Carola, an ant who wishes to fly, and the spider and

cockroach who wish to lure her away from her home. Roxana Tapia and Aurora Jara, members of Pimiento Morrón, commented on the ethical construct in the show: "On the one hand, we don't see characters who act badly because they are; each one has to survive and acts according to instinct. However, certain facts and details are given that allows each one to live out their lives without molesting those around them" ("Obra sobre las Hormigas Presentan en Sala Abril").[26] The two newspaper articles available about the production give little information about the particulars of aesthetics or plot, but they do emphasize the social issues at play in the narrative. As with earlier productions, the message of this play indicates that necessity, rather than a flawed nature, dictates the way that characters behave towards one another. There is no blame placed on characters trying to survive, though it seems that the spider and cockroach might initially intend harm to Carola the ant. Ultimately, they are provided with alternatives that make it possible for all of the characters to live in harmony.

The 1994 production Casi todo se fue en la maleta ("Almost Everything Went in the Suitcase"), a collective creation by the group Gestus, received repeated mention from the Santiago press during its three-and-a-half month run. The available materials say very little about the plot, stressing primarily that it involved a set of theatrical games regarding parents and children where the audience "will establish their relationship to the adult world and observe its problems in a simple way" ("Estrenan Obra Infantil en La Sala 'El

Conventillo II' ").[27] All, however, emphasized the commitment of the group to pedagogical goals. Lorena Prada, the director, explained to El Mercurio:

> We understand the theatre as an instrument of social formation: because of that we believe our role is fundamental in developing and stimulating the child's imagination. We want to collaborate in the formation of a being with values and firm beliefs, that possesses a broad social and cultural vision.[28]

Guerrero criticizes the show for heavy use of symbolism in the title and the story line, which is too abstract for small children to grasp. He praises its energy and the commitment of the performers, and their successful use of a certain level of audience participation to "integrate them into the stories of parents and children, of separations, and imaginary friends" ("Casi todo se fue en la maleta"). [29]

The topic of environmental protection continued to appeal to practitioners in Chile; as the decade progressed, the number of productions confronting issues of pollution and conservation grew. In June 1994, the group Pequeño Mundo Producciones gave away tree saplings, with sponsorship from the financial services corporation A.F.P Summa, at their showings of Pedro Ambiente Terranova ("Peter Atmosphere Newland," a proper name playing on the words *terra* -"land" and *ambiente*-"atmosphere") in the Instituto de Cultura of the Banco del Estado. The La Tercera article on the project stated that "the presentation has an ecological spirit, and through

the scenes, introduces concepts and messages about caring for and protecting our environment" ("Teatro regala arbolitos").[30] The same year, the Teatro Itinerante—which had evolved from a touring group into a sponsoring organization—chose the Universidad de Antofagasta to represent the organization for its northern tour.[31] The *teatro infantil* piece they chose for this tour was La pandilla del arco iris, Jorge Díaz's popular play about urban litter problems and plant conservation. Their production had been so successful with local audiences that it permitted the university theatre to finance other productions on the revenue ("Estreno mundial en Antofagasta"). Another version of Pandilla surfaced in 1998.

In 1995, El Bufón (the group responsible for Bruja Eulalia) produced the ecological fairy tale Alerta Roja en Verde Bosque ("Red Alert in Green Forest"). In the story, a power-hungry spider, who owns a cabaret and has ties to the mafia, receives a large payment to steal the "Libro de Sabiduría" ("Book of Knowledge") from the residents of the forest. The spider and her cronies are ultimately thwarted by the magic of Mother Nature. La Tercera calls the lesson of the play "one that should be planted in the minds of children today so that, in the future, it will bloom into the defense and conservation of nature" ("Buen mensaje para los niños").[32] La Época points out the "the objective is to contrast the environments from which the characters come, so that the spectator (children) can comprehend the

difference between the values" ("Compañía El Bufón estrena obra en el Montecarmelo"). [33]

Combating Compound Social Ills: Consumerism, Intolerance, and Poor Stewardship

In addition to the issues carried over from the 1980s, several new and pressing concerns entered the public discourse. The problems of political polarization continued, and even under democratic circumstances, there existed little moderate sentiment to balance out the voices of the left- and right-wing in social and economic policies. Even now, people still feel very strongly about the years of Pinochet's leadership; I witnessed a number of street demonstrations supporting and protesting the actions of the former military government during my 1999-2000 residence. I also observed other minority groups—indigenous tribes, gay/lesbian organizations, and women's rights advocates—pressing for greater recognition and support for their causes. All of these have stimulated increasing discussion about the nature and necessity of tolerance within the population. Consumerism and material consumption have also increased as products on the Chilean market diversify and multiply. Foreign investors, Chilean entrepreneurs, and international corporations all proliferate in business sectors. Credit card use has skyrocketed, and consumer debt has risen in all classes; the public has developed quite a taste for clothing, cars, music, and electronics. I was

surprised at the enormous malls of Santiago, the ready availability of credit cards and payment plans for all kinds of goods and services, and the popularity of trendy clothing and hi-tech gadgets.

Most Chileans appreciate the capitalist system and the diversity of goods and services it allows; the economy was booming until 1998, when the global economic recession hit South America. There are, however, critics of this system on multiple fronts. Chile still has active Communist and Socialist parties who resist free market policies.[34] Many citizens would like to see greater socialization of services like health care and welfare; Chile still has no standardized system of economic assistance for the destitute (Hickman 232). Still others, artists and intellectuals especially, express concern at widespread conspicuous consumption as an indicator of status and its companion focus on material measures of success.[35] Limited access to higher education is also a problem; universities cannot accommodate large numbers of students, making advanced study expensive and available to few. Neither do technical and vocational schools have room for the young people who could not find a berth at a university. These issues have precipitated theatrical concern for better social stewardship and broader access to resources, the dehumanizing influence of consumer culture and economic classism, and how to recognize and meet the needs of the underprivileged citizens.

In November 1990, the UCh sponsored a production of Jorge Díaz's El Mundo es un Pañuelo ("The World is a Handkerchief"). This initial production,

co-produced with the dance troupe Grupo Espiral, featured Jorge Guerra in the central role. This marked the actor's first project since his return from exile during the military regime. Guerra had been a celebrity in pre-*golpe* Chile as the clown Pin Pon—an icon of Chilean children's television (" 'Titiloco' o el retorno del actor Jorge Guerra"). The play features a clown, Titiloco, who loses his passion for the circus life and decides to see the world. Using his handkerchief as a magic carpet, he visits several different countries and witnesses various forms of human folly. In the first country, Tragalotodo (Grab-it-all), society is based on buying and selling frenetically; the second country, the land of Mr. Smog, runs on industrial production and contamination of the environment. The third is an unnamed land where two factions fight a vicious and never ending war over the relative merits of the colors blue and green; the fourth, a dystopia where the citizens remain children even into their old age. Finally, Titiloco realizes that the world is imperfect wherever you go, and that his vocation is to return to the circus, his true home. Eduardo Guerrero summarized Titiloco's experience, saying, "At last he understands that his principal task in life is to entertain adults and children, for laughter refreshes the soul" ("El Mundo es un Pañuelo"). [36]

Newspapers covering the opening of the production stressed that the central purpose of the production was "not only to make children laugh and entertain them, but to make them understand the importance of protecting the natural environment, and of cultivating love, kindness, and simplicity." [37] Both

reviews were very complimentary. Italo Passalacqua C., Critic for La Segunda, called the production "absolutely recommendable for the family," and indicated the lesson taught by Titiloco's experience in each new place:

> In each scene, the adventure will be different, learning the meaning of consumerism, discovering how all of the clean air has been transformed [into smog], what drives war and domination, as well as [confronting] the fear of growing up and developing.[38] ("Con la magia de 'un pañuelo' que eleva al teatro infantil")

Guerrero, writing for La Época, suggested that "the playwright is not only showing us a world with its values and antivalues, but offering criticism of dogmatism, contamination, and consumerism" ("El mundo es un pañuelo).[39] In addition, media coverage often emphasized and celebrated that this production marked the professional return of Guerra following his exile (which he spent in Cuba). I believe that this move had little to do with leftist sentiment, but rather served as a gesture of closure. It signaled both a return to freedom of political beliefs for citizens and the intellectual and emotional ability to acknowledge the past and to be reconciled with it. It also reaffirmed Guerra's fitness to participate in public and educational projects for children.

Subsequent productions of El Mundo es un Pañuelo stressed the same thematic elements. I witnessed one such production in January 2000, as part of the summer La Reina Festival de Teatro Infantil. In this production,

the clown Titiloco sought to connect with the children by entering through the audience and frequently wading into the crowd during the course of the show. The costumes and properties served to highlight the excesses of all of the countries Titiloco visits. Tragalotodo featured showering balloons, such as those used on game shows, and a giant Visa card that threatened to crush the unfortunate clown. In the country of Smog, Mr. Smog wore black clothes and a large hat reminiscent of a smokestack. He carried a large cigar, and shed ashes and wadded paper from his pockets as he walked. He often spoke in English phrases, a sign of pretentiousness among Chileans. The Country of Colors was an absurd parody of the devastation of war, a wreckage of blue and green. The company also seemed to poke fun at sports fanaticism by dressing the Blue Person in the garb of a soccer enthusiast. In the last country, where children never grow up, the walls were covered in stick figure drawings in primary colors. The elderly “children” wore yellow jumpers that exposed knobby knees and had white beards down their chests. They attempted to jump and caper like toddlers, but frequently hobbled and fell from weakness.

Tall, thin Titiloco, with his clown paint, silly socks, and red nose often looked normal, or at least familiar, compared to these characters. Visually, it was obvious that he belonged in none of these places. Thus, his return to the circus not only seemed a natural decision, but logical to the audience, as it was the only location that seemed comfortable and “real” to them as well. His

decision to return to the altruistic task of bringing joy and laughter to audiences met with approval and applause.

Díaz has described his work in *teatro infantil* as sometimes controversial because he chooses directly to confront difficult issues, in a playful, absurd manner not unlike his adult plays. He defends his approach, however, saying, "It is good that all those things should appear in a play, that politics appear, that everything should appear " (1/27/02). Like Echeverría, with whom Díaz worked early in his career, he insists that the ideological not overwhelm the aesthetic and ludic dimension necessary to capture the child's attention and stimulate her creative development. It should be present, but must contribute to the overall effect of a production. Combining this philosophy with an understanding that parallels Bennett's concept of the dramatic impulse emerging from the social world, Díaz declares:

> It should be a natural consequence of the theatrical game . . . if you simply propose a game, a game that has no apparent ideological or pedagogical intentions . . . it is still going to reflect the social problem in a natural way, because theatre is always the expression of a social situation. (1/27/02)

With this statement, Díaz manifests a use of critical pedagogy similar to what Doyle advocates. He sees the theatre as immersed in, and capable of revealing, a culture; he engages in the analytical practice of theatre as Doyle describes it, with "words, sounds, and images [that] can point, gesture,

complain, and promise" (10). With that in mind, El mundo es un pañuelo functions much like his adult plays in its absurdist characterizations of the excesses of Chilean society. Moreover, Díaz, in our interview, indicated that he believes that the critical power of drama must be harnessed for the classroom (where Doyle ultimately wants to see this practice blossom), as well as in his own professional work.

Most *teatro infantil* practitioners during the 1990s have not taken such a satirical approach to social issues. Director Zelig Rosenmann, for example, takes an entirely different, though equally education-minded approach to production. Rosenmann enjoys tremendous popularity with family audiences, who appreciate the spectacle and quirky narratives of his large-scale musical comedies for children. Beginning with La aventura en tu boca ("The Adventure in Your Mouth") in the mid-1980s, he has developed a consistent and successful presence in Chile, and especially Santiago. Mamá, me tragué un avión ("Mommy, I Swallowed an Airplane") premiered in May 1993. Continuing in his line of productions that emphasize both spectacle and didactic content, Mamá, me tragué un avión features an aviator insect, Insectini, who loses control of his plane and ends up being swallowed by a child. Once in the child's body, he meets Reina Nutrona ("Queen Nutrona" from the word nutrition), Energina (from the word *energia*-"energy"), Grasini (from the word *graso*-"fat"), and Colesterola (from the word cholesterol). Colesterola wishes to seize power from Reina Nutrona; Insectini "tries to help

and convince the child of ways to maintain equilibrium and stay healthy" (" 'Mamá, me tragué un avión,' aventura para todo espectador en el Montecarmelo").[40] Rosenmann explained the reasoning to La Segunda:

> The idea is to present the public an adventure where they are taught elements of understanding their own bodies, while they are being entertained. That is why it is a piece for all spectators, not just children, because what they don't understand can be substituted by the fun parts. And the adults, or the bigger children, can assimilate the message regarding their health. So the whole family can come.[41] (" 'Mamá, me tragué un avión,' aventura para todo espectador en el Montecarmelo")

Another production that featured compound moral issues, Las aventuras de la bruja Eulalia, debuted in September 1993 and continued to play in Santiago until mid-1994. It features a witch, Eulalia, who lives in the kingdom of books and is eagerly waiting for "The Author" to write her story. She is impatient, however, and she is unsatisfied that the Author made her a witch instead of a princess. Her attitude angers the Author; he punishes her first by declaring that she will remain story-less, and then by cursing her with baldness. Eulalia responds by invading the stories of other fairy tale characters (Snow White, Red Riding Hood, etc.) and stealing key elements (the magic mirror, the basket of goodies), seeking a magic that can restore her hair. She leaves the fairytale world in chaos. The Author convinces her to

return what she has stolen, and rewards her for her obedience with a story of her own and a full head of hair. According to El Bufón, the group who collectively created and produced the play, the primary lesson of Eulalia is "to re-interest children in reading, by demonstrating to them that the classic stories are an open door for our imagination" ("El Bufón lleva a Montecarmelo 'Las aventuras de la Bruja Eulalia' ").[42]

Another multi-themed pedagogical play, Querido Antonio, produced by Teatro de Las Indias, debuted in May 1995. The protagonist is a likeable boy who works in a music hall, running the lights and fly system. The ill-tempered Conductor and his arrogant star singer make life difficult for Antonio and his mother, who are kind, simple people. Intending to humiliate him, the two antagonists challenge Antonio to a series of contests; the boy prevails, using each challenge as an opportunity to show some positive aspect of his character: bravery, strength, intelligence, kindness. Press releases printed in Las Últimas Noticias and La Época indicate that "Antonio and his mother, from a simple and honest viewpoint, will cast doubt upon the values and myths of a competitive and materialistic society" (" 'Querido Antonio debuta en Ñuñoa' ").[43] Like El Principito, the narrative advocates the primacy of friendship and the designation of virtue on strong personal character over merit systems based on success, talent, or the accumulation of money and goods. Critic Guerrero states that Antonio "gives a real lesson in humility to

his antagonists, which comes across through one of the songs as a kind of ultimate moral ('each person is what they are')" ("Teatro: Querido Antonio").[44]

Mamá, me tragué un avion, Las aventuras de la bruja Eulalia, and Querido Antonio show evidence of certain ideological and economic pressures in their individual approaches to addressing compound social problems. The subject matter, staging, cost, and geographical location of each performance corresponded to the intended audience, and influenced the messages encoded in each one.

Rosenmann's production was by far the most commercial of the three; its subject matter reflected a need to appeal to the widest possible audience. It offered an educational component, familiarizing children with the body's biology and the need for good nutrition, but in a way that permitted the "fun parts"—cartoon-like characterizations and visual spectacle—to prevail. The actors, wearing elaborate costumes, performed on a stage decorated fancifully to look like the inside of a human body, and showcased a large, moveable airplane piloted across the stage by Insectini. It was the most popular of the three, and also the most expensive, which suggests that the audience was largely middle and upper class. A more subtle message of the production, communicated by Insectini's efforts to convince the various inhabitants of the body to live in harmony and balance for the sake of that body, becomes charged with political meaning in light of the intended audience. If the child's body in the production is read as a metaphor for the

social body, a possibility considering the anthropomorphization of the metabolic elements, it is significant that these affluent (or at least comfortable) people should be exhorted to cooperation and equilibrium. It does not offer too radial a social framework, however, as the traditional (healthy) hierarchy prevails in the end.

Bruja Eulalia, with its focus on literacy and reading habits, was perhaps more conservative in ideology. It exhorted children to read and to exercise patience and good comportment, both very traditional aspects of drama pedagogy. Moreover, the stories it featured—primarily fairy tales—promoted classical children's literature. Both Avión and Bruja Eulalia appeared at the Centro de Cultura Montecarmelo in the *barrio* Bellavista, an arts and cultural district near the downtown area. Querido Antonio, on the other hand, featured more overt and liberal social commentary; it challenged "the values and myths of a competitive and materialistic society" by showing that the moral character of laborer Antonio is superior to that of the successful, self-absorbed Singer. It played in the more liberal lower-middle and working class *comuna* of Ñuñoa.

Teatro Estudio

Another group working in complex, education-oriented shows during this time was Teatro Estudio. Their La luna sobre el gallinero ("The Moon over the Chicken Coop"), which debuted at the same time as Querido Antonio, followed the adventures of a toad working for a chicken farmer. A La

Tercera announcement for Luna described how the toad initially feels out of place and ridiculous because he does not know how to fit in with life at the chicken coop. "But little by little he succeeds in adapting to the environment, overcoming discouragement, thanks to his capacity for knowing fairness from unfairness. And in the middle of the conflicts that he survives, he finds true friendship" ("Un tramoyista y un sapito son los héroes").[45] Juán Curilém, the director, explained in a La Nación interview, "The animals in our stories always have human behaviors, and the toad is not accepted because he is a toad. So, there is discrimination against him, and they use him because he seems slow and stupid " ("Las gallinas no van con sapos"). Through the toad's experiences, the audience was meant to learn the value of tolerance and compassion, and through his persistence in the face of adversity, they experienced adaptability and courage.

El luna sobre el gallinero is part of a long labor in *teatro infantil* for Teatro Estudio. Their work with children began in the Education department of the Universidad de Concepción in 1970, and continued during their exile, between 1976-1991, in Córdoba, Argentina. Their overarching goal during the long life of the troupe has been to provide performances that not only entertain children, but also give them a perspective on events and introduce them to critical thinking. According to Curilém, the group believes that most theatre for children bores young audiences, because its themes are insipid, and its techniques rely on a "Walt Disney-ized" realism that robs children of

the opportunity to exercise imagination. With that in mind, the group has established an informal, playful style of production, in which children may freely comment on the action as it occurs, and characterization that de-emphasized presentational costuming. In their productions, actors entering the stage for the first time introduce themselves as ants, dogs, or birds, but are not costumed to closely resemble the animals. The group indicates that children already understand the rules of "let's pretend," and will not need obvious visual cues if they are notified of the game from the first ("Las gallinas no van con sapos").

The ultimate purpose in these conceits and games has been to introduce the child to important issues in society. " What interests us," says Curilém, "is that the child establish this as his environment, and here [in Chile], that includes, for example, labor relations, difficult adaptation, injustice, cruelty. All of those form part of the child's environment, and we present them for consideration in a story where they can participate" ("Las gallinas no van con sapos").[46] In a 1990 article for La Nación, the group also stressed the need for the educational system of Chile to change. Curilém argued that “the educational system is very unfocused because it has a nationalist hue and limits children and youth to merely classifying objects [without analyzing them], puts stress on the student and teacher. When a society gets complicated, the school starts turning into just a babysitter” (“Debe haber un cambio politico en educación en Latinoamérica”).[47] The members of Teatro

Estudio envision a different pedagogy, very much like the practice Doyle advocates, in which drama can be used as a tool to develop children's skills. They prioritize "a capacity to set guidelines and social norms, values and analysis of situations, to provide necessary flexibility and emotional expressiveness, develop creativity and finally, to classify things in the world."[48]

The goals articulated here reflect a belief that children must be empowered to understand and interpret the world independently, rather than being told simply how to "classify things." It is important to note, however, that the company's stage productions have not been ideologically neutral. Though Curilém criticizes what he calls nationalist motivation in schools and *teatro infantil*, the plays of Teatro Estudio also carry weighted content, encouraging children towards collectivist social thinking and away from individualist (and its associated capitalist) ideology. Their work does attempt to allow children some leeway in making those conclusions, and avoids formulaic interpretations of right and wrong. In their professional stage work as well as their work in schools, the group has followed their articulated guidelines, aiming to stimulate critical thinking and growth in children, and thereby, influence the future direction of the culture.

Teatro Estudio produced two more didactic, socially conscious plays during the latter part of the 1990s. El grillo en la cocina ("The Cricket in the Kitchen"), in May 1996, addressed "the idea that respect and tolerance

should exist between all to build a better world" ("Con ojos de grande").[49] In it, a cricket moves from the country to the city, and takes a job working in the kitchen of a restaurant. While the owner of the restaurant is absent, the cat and dog running the kitchen abuse his trust and cheat him. The cricket speaks against their behavior, and faces their scorn. Las Últimas Noticias calls the central theme "the clash of egotism in the big city," and states that the production is ripe with "lessons for the formation of good qualities in the little ones" ("Obra interactiva para niños").[50] In April 1998, El gato que quería volar ("The Cat that Wanted to Fly"), dealt with the problem of trading one's dreams for material success. La Tercera asserted that the play "seeks to create in children the capacity to dream, and at the same time, to make them reflect upon the consumerism and materialism of the real world" ("Pequeñas tablas invaden la capital"). [51] Curilém suggested, in an interview with La Tercera, "Children already believe in kindness, in respect for promises, that bullying is bad . . . and they do not believe in the mercantile devalorization of things" ("Los ñinos creen en la bondad y no en la fantasía mercantil").[52] The overarching goals of Curilém and Teatro Estudio are to emphasize for children the centrality of establishing healthy human relationships, and the need to reject what he calls the "mercantile fantasy" of the country, to improve the overall health of the society.

A number of other productions in the last four years of the decade attempted to make statements on similar ideological issues. Alfredo

Ahumada's Chocolate Concert, one of a series of productions featuring his character Caluguín the Clown, sought to promote the values of reconciliation and peace. Valparaíso-based group El Baúl mounted ¿Y dónde están los derechos del niño? ("And Where are the Children's Rights?") in 1997, a play addressing children's rights through the story of a child visiting the earth from the planet Cromos, where everything is dehumanized and cold. The child learns good and evil from individuals on Earth, and is enriched by the experience.

Momo, nos ha reconocido ("Momo, You Have Touched Us") debuted in April 1999. Produced by the Cía. Del Invento, the play was based on Michael Ende's novel Momo. The title character is a child with a unique gift for listening, who lives in harmony with the small community that has adopted her. But an invading group of Grey Men soon lure the townspeople to trade the valuable commodity of their time in exchange for financial success, fame, power, and material goods. Ultimately, they realize the shallowness of these things in comparison to the richness of time spent building relationships with friends and family, but only after Momo has sacrificed herself to save them.

I saw the production in Santiago in 1999. It was produced on the stage of the city's fine arts museum, the Palacio de Bellas Artes. While heavy reliance on technical wizardry—elaborate lighting, smoke machines, sound effects—produced an overall sense of chaos and often overpowered the narrative, I discerned elements that clearly were intended to reinforce the

thematic concern of learning to value time and people over material gains. The human characters, Momo and her friends, were visually distinguished from the Grey Men by color, variety, and condition of their costumes. Human characters wore a variety of colors and styles, and all costumes showed a degree of shabbiness. Grey Men wore careful, impeccable metallic suits, had shiny silver heads, and were virtually indistinguishable from one another. The warmth and life of the community was juxtaposed with a cold, bland face of conformity. This was reinforced by lighting and set pieces; warmer, fanciful colors were used for community scenes, as were a variety of recycled props. Smoke machines and harsh white lights accompanied the Grey Men, who used immaculate plastic and aluminum properties. As the humans fell under the influence of the Grey Men and traded their time for material gain, their costumes became newer and more stylish, but stiffer and less suitable to the characters.

Staging also highlighted the thematic relationship between the Grey Men and their prey. In one scene, the Grey Men came to tempt Momo, to neutralize her dangerous influence over the community by offering her the standard sort of bribe. They brought her a lovely doll, represented by an actress in a faceless mask and plastic dress, and attempted to convince Momo that the pleasure of owning this doll was in acquiring the greatest possible number of outfits and accessories for her. As they demonstrated the doll to Momo, the movements of the Grey Men with the mannequin became

increasingly aggressive, and culminated in a series of unsettling sexual postures. One Grey Man bent the doll at the waist to change her skirt, and in maneuvering her, pressed his pelvis to her buttocks. Though incongruous in a child- or family-oriented show, the gestures offered a visual metaphor for Grey Men's distasteful use of the community for their own pleasure and survival. It was also a gesture of what they hoped symbolically to do to Momo by addicting her to their wares.

At the end of the play, Momo visits "Maestro Hora" (Mr. Hour) and travels to the center of Time to save her community from the soul-killing loss of their time (and, therefore, human relationships). After she destroys the Grey Men, who cannot live without devouring human time, Momo disappears. The people of the community return to their ordinary dress, warm lighting, and scenery. They gather together for a final tableau, mourning the loss of Momo, but standing in unity as the scene fades to black. Momo's sacrifice positions her as a kind of postmodern Christ-figure—innocent, blameless, immune to human temptation, and a necessary intermediary between the guilty community and the supernatural (in this case, Time). Her disappearance also leaves the characters hope for a kind of second coming, that she might return if they repent and rebuild.

Cía. del Invento and their production of Momo, playing first at the arts and cultural district of the Estación Mapocho and then at the Museo de Bellas Artes, aimed primarily to reach a middle and upper class audience. Ticket

prices were relatively expensive ($2000-$4000 pesos, about the equivalent of $4-8 U.S. dollars), and the venues associated themselves with highbrow culture. The play's encoded messages about the importance of time and the temptations of consumption and material success also spoke to economically advantaged sectors of the populace. The company, however, appeared to me to have succumbed in some ways to the very distractions that the narrative criticized. They are quite enamored of multimedia techniques and seek to cultivate a "cinematic aesthetic" (" 'Momo' contra los hombres de gris"). In many moments, the pace was so frantic and the mise-en-scene so burdened with lighting, sound effects, smoke, and properties that the action was confused and out-of-focus. Though the play was about human connections, the company often failed to connect with their audience due to the technology they employed.

All of these productions—the productions by Afredo Ahumada, El Baúl, and especially Momo and the work of Teatro Estudio—show preoccupation with healthy human relationships. The most compelling and forceful of these, Momo and Teatro Estudio's body of work, depict the struggle between materialism and humanism, and attempt to model for children the importance of choosing people over status or things. In these days of installment plans, McDonald's franchises, and second houses at the beach, Chilean cultural anxiety about dehumanization has spurred many such productions in *teatro infantil* and the adult theatre.

Elevating the Status of the Child Audience and The Growing Concern with Quality

UNICEF and the newspaper El Mercurio co-sponsored the Fifth *teatro infantil* festival of La Batuta in January 1991, celebrating and promoting international concerns for the rights of children. This was the second such festival to use performances for children to promote awareness of the UNICEF agenda. Festival director Cecelia Godoy explains the objectives of the event:

> Children are not satisfied with the classic stories. They are immersed in a society that grows more complex every day, that is why the theatre, as a means of communication, is able to offer them answers to their concerns.[53] (A los Derechos del Niño Dedican Festival de Teatro)

Ten productions from the previous year, including El Poder de Cariño, participated in the month-long event, which featured games and activities before each performance and characters representing each of the ten rights of children as articulated by UNICEF. These are:

> Every child has the right to:
>
> - A name and nationality;
> - Protection from being deprived of his or her identity;
> - Freedom of expression;
> - Freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

- Freedom of association and peaceful assembly;
- Information from a diversity of sources;
- Privacy;
- Protection from torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; and
- Protection against unlawful arrest and unjustified deprivation of liberty.

(The Convention on the Rights of the Child)[54]

Each group participating in the festival was responsible for creating one of the characters symbolic of a given right and for planning activities that encouraged children to explore the meaning of each right. Additionally, the festival included a special mailbox provided by the Chilean postal system, to which children could address letters concerning their rights; a plot of earth outdoors on the grounds of the venue where they could help plant a garden; and a space in front of the theatre where they might carry picket signs protesting rights that they feel have been denied. (These seem to have been more playful than serious; for example, one sign protested the loss of a child's right to eat whatever he wants. The gesture carries significance, however, as the children were encouraged to participate through play in the process of public demonstration and free speech.)

In addition, the ten productions participating in the festival competed for various awards, including the traditional "best acting" and "best direction" categories, and novel additions such as an award for the most successful effort to integrate audience participation. A forum of *teatro infantil* specialists (actors, educators, directors, psychologists) also gathered to discuss "the search for a children's theatre adequate to the needs of today's public" ("Cuando el teatro infantil se toma la calle y la plaza").[55] Jorge Guerra and Claudio Pueller both participated in this panel. Also, a 12-year-old child was included on the panel of judges awarding the various honors ("Batuta para niños en Ñuñoa"). The thematic inclusion of UNICEF's 10 human rights of children signals the start of an increasing concern of theatre practitioners with the place of children in society, and the beginning of a campaign to improve the social status of their audience base. At the same time, they sought to reestablish the importance of the arts in the nation's children by proposing theatre as the "Eleventh Right" of children (Teatro Infantil: 11° Derecho del Niño).

In December that year, El Mercurio ran the article "El Teatro No Conoce Al Niño" ("Theatre Doesn't Know the Child"). In it, author Claudia Ramírez Hein describes what she believes are the worst problems of the genre—too few good plays, and difficulty in attracting audiences. She lists the worst problems of producing plays: "parodies of children. Bad imitations that

portray children as stupid infants. Obviousness of theme and character. Ridiculous and ancient songs. Educating and training in values that do more harm than good."[56] More than these things, however, Ramírez argues that the worst problem facing *teatro infantil* is that parents will not bring their children. She writes that "the enemy of theatre, above all that for children—is the television. With its 'educational' programs it lures the little ones like a magnet and suits the convenience of parents."[57] Ramírez's concerns are not new; practitioners have voiced complaints about a lack of parental involvement and the dangerous influence of television for years (recall Alicia Quiroga's comments to Uribe in 1981).

Ramírez, however, specifically takes parents to task for their negligence. She insists that good theatre exists for children—she gives examples like La Troppa's Pinocchio and Teatro de la Esquina's El Principito—but parents refuse to make time to take children to the theatre. Andres Morales, a child psychologist with whom Ramírez discusses *teatro infantil* in the article, describes the dilemma:

> The area of children's theatre is little explored; above all due to the convenience of their parents. It is much easier to sit a child in front of the television than to go buy theatre tickets, especially if they expect to be bored while their kids watch.[58]

Ramírez argues that she understands the hesitancy of some parents to attend theatre, considering all of the poor to mediocre productions that

appear; yet she insists that ample quality productions exist, and that parents ought to take responsibility for taking their children to such functions. To rely on the television for the child's entertainment is not only irresponsible parenting, but discounts the child as an intelligent, feeling being who deserves better intellectual and creative stimulation.

The same year the Chilean branch of ASSITEJ (known locally as AChITEJ) produced its first national festival of *teatro infantil.* Co-sponsored with the Ministerio de Educación, the objective of the festival was to offer free theatre for children, striving for artistic quality, and represented by recognized professional artists. The project was, like Ramírez's protestations, conceived as a beneficial or restorative experience for the audience. According to Las Últimas Noticias:

> Children's theatre has a significant role in the stimulation of creativity in children, and rescues their imaginative and ludic capacity, things that have been obscured by the technology of current games, which has limited the variety and potential of children.[59] ("Parte festival infantil en el Camilo Henríquez")

A second goal of the event was to "elevate the level of theatre for children in Chile and permit contact between professionals who participate in this activity, evaluating it from artistic and pedagogical points of view" ("Festival de Teatro Infantil en el Camilo Henríquez").[60] As with the La Batuta festival of the previous year, the jury responsible for awarding various honors to the

participants included children. It was the first of yearly festivals sponsored by the organization that have continued to the present day. Subsequent recurrences have been called "Festín." The permanent mission of the event has been "to promote and develop professional and responsible theatre for children, to demonstrate that children's theatre is on par with adult theatre and that it is a viable alternative of entertainment, learning, and family encounter" ("Un menú teatral para niños"). [61]

Festín continued to develop and expand as the decade progressed. In 1995, the festival had an itinerant component, featuring a six meter car constructed from recycled materials that functioned as a moveable stage for presentations in various *comunas* ("Teatro Infantil Va a las Comunas"). The purpose of this touring element was to make performances available to poorer sectors of the community that were not likely to attend performances in traditional venues ("Festival FESTIN llegará a niños de comunas pobres"). Another goal of the festival that year was to develop a space for a specialized library of children's theatre and a cooperative of "actor-researchers" dedicated to the practice ("Festín de teatro infantil"), aimed at improving the overall quality of *teatro infantil* by providing access to materials and input.

Other festival and fair-type events began including children's theatre as part of their programming, and new festivals featuring or dedicated entirely to *teatro infantil* also emerged. EDUCA, the Fería de la Educación Chilena (Chilean Educational Fair), included *teatro infantil* productions as part of their

yearly program from the first year of the festival in 1992. They often emphasized the values-oriented aspects of chosen productions. In 1994, for example, the third annual EDUCA included two ecological musicals and El show del perrito Picho, through which "children can enjoy themselves and learn, through the use of puppets, the importance of values like friendship and love" ("Buen teatro para cabritos en Viña").[62] In 1998, Universidad Católica, through its Centro de Extensión, began its own festival of *teatro infantil*, "Atodoteatro" ("Theatre for All"), with program schedules intended for both primary and secondary school students. The productions participating in the event were chosen for their "educational and cultural content" ("Ácercando el teatro a las aulas"). The next year, it sponsored "Famiteatro," a festival dedicated to performances for the entire family. The municipality of La Reina added a *teatro infantil* component to its summer theatre festival in 1999.

Anxiety for the Future and Creating Theatre Consumers

In the 1990s and continuing into the present moment, artists have begun voicing a greater sense of urgency in capturing the loyalty of the child audience, and couching it within an overall post-*golpe* crisis happening across the professional discipline.[63] Many of the festivals emerging during this decade arose, in part, because of this concern with building an audience, and also with elevating the socio-political status of minors, whom the discipline serves. *Teatro escolar* and creative drama have continued to serve this

purpose in the 1990s, especially in the regions far from the metropolitan center, where teachers have often been the primary providers of artistic exposure for children. The Ministerio de Educación sponsored a large workshop on theatrical pedagogy for Chilean teachers in July of 1995. The goal of the event was to provide teachers with heuristic tools that would allow them to use performance in teaching curriculum, creativity, and personal development to their students. Workshop leader Gloria Canales, a Santiago actress, indicates that "the idea is to arm these professors to generate cultural activity within the schools that will affect the rest of the community" ("El Teatro como arma para los profesores).[64] Florencia Díaz, the writer of the feature, summarizes the program as:

> an innovative horizon for educational techniques, that will not only be useful for the personal development of the students, but will now and for ever draw them near to the grand means of artistic expression that is the theatre, creating spectators and lovers of that form of culture for all of their lives.[65]

In 1997, El Mercurio reported over 300 theatre groups composed of school children participating in extracurricular activities. Beatriz Burgos reports on the various benefits that creative drama offers to young people, including the development of confidence, creativity, and the chance to address issues concerning them. She also affirms the ultimate utility of the

activity in “forming the public of the next generation” (“Dramatizar sin perder el don de ser niños”). [66]

As in the 1980s, however, professional performers continue to bear the primary responsibility for creating a desire for their product. In the 1990s the rhetoric across the discipline of theatre has become increasingly peppered with references to children as tomorrow’s spectator, signaling the growing preoccupation of the field with its future and escalating anxiety, or at least concern, about the means of its survival in a society increasingly exposed to the very *gringo* pleasures of television and film. This is a familiar problem to professional theatre communities in societies where the arts find relatively little government support. They find themselves compelled to sell their product as a commercial commodity, and face competition from forms more easily adapted to mass production and ready access than the “hand-made” product of theatre, which often caters to specialized taste or carries elitist connotations. The contemporary theatre in the United States faces a similar situation and equally difficult choices. The needs of the “future public,” as the best hope of survival for the whole field of professional theatre, appear constantly in public forums on theatre in Chile, and the pressure on *teatro infantil* practitioners is intense.

Consequently, as the movement began to garner more attention across the field during the last decade, it also began to attract criticism. Early in the decade, critics and artists began to express dissatisfaction with the

qualitative state of *teatro infantil* in Chile, particularly since children are so important to the future of theatre. Pequeño Gran Teatro, the company producing Ambrosio in 1991, lamented in a La Época interview the inadequacy of available product, indicating that: "Ambrosio was born out of the necessity to enrich the meager materials for children's theatre in Chile" ("Con 'Ambrosio,' Pequeño Gran Teatro inicia una nueva etapa").[67]

In July 1993, critic Eduardo Guerrero del Rio condemned what he called the "squalid state of children's theatre in Santiago," and praises director Zelig Rosenmann for consistently rising above the unacceptably low standard. Guerrero went on to call the particular play, Mamá, Me Tragué un Avion, "a good opportunity to entertain yourselves and to support this semi-heroic labor of creating children's theatre in our country" ("Teatro").[68] Journalist Yael Zaliasnik, in August of the same year, summarized her thoughts on the problem:

> Much has been said of the crisis of theatre in Chile at the moment, but little of the experiments of a specific genre: children's theatre. And this, like many other problems, is not new. It seemed that, for all of its history, theatre for children has been considered a minor art, many times linked to out-of-work actors or those just starting their career, like a first step, but only transitory. ("Los niños quieren ir al teatro")[69]

Critic Juán Antonio Muñoz, in “Teatro y no bochinche” (“Theatre and Not a Free-For-Fall”) a 1995 opinion piece for El Mercurio, complained, “In Chile, theatre for children is scarce and, generally, bad.” [70] His problems with the situation were not unlike complaints that have been made of children’s theatre in the U.S.—bad production values, actors that shout and perform gymnastic histrionics (“it is hard to find a play where the characters don’t speak in shouts,” he says), painfully shallow plots and dialogue, obviousness of theme, stark and simplistic division between good and evil. He insisted that praiseworthy *teatro infantil* avoids these excesses; good theatre strives for imagination and immediacy. “The theatre in general is valid when it is contemporary and speaks of what is happening; this is what occurs when there is a complete connection with the public.”[71]

What Muñoz calls for in Chile resembles the arguments Weaver makes in favor of TYA. In her dissertation, Weaver insists that productions for children function best when they use the finest artistic means to address the immediate reality and concerns of children in a society. To succeed, and to benefit the audience, practitioners must strive to connect with children. Plays for adults speak to the experience of the adult in the contemporary world; so should theatre for young audiences. She says, “Theatre for young audiences [is] theatre which attempts to empower children with a dramatic reflection of children’s interests and concerns.”[72] Muñoz says, “Good theatre opts to interpret the world, and that does not depend upon the age of the public for

whom it is intended." [73] Finally, he admonishes, "We can ill afford to hope that children will go to the theatre later if their first experiences have not meant something significant in their lives."[74]

Exequiel Lavandero, a Santiago actor and director, laments a decline in the professional theatre following the *golpe* and lasting well into the 1980s:

> We all know that there was a time of glory for the Chilean theatre, but it was lost, and I believe that our actors were complicit in what happened, in the seventies. Now I think that it is rejuvenating. If that's so, the most fundamental thing is to create good theatre and support educational theatre. It is necessary to form the future public, and this is the great task of the universities.[75]

The universities, however, have been largely uninvolved in the practice of *teatro infantil* during recent years. The PUC ended its regular program performances for children at the start of the decade. None of the major universities yet have a significant cadre of classes in theatre with or for children in their core programs, though Eduardo Guerrero del Rio mentioned to me that Universidad Finis Terrae hopes to establish a more significant *teatro infantil* training into their coursework, and Verónica Garcia Huidobro occasionally gives a class in creative dramatics at the PUC. Primarily, independent troupes have taken responsibility for advocacy and development.

The movement and its supporters expend much energy on the competition with televison. Florencia Díaz, in a May 1994 article for La Época, addresses the quandary of the movement. First, she argues why live performance is superior to TV and film:

> In the theatre, kids shout, participate, cry, laugh, and enjoy themselves . . . they are eyewitnesses to the action. It isn't a projection on a screen, where the drawings or characters have only two dimensions . . . They can reach out and touch the actors, and if a child feels the desire to shout, he knows the actors will at least look at him. And as if that weren't enough, theatre (at least for children) is cheaper than the movies.[76] ("Teatro, Panorama Mágico")

She then establishes why live theatre has such trouble competing with movies:

> However, more people take their children to the movies. This has a lot to do with diffusion: Rarely does a play have the opportunity to advertise on television, something typical for film. Announcements for the movies in the daily paper are large and visible, those of the theatre, small and dark (if there are any). The cinema has **far** deeper pockets: it is multinational. The theatre is local, poor, intimate, and small. (emphasis hers)[77]

Her argument here reflects Said's assertions on the nationalist discourse of theatre and its use to combat cultural homogenization. She uses the article to position television as an agent of homogenization: multinational, rich, profit-oriented, and inferior. Theatre, on the other hand, represents cultural specificity; it is poor, but it is local, intimate, and superior.

Díaz goes on to outline the work of several groups dedicated to *teatro infantil*, highlighting their agreement with her belief that the theatre is artistically and culturally superior to film and television. She insists that children and their parents must be encouraged to choose the former over the latter when seeking entertainment. In each case, the director or spokesperson of the group articulates a belief that children are critical to the fate of the professional theatre. Actress/producer Marisol Pérez, of E.C. Producciones, states directly, "Children have to be taught the custom of being theatre spectators,"[78] or they will neither appreciate theatre nor choose to attend when they mature.

That philosophy has become more prevalent in the theatrical climate of recent years, as performers have attempted to re-establish a place for professional performances in Chile, especially for forms that do not appeal to a common social denominator (tragedy, experimental, avant garde, etc). Groups like Taller 71, practicing *teatro infantil* long before the 1980s, added to their mission statements language about contributing to the development of a viewing public for performance ("El Taller 71 presenta teatro infantil").

Remarkably, the rhetoric that has been used across the movement, has been unified and consistent over the years. Newspaper articles reporting about *teatro infantil* continue to mention the campaign to create audiences and justifications for the necessity of the project.

In 1995, La Tercera ran a feature on available performances for children in May that began by stating, "Chileans infrequently go to the theatre, a habit that, like reading, ideally must be inculcated from an early age."[79] The writing makes a centering gesture, locating performed art as essential, on the same level of developmental importance as literacy. It goes on to insist that the theatre is pleasurable, pedagogical, and enriching for children, and encouraging parents to expose their children to art ("Arriba el telón"). A second La Tercera article, this one entitled "Para espectadores del futuro" ("For Spectators of the Future"), begins by stating, "Children's theatre is a delicate labor, because if the child does not like it, he is lost as a spectator, and this is the only manner of forming a theatrical public."[80] In June of the same year, critic Juan Antonio Muñoz H. wrote his forceful editorial for El Mercurio calling for greater care and commitment in mounting productions for children; his comments predict dire consequences for negligence, particularly his admonishment that children will not become adult spectators "if their first experiences with it have not meant something important in their lives" ("Teatro y no Bochinche").[81] La Segunda would ask in a 1996 article on *teatro infantil* in the spring, "What better way is there for children to begin familiarizing and

enjoying themselves with the theatre than taking them, from the time that they are quite small, to productions conceived especially for them?" ("¡Niños, Vamos al Teatro!")[82]

Kerubines

Vasco Moulián and his troupe Los Kerubines have developed an approach that successfully navigates the complex terrain of contemporary *teatro infantil*. The group produces large scale musicals for family audiences using masks and large puppets (the designs of El libro de la selva were inspired by Julie Taymor's Lion King), using a large, open space in the *comuna* of Las Condes. For productions needing an interior setting, they pitch a large tent. Kerubines balances a desire to excel artistically and produce socially responsible material with commercial success. Moulián insists on their need to draw audiences and ensure financial security, without which it is impossible to produce any theatre at all. As a result, they enjoy tremendous popularity in the country as well as critical acclaim and the approval of other *teatro infantil* practitioners. Their first production, the musical Oliver! (1997), was aimed more exclusively at entertainment. With their adaptation of Kipling's El libro de la selva ("The Jungle Book" 1998), they began to explore ecological themes, especially in the songs written into the show ("Vasco Moulian prepara musical"). In Concierto de los pajaros ("Concert of the Birds" 2000), they used a Mapuche legend about the birth of a golden condor, king of the birds. In this production, they emphasized three things: the need to

reclaim indigenous folklore in understanding Chilean identity, ecological problems that threaten the species of the country, and the danger of selfish ambition.

Their first preoccupation, however, is that the audience should enjoy the experience. Moulián says: “I believe that if the child isn’t having fun, he won’t pay attention, and if he doesn’t pay attention, he can’t learn. I think it is fundamental that the child should learn, fundamental to contribute to their education.” His sentiment echoes the philosophy of Monica Echeverría, that the primary responsibility of practitioners is to offer children quality theatre, and that ethical or cognitive material will appropriately and effectively ride on its coattails.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of Kerubines’ methodology, among artists especially, is that they accept corporate sponsorship. Beginning with El libro de la selva and continuing into the present, the group has accepted support from large companies—both Chilean-based and international—and allows corporate logos on the programs and publicity. Moulián, however, displays a very astute understanding of the situation of the arts in Chile, and how to negotiate the line between creative and economic necessity. He described to me three ways of getting funds to produce a show: 1) sell one’s house and use that money, 2) approach the government for FONDART or other funds, and face a very small chance of getting them, or 3) approach businesses.

> I start by knocking on doors of businesses, and I collect resources so that I can mount children's theatre that really merits its audience. It is a children's theatre with resources, not a poor children's theatre, one that has to rely on hand-me-downs, though that can work, too . . . Now businesses start to understand children's theatre as a good business and I start to understand that businesses can be a good sponsor, a partner, not like someone who's doing me a big favor. (1/25/02)

He then states that corporate sponsorship provides a distinct financial advantage, allowing the troupe to maximize resources for purchasing equipment and providing its members livelihood.

The group walks a difficult edge, in that corporate sponsorship, as much as government sponsorship, can definitely influence the kind of material a group feels free (or obligated) to produce. The work of Kerubines, however, is not a capitulation either to corporate ideologies or the demands of the market, for they remain focused on the needs and desires of their audience base. They may be perhaps more attentive to audience tastes than more overtly socially-engaged groups like Teatro Estudio, because they are less invested in influencing the child's intellectual development than on engaging the children in a powerful, playful way, recognizing that cognitive and ethical growth may come out of that as a secondary benefit. As Weaver states,

“Theatre for Young Audiences is an educational experience for its intended audience because the theatrical experience encourages intrinsic learning” (3).

The survival imperative, perhaps more than any other concept in the practice, complicates the practice *teatro infantil,* because like much of the work of building citizens, it moves the significance of the child way from her present self and into an incarnation of their adult future. Moulián and his troupe approach aesthetic concerns from a position that uniquely empowers children, in that it trusts their tastes and responses. Like many of his contemporaries, he believes that both children and *teatro infantil* are ill understood and undervalued within Chilean society. “Works for children are always undervalued, because they say that they lack artistic value. My objective was never to make anything ‘artistic,’ but to make something that children will like, that they will understand, that will move them. And I don’t think people are going to worry about whether or not that is ‘art.’“ (“Menosprecian el teatro infantil”).[83] Ultimately, he states, “Children are the future public of the theatre and they merit, at least, the best effort.”[84] In interviews with the press, Moulian frequently stresses the importance of providing a pleasurable enriching experience to families, and especially to children, so that they will continue to patronize the theatre when they are old enough to make choices for themselves and their own children. He insists that the theatre must be willing to satisfy the tastes of the public: “The theatre is for the people and it has to be created so the greatest number will come;

especially the children, because that is how you succeed in capturing an audience for the future" ("Vasco Moulián dirigirá 'El Libro de la Selva'").[85]

One of the most ardent debates centers on whether appealing to audiences requires a reluctant capitulation to a perceived "lowest common denominator" of taste; Moulián insists that *teatro infantil* must also elevate the tastes of the audience. During the 1980s and 1990s, many practitioners have expanded on the responsibility of *teatro infantil* to foster high aesthetic tastes in the audience. Under the rubric of creating the future spectator this secondary project continues: crafting the artistically critical arbiter of performance, the spectator that will not only want to consume artistic product, but will participate in the creative process by continually raising quality standards for professional performances.

Claudia Guzmán and Rodrigo Miranda interviewed a number of Santiago's respected *teatro infantil* practitioners for an El Mercurio article on the state of the field in 1999 ("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron"). All of these indicated that they felt too many productions rely on clichés and artistically inferior conventions. The article lists a number of "bad"—artistically unfit or irresponsible—practices:

- Sloppy production values (Moulián: "I'll make a few little decorations, paint some freckles on my face, and…ready!")
- Bad acting (hyper-emotional, big gestures, silly poses or prats)

- Unintelligent writing or talking down to the audience ("Hey, kids! Where's the wolf? Is he behind these trees?")
- Cliché in narrative or overused plots (fairy tales)

("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron")

Moulián and Yanko Bakulic of the group Panduro (the 1996 El Principito) both insist that a program must also entertain parents, who are responsible for bringing children. Moulián explains:

> A production should be visually attractive, but children will react to visual stimulus for about ten seconds, and then they are looking the other way. There has to be something more, something that not only gets the attention of children but also introduces something new in the story for adults.[86] ("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron")

According to these practitioners, if children do not see theatre that holds their attention, that is memorable, they will not pursue theatre-watching for personal reasons as adults. Moreover, if the current offerings do not appeal to adults—if they are boring or infantile—they will not encourage their children to pay attention, or worse, they will not bring them, and there will be no opportunity to influence the young. As he explained in our interview, a good production will have a doubly positive impact. It will entice the adult to bring children, and it will give children exposure to the right kind of art: "It must

contribute to their education because children are devoid of information, so there's a responsibility to create good theatre, theatre that the child won't forget, more than for an adult who can discriminate and decide what is good or bad" (1/25/02). [87]

The writers of the El Mercurio article offer similar opinions:

> The principal occupation of these theatre practitioners is that the children today do not see the same theatre that their parents saw at that age. It may be that those experiences are why the adult theatre now lacks an audience.[88] ("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron")

Therefore, responsible children's productions should:

- Hold the interest of parent and child
- Feature quality acting
- Use attractive, colorful, well-made costumes and sets
- Use technical elements, if possible, to add visual allure
- Use fresh narratives, or at least new perspectives on old narratives, and have a well-crafted story or solid premise.

("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron")

When they are exposed to these things, especially in combination with access to creative drama in classroom or community, children will learn to reject performances that do not live up to these standards. Paola Adrasola, also

from Panduro, articulates the goals of thoughtful practitioners with regard to the critical capacity of children:

> We want to break the stereotype of children's theatre. Starting with the tendency to treat children as if they are stupid, believing that they don't think, don't see and don't feel. Children see so much crap, and then after they grow up they don't go to the theatre. Our goal is to forge the spectators of the future.[89] ("El teatro infantil se pego el estiron")

Adrasola's opinions concur with those of the practitioners I interviewed. Without exception, they all indicated that the worst mistake of artists working in *teatro infantil* is to underestimate the intellectual and evaluative abilities of children, to insult their intelligence in performance. This is perhaps the greatest struggle for producers, to gage appropriately the cognitive and behavioral skills of the audience and design a production that engages and challenges without either underestimating or overestimating their abilities.

La Balanza

For Verónica Garcia Huidobro and her group La Balanza, this dilemma is best resolved by first carefully studying the work of developmental specialists (psychologists, educators, doctors) on the skills and limitations of children at various stages, and to aim productions at specific age groups. La Balanza began their work in 1993 with the specific intention of creating

educational theatre. Between 1993 and 1999, they designed and produced four plays, each intended for a different age group. A medio filo ("Single File") was aimed at adolescents, Mitra la Aquimista ("Mitra, the Alchemist") at children ages 7-13, Misterio Violeta ("Violet Mystery") and Jota I:La Hermana Ji ("J-I: Little Sister Ji"), ages 3-6. Each production has had the primary goal of giving children positive playgoing experiences; pedagogical concerns like self-esteem, acceptance of others, solidarity, and defense of the nation's culture ("Espectáculo y pedagogía"). Before each show, Garcia Huidobro mounts the stage to introduce the play, explains basic concepts of production and languages of the stage (depending on the age group), and following the production, descends into the audience with the actors to answer children's questions. During the production of Jota-I that I observed in January 2000, she also instructed children to laugh and applaud if they felt like it, but not to comment or disrupt the performance. She told them that they could ask any question they liked afterward about the performance or about theatre in general. Their stated intention for these combined methods is to "offer children edifying and moral spectacles and ones where the primary pedagogical focus is on artistic excellence" ("Espectáculo y pedagogía"). [90]

The critical and popular response to the plays of La Balanza has been overwhelmingly positive; the consistency and force of their labor bespeaks of their true commitment to enriching the lives of children and improving the overall state of *teatro infantil*. Their methodology also avoids the worst pitfalls

of audience participation by eliminating the practice. On the other hand, their habit of instructing children to restrain their responses emphasizes passivity in the role of the spectator. While their openness to the audience following the shows certainly helps to increase their understanding of theatre, it places the members of La Balanza in the position of unquestioned authority with regard to practice. That is, the answers they give to the children's questions will be positioned as the right ones, rather than as one series of choices within a wider field of options. In fairness to Garcia Huidobro, she also has written a text on creative dramatics that offers children a more active means of approaching performance, but her work with La Balanza in many ways privileges a traditional, middle class, quasi-Victorian approach to spectatorship.

To exercise critical consciousness demands constant examination of the evaluative criteria presented to children as tools to guide their future viewing of performance. The *teatro infantil* artists of Chile insist that it is not enough that children become consumers of theatre; they must be capable of judging the value of a given performance based upon its artistic quality, of determining whether a play is worthy to be consumed and thereby improving the overall fitness of available product. The question implicit in this process, then, is *how* are determinations made with regard to what constitutes quality and what does not? These decisions cannot be free from ideological underpinnings, as social values do have a hand in determining aesthetic

tastes. Critical consciousness and artistic responsibility, therefore, require that producers introducing evaluative criteria to children ought to question what determines their own tastes, and what it means to pass those tastes on to the next generation.

For example, the critically acclaimed play La Princesa Panchita has since its premiere in 1963 been considered a landmark in the history of Chilean *teatro infantil.* It contains well-written dialogue, an appealing story, solid narrative framework, and strove in its initial production for quality in design and acting. It continues to be a popular and frequent feature of the *teatro infantil* repertory in the country. The play, however, contains a number of stereotypes and social constructs considered unacceptable by modern standards. Panchita is a lovely but passive female who must be rescued from a loveless marriage by her well-born and handsome but poor lover.[91] Her family has a clever but completely subservient servant in Chela, the fairy that only uses her powers on behalf of her aristocratic masters. In a society where a relatively small percentage of the population still controls the bulk of economic resources, and where social class still sharply divides different sectors, the norms perpetuated by Panchita might not be as harmless as they seem.

New plays also require that reflexivity. The Cía. Bototo Azul production of Madre Tierra (Mother Earth, 2000) provides an example of a moral ambiguity unexplored by the producers. In the scene where an adult

character smokes a large, cartoonish cigarette near a group of playing children, an audience member puts out the cigarette (and threw away the butt, so as not to litter). Following his act, the characters asked the rest of the children to verbalize the inappropriate behavior they had witnessed. When most replied, “smoking,” the adult actors corrected them, stressing that the inappropriate behavior had not been smoking *per se* but the character’s choice to do so near children. This reflects a widespread Chilean attitude towards cigarette smoking, which privileges the social and physical appeal of the habit over potential health concerns. A significant percentage of the adult (and adolescent) population smokes, aware of the health risks but inclined consider them overstated in spite of medical and public anti-smoking campaigns. The actors avoided the larger issue, perhaps because many parents in the audience smoke (as they themselves might), and subsequently demonstrating to the children that smoking would be acceptable for them once they have matured.

In addition to such evasions and redirections, performers often undermine their own efforts to engage children in participation during performances. In April of 2001, I saw a play entitled Loca tv, ¿Qué quieres de mi esta vez? (“Crazy TV, What Do You Want From Me This Time?”). The protagonist was a little girl who watched too much TV. A character from her favorite children’s book, a mouse, came to life to save her from a “TV witch” that wanted to control children by addicting them to insipid programs. At the

end of this performance, when the mouse defeated the witch and the witch repented, the performers turned to the audience and asked whether to forgive her. Many of the children shouted, “no,” and said that they did not believe she would really mend her ways. The actors ignored these children and quickly re-christened the witch a “hada de cuentos” (“Storybook Fairy”).

During our interview a few days later, they asked me for my opinion on the show and that particular performance. Though I was always hesitant to offer detailed criticism (and I was often asked), for fear of giving offense, I finally replied that I thought they had done the children a disservice at the end. When pressed to elaborate, I explained that they had solicited advice from the audience, but had ignored the children who gave “wrong” answers. While I understood their desire to promote forgiveness, and to facilitate an end to the performance, to dismiss children who had concerns about the character was to affirm indirectly their powerless position. Not only had the producers missed a chance to help children evaluate their own feelings and the benefits of forgiveness, they effectively confirmed for many of the young audience members that their own opinions did not matter. There was an expected response, and they were required to give it if they wanted to be recognized. While the intentions of the producers were good—encouraging children to read and use their imaginations instead of “vegging out” on television—their behavior intellectually marginalized and disempowered the audience they had intended to help.

Figure 5-Loca tv,¿Qué quieres de me esta vez?

Of course, what makes Chile and its *teatro infantil* appropriate for examining the questions of practice and pedagogy within the social framework is not the number or degree of its failures or successes, but its continual efforts to create artistically viable and socially useful product while attempting to ensure its own survival. The movement has throughout its history worked to negotiate solutions to the issues that confront the nation in the current socio-political moment. Practitioners who strove to promote conflict resolution and non-violence in the increasingly bitter and turbulent years of the 1980s, frequently found subtle ways to deal with problems of social justice and division, and continue in the 1990s to endeavor to maintain

artistic integrity while dealing with important current problems like ecological and environmental conservation. In that regard, it becomes a model by which the same problems may be raised in the children's theatre of other societies. The goals and the problems in other Western societies are often similar. Chile is a good model because the social background against which *teatro infantil* has been set has often encountered high-stakes conflict, experienced stark social and political divisions, and experienced clearly identifiable problems. In addition, for all that producers have continually lamented the secondary status of the genre that serves an abandoned population of spectators, *teatro infantil* had a unique opportunity to participate from a privileged position during the late 1970s and early to mid-1980s. The issues and questions that the genre has addressed are made clearer, more discernable, because they are boldly painted and highly illumined by Chile's social history.

Conclusion

The last decade has been a period of substantial growth and development for the discipline of *teatro infantil*. The number and variety of performances have increased exponentially, in spite of profession-wide difficulties in drawing audiences for both child- and adult-oriented productions. Even in the midst of perceived crises in which practitioners worry about flagging quality, limited resources, and competition from television, film, and

computers, the genre has remained committed to both artistic and socially engaged agendas.

With the return of democratic governance, the movement has become increasingly preoccupied with providing Chilean children alternatives to the problematic ideologies and behaviors of their parents' generation. Performances emphasize the need to promote unity and reconciliation between different individuals and groups, to sponsor habits of sharing and community concern that will better the living conditions of all levels of society, and to protect and rehabilitate the damaged natural environment for the sake of human health and ecosystem balance. More traditional values messages have also continued to be addressed, including the need for personal care and hygiene, strong study habits, and building a high moral character. The comprehensive goal of these diverse educational agendas is to foster the growth of active, concerned, prepared Chilean citizens to guarantee the continued well-being of the nation into the foreseeable future.

During the latter part of the 20th century, beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the present, the paradigm of aesthetic education has developed into a project about the creation of desire, of teaching the child audience to enjoy attending theatrical events, to guarantee their continued consumption of theatrical product as financially and culturally participating adults. It is an imperative of survival for the art form that motivates this effort, which producers couch in ethical terms. The creation of desire, however,

complicates the nation-building process as it attempts to integrate, and sometimes conflicts, with the process of educating children in the duties of citizenship. The need to survive can at times determine form and content, and frequently influences practitioners to alter or ignore subjects that might offend the sensibilities of parents and educators who exercise the purchasing power, and whose goodwill must be cultivated if children are have the exposure to performance necessary to secure their loyalty as consumers. .

Chapter 5
Conclusion: *Teatro Infantil* Moves into the New Millenium

In justifying his argument for critical pedagogy in classroom drama, Doyle draws from Tony Jackson, quoting: "Any good theatre will also be educational—i.e., when it initiates or extends a questioning process in its audience, when it makes us look again, freshly, at the world, its institutions and conventions and at our place in that world" (qtd. 60). For Doyle, the ideal place for that examination to occur is the classroom. For the practitioners of *teatro infantil*, it is the stage. In the time that I have spent immersed in the children's theatre of Chile, I have come to see how vital most practitioners consider the educational role of the professional theatre to be, and simultaneously, how many different ways that citizenship has been—and continues to be—constructed by these adults in their labors with young audiences.

As I have discussed over the course of this study, the cause of nation-building has continually marked and complicated the creation of productions, chiefly because the ideologies on which the culture are founded have been continually and hotly contested over the development of the movement. The notion of nation is not fixed; as Bhabha laid out, nation-building is a process, and a messy one at that. Yet it remains an important facet of performances done with and for children in Chile, because the young have traditionally carried such symbolic weight as future decision makers. The child narrator in

Oscar Jara Azocar's "Soy el Futuro de Chile" articulates eloquently the vision. "I am not history, I am the future; but I take mighty inspiration from the memory of those who wrote it with their lives and now look to us as the firm hope of the country" (83). His statement underscores the emotional investment that producers have in child audiences as the "hope of the country." They, as the future, will be responsible for changing or maintaining the work of those who have already invested their lives in the process of shaping the nation. Children must therefore be shaped into citizens and patriots now, while they are unformed and malleable. For the adherents of differing ideologies that have vied for control of the culture, who have seen themselves and their leaders as the ones attempting to write history with their lives (and all of the sacrifice that implies), children are the only safeguard against the death of their achievements in the future.

A major issue in this analysis has been the perceived malleability of children and how the effort to shape them influences performance practices at different points in the history of the *teatro infantil* movement. That perception of the audience is ultimately what makes children's theatre (or TYA, respecting Weaver's careful distinction) so suitable a field in which to conduct a cultural study—in Chile or elsewhere. It seems an unlikely place to find such rich information on political and social debate; that is precisely the reason that *teatro infantil* was "safe" during the years of Pinochet's regime. Doyle, however, insists that it is rife with socio-political influences: "Art is a social

product produced inside the lived reality. A critical sociology of the arts reveals that there are many extra-aesthetic elements involved in aesthetics education. The principal message is for us to realize that art is not above social and political consideration" (23). Social and political considerations are truly central to the practice and the study of performances for the young. By uncovering and analyzing these considerations, I have sought to make visible the cultural sifting process in which theatre participates—the privileging of given norms, acceptance and rejection of opposing values, class divisions and relationships, and economic practices/systems. Along the way, I have participated in a sifting process of my own.

In conducting this analysis, I have approached pedagogy and citizenship within *teatro infantil* as a gender-neutral project. Though it has not been possible historically for nation-building to be free of gender considerations, I avoided digging deeper into issues like those I raised with Princesa Panchita in Chapter Two. Certainly male and female roles are often at the center of nationalist discourses; in Chile gender also has profound cultural implications, and both masculinity and femininity have certain responsibilities and meanings attached to them. I have limited my research, however, to those values-oriented messages applicable to both boys and girls over the development of the movement. It was important to the discussion to do so, as the general concepts of citizenship and cultural responsibility related to *teatro infantil* are applicable to all members of the nation. Another

scholar interested in interrogating gender roles in Chilean theatre might consider looking at *teatro infantil*; it would be worthwhile to examine how performance couches citizenship in terms of gender roles for the Chilean boy and girl, especially as a number of performances in the last decade have gone about disrupting traditional beliefs about those roles.

Another topic I had to set aside as separate but related is the notion of identity, *Chilenidad* (Chilean-ness). Claudio Pueller especially is interested in the need to define and discuss cultural identity with children through theatre; his productions Pedro Urdemales and El Herrero y la Muerte (both based on Latin American folktales), attempted in immediate ways to deal with Chilean heritage and self-definition. This topic also has promise for an independent project. Cultural identity, after all, is woven into nationalist discourse and, as Said discusses at length in Culture and Imperialism, heritage and local custom often become a means through which foreign, invading, or opposing ideologies can be contested. Chile is a difficult place to apply Said's approach, however, as the warring discourses in its history have more often been between various factions within the nation rather than an outside colonizing culture and a resisting indigenous group or groups.[1] I have considered more urgently significant the various attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs that go into definitions of citizenship for the purpose of steering social and political directions within the country.

As I discussed in Chapter One, practitioners at the beginning of the independent *teatro infantil* movement sought the means to progress beyond the two greatest limitations of the form: the marginalization of child audiences and performances intended for them (as evidenced by the occasional and superficial nature of such productions), and the heavy-handed didacticism of classroom plays that limited, rather than encouraged, creative development. In a sense, the work of these practitioners has been to elevate the social status of the child by placing more value on her as an audience member. Nevertheless, this project has always been couched in the rhetoric of education. The articulated goals consistently emphasized the need to assist in the cultural work of child-rearing by contributing to social, intellectual, and emotional development. Most important, the collective agreement within the field has been that all of these efforts need be grounded in a professional framework, through the best staging possible.

At his or her best moments, the artist/educator meets or exceeds Echeverría's original vision for the practice: well-executed productions that combine genuine commitment to artistic vision grounded in the needs of the audience with an ethical or social proposition that allows the child to consider the information and arrive at his own conclusions. The 2002 Kerubines production Planetas most clearly demonstrates the issues confronting *teatro infantil* at this moment, and strikes a good balance in the often inharmonious meeting between pedagogy, aestheticism, and commercial success.

Planetas

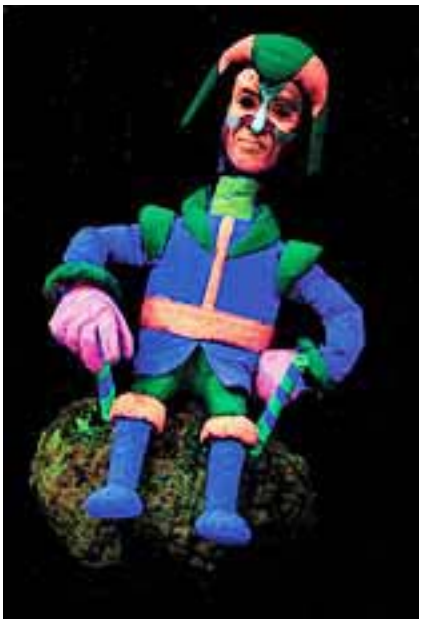

Figure 6-One of Rosario's Two Guides in Planetas

In Planetas ("Planets"), Kerubines' latest effort, the narrative follows the adventures of a hot-tempered little girl named Rosario. In the opening moments, during a particularly explosive temper tantrum over not being allowed to watch television (her parents say her cartoons are too violent), Rosario launches herself into outer space. Once there, she meets two asteroid-riding aliens—one dressed as a Native American, the other as a spaceman. Though they try to advise her about the importance of keeping her temper, she throws another tantrum, and wakes the equally ill-tempered Marte ("Mars") from his long slumber. Having unleashed the uncontrollable Marte on her solar system, which he intends to conquer and enslave, Rosario must find a way to defeat him. Her guides introduce her to the other planets,

in order, describing basic factual information about each one as the play progresses. In spite of their resolve to work together, Marte succeeds in trapping Rosario and the Earth's Moon (with whom he is infatuated). At last, Rey Sol (King Sun) intervenes. Proud of the planets' willingness to work together, and pitying Rosario for getting in over her head, he frees the captives. Rey Sol sends Marte back into his enchanted slumber, restores order, and returns Rosario to her home, where she swears that she has learned to manage her temper.

Planetas used a style reminiscent of the Prague Black Theatre, with a large darkened space, black lights, and phosphorescent paint to produce luminously colorful costumes and the magical illusion that characters and props float in midair. This was particularly appropriate to the narrative, as it occurred in outer space, and a combination of puppetry and masks made Rosario and her friends look startlingly convincing (if stylized), especially the celestial bodies. The music, performed live by rock musicians, played continually and drove the rhythm and pace of the production. It also helped the actors/puppeteers, for timing is essential to the illusion of black light performance. Planetas received resoundingly positive reviews—Juán Antonio Muñoz called it "entertaining and visually impeccable" ("Otro éxito de Moulián")—and public popularity; 11,000 people had seen it when it closed in February 2002.

This production also covered several of the major pedagogical issues addressed in this study. It modeled the consequences of bad comportment and advised children to manage their own tempers and obey their parents; it presented in a creative fashion basic scientific information about each planet and its place in the solar system; and it modeled community spirit and cooperation in the willingness of each planet to give help for the common good. Other social issues made momentary appearances; when Rosario met Tierra ("Earth"), the planet talked with love and sorrow about her "children" and their wars and pollution. One of Rosario's asteroid-guides spoke disparagingly of Tierra's people, commenting with disgust that they try to destroy themselves and her. Tierra insisted that her children are good at heart, and will outgrow their destructiveness.

All of these are key social concerns of children's performance. Chapter Two pinpointed plays in the 1980s that addressed the child's duty to parents and behavioral standards, and others that presented examples of unified collective action as the most effective defense of a common enemy. These resonate in this production through the preoccupation with Rosario's conduct and its consequences and the volunteerism of the other planets in the face of danger. The presentation of factual information, stimulating cognitive understanding of our solar system, followed precedents from both the 1980s and 1990s such as Jugando con el cuerpo and ¡Mamá, me tragué un avión!. El Mercurio reviewer Flavia Radrigán praised the production for "successfully

acquainting children with topics traditionally considered too dry for young minds, like the naked explanation of the horrors of war or the Big Bang theory, on top of introducing each planet in a simple and charming way" ("Planetas").[2]

The play's inciting incident hinges upon her infatuation with television, and the negative impact that its violence has on her personality; since the start of the 1990s, the movement has committed itself to combating the perceived ill effects of such programs. Chapter Four outlined the contest between *teatro infantil* and television and movies over the loyalty and attention of audiences, and explored the rhetoric of educators and practitioners struggling to influence parents to limit their children's exposure to "unhealthy" mediums. Planetas overtly challenged the suitability of TV programs for child consumption, and subtly offered itself as a healthier alternative. While Rosario did not vow to attend the theatre instead watching cartoons (she did not even promise to avoid the television), the presence of parents and children at the performances carried an implicit sense of superiority of live performance. After all, if the families were present in the audience, they were clearly choosing theatre over television at that moment, since they could not simultaneously do both.

To say that Kerubines has definitively resolved the difficult proposition of how to best practice *teatro infantil* would be misleading. Planetas has done many things well. Like the productions favored by Weaver, it values and is

valuable to children in their present state of being by appealing to their tastes and addressing problems that they are likely to encounter in their own lives: learning to control one's temper, conflicts with parents, the lure of television, and getting into situations outside of one's own experience and coping mechanisms. It represents an artistic achievement, carefully designed and skillfully executed, lovely to look at, and pleasurable to experience. The production also reflects tremendous financial and public success for the group; they were able to spend 80 million pesos (over $120,000) to purchase the tent and mount the production, and drew 11,000 spectators over three months.[3] Yet there were numerous limitations. The pace, intended to keep the attention of smaller children, frequently moved so quickly that the dialogue could not be digested; thus, their educational content, especially the scientific details about the planets, could not be well absorbed. When I asked Moulián about it, he acknowledged that it was a trade-off, but that ultimately, the constant movement was more necessary than transmitting all of the "factoids," because if the children did not stay engaged, then they would learn nothing. Logistically, ticket prices were more expensive than many children's shows (about 3000 pesos, where most are 1500), making the production less accessible to poorer families. El Mercurio sponsored some free performances through their "Club Timón" children's program, but the price and the distance of the site from Santiago Centro put the production out of reach for some sectors of the populace.

The problem of economic barriers to access, as well as the potentially disruptive demands of sponsors, have led many of Moulián's professional peers to criticize the work of Kerubines. These individuals reject the notion that performance can responsibly partner with corporations. Other artists reject the notion that *teatro infantil*, or any theatre at all, can thrive in the free market. Hernán Lacalle looks to another approach as the best hope for theatre:

> I hope that good theatre will win over bad theatre. The hope is that theatre will be protected and can compete freely in society, that we don't have to start to censor our content or think before we create about will this sell or not. I believe this effervescence of capitalism in Latin America is false, that it doesn't suit us, that is isn't effective. (4/25/01)

Lacalle believes that government sponsorship ought to protect the theatre from the potential ravages of the free market. Certainly, there is truth in his statement that Chilean practitioners must often question whether or not their product will "sell."

That is the very heart of the concern that dominates the rhetoric of survival in the movement. Within the discipline of theatre, there exists a deep-seated fear of the capacity of professional performance to compete with other forms of entertainment. The effort to train children both as consumers and monitors of artistic product stems from a basic desire for self-preservation

within the discipline; *teatro infantil* has therefore been positioned as a lobbyist, and charged with the responsibility of guaranteeing the ability of the theatre to "compete freely" in perpetuity. In addition to the original social and ethical duties of the movement established during the 1960s and 1970s, practitioners are now responsible for intervening in the development of children to influence their desires and preferences. I contest, however, his assumption that commercialism is the only threat to the artistic and civil liberties of dramatic arts. State-sponsored performances often must obey the demands of another body—the ideological engine that commissions it, as Pinochet's government proved. In addition, his comment that "good theatre" must win over "bad theatre," masks a kind of elitist assumption about theatre and capitalism. Specifically, he implies that the general public lacks taste and intelligence, and left to determine its own preferences without the paternalistic guidance of the artist/expert, will invariably make inferior choices.

Moulián, though he has quite successfully managed to construct and run his company as a private enterprise, also admits the limitations of solely commercial theatre. In an interview with El Mercurio, he especially laments the difficulties of negotiating corporate sponsorship. Many businesses, he explains, have asked him to make their product or mascot a character in the production. "I would never make that concession for any reason," he insists. "It would destroy all respect for the theatre, the public, and the product. I have to make them understand that if that happened, I wouldn't be doing them any

real favors" ("Vasco Moulián estrena el montaje mas caro de su carrera teatral").[4] Moulián has also expressed to me the hope that FONDART, the central government source for arts funding, will begin to designate money specifically for children's theatre, in addition to those groups that produce independently.

Doyle hopes that theatre will help children hone critical skills that will produce a better society and people better prepared to steer it. For that to occur, educators and arts practitioners must continually interrogate the integrity of their own assumptions, as these channel into pedagogy. In speaking about his practice, Moulián articulates a sense of respect for the intellectual capacity of children, and the need to guide them carefully in their efforts to interpret the world. Like his predecessors and mentors in the movement, he believes in the utility of theatre for broaching social and ethical topics with children, and hopes to see greater attention paid to it, especially by the Chilean government:

> I am hopeful . . . that the government will understand that the child . . . can also ask questions in a presidential debate, that he can be a journalist, that the child has concerns, that the child wants to know what is happening with the war in Pakistan [sic][5], wants to know what happened with those towers that fell . . . The child should be better informed, and we should be more preoccupied with children's problems in every aspect.[6]

Clearly, he believes children should be directly involved in the nation-building process, instead of passively accepting citizenship training in preparation for their adulthood. He also sees the government as the organization best situated to support children's theatre and education, and most responsible for social pedagogy. What Moulián does not add, and perhaps does not recognize, is that any government also brings a discrete set of ideological intentions to their support of the arts. Chapter Three addressed that problem extensively, as *teatro infantil* patronage by the military regime repeatedly sought to solidify their control, promote conservative beliefs, and encourage passive acceptance of their authority.

In the first chapter, I insisted that *teatro infantil* in Chile reflects both the specific situation of the country that created it and the general problems of creating performance for children in this increasingly connected global context. The history of Chile, and the character of its citizens, is unique; theatre for children has responded to the specific demands of the cultural context, and corresponded to the events of the moment in which it has occurred. For that reason, I have found it a useful lens through which to view the process of shaping that nation, and a satisfying location from which to seek a better understanding of that culture. I also indicated my desire that this study should serve as a model for similar projects in other cultures, as pedagogical performances for young people occur in many countries. Each has its own history, its own drama of competing ideologies, and a nation-

building process that reflects and reveals the character of its specific culture. Certainly other nations regard their children as significant potential contributors to the direction of the nation, and consequently work to educate them thoroughly with regard to their responsibilities to nation and culture.

As I arrive at the end of this study, I find myself tempted to believe that uncovering the nation-building process and analyzing pedagogy is enough, and that as a cultural outsider I ought not make qualitative criticisms about the success or effectiveness of the artistic/educational practice. Yet as I have reported over the course of this analysis, there exists a profound dissatisfaction among producers and commentators of *teatro infantil* that the practice is not "good enough" the way that it is. That feeling has been in evidence from the beginning of the movement, when Echeverría first rejected early performances as "true" *teatro infantil*, and persists in the efforts of today's producers to create "the spectator of the future." For that reason, I am willing to invoke again the admonitions of both Clar Doyle and Bronwyn Weaver. To succeed pedagogically, socially, and artistically in the practice of theatre for children, the audience must be valued and respected as the people they are, not the people they will be. The subject matter ought to correspond to their current interests and reality, enabling them to engage and relate. Practitioners must carefully examine the ideologies and assumptions that they bring to the performance, so that they are conscious of the values that they transmit. Artists and educators must also allow children the freedom

to respond personally to the material, and guide them to reach their own informed conclusions. Under those conditions, *teatro infantil* practitioners need not worry about the future loyalty of their audience nor their development as citizens, for children respond and flourish when they are genuinely respected and responsibly taught. In Chile, artists are already working out those issues and coming to those conclusions. It is my profound hope that their work of nation-building and artistic success will prove fruitful beyond their expectations. *Que les vayan bien.*

Chapter One Notes

1 The term *teatro infantil* in Chile applies to performances intended for audiences younger than adolescence. It translates directly to mean "infant theatre." However, *infantil* is an adjective describing the age group from birth to pre-adolescence. Thus, *teatro infantil* means children's theatre. Many practitioners in the United States and Europe consider the term "children's theatre" outmoded and prefer "Theatre for Young Audiences." However, I intend to use direct translations whenever possible, as I believe that they will more faithfully represent the understandings and attitudes of Chilean practitioners and educators. When necessary, I will explain unfamiliar terms and suggest equivalent words from U.S. and European vocabulary connected to the field of children and theatre. I will address the genre-specific terminology ("children's theatre," "educational theatre," etc.) of the Chilean movement and this project in the literature review section concerning children's theatre.

2 Chile's colonial period lasted roughly from 1540-1817 (Hickman 18-20).

3 *Chingana* has no direct translation, and is related to the profane term *chingar* in Spanish. It refers to an irreverent, informal, and humorous performance style in popular venues such as cafes and bars.

4 Bravo-Elizondo's study focuses on nitrate miners in the north of Chile, but indicates that such theatrical groups formed all over the country.

5 Among the groups created by the universities' projects were Teatro Aleph, Teatro ICTUS, and Taller de Creación Teatral, all major participants in the socialist movement of the '60s and its corresponding interventionist theatre.

6 Here meaning intellectual awareness and artistic appreciation. The term "culture" in Chile, as in the United States, can be used interchangeably to mean the identifying characteristics of the society ("culture" in a sociological sense) and to indicate an individual or group's intellectual and artistic awareness, as above, i.e. "to have (or lack) culture" (*tener cultura*).

7 This project evokes the teaching of culture in both senses of the word, in that they were aiming to promote the intellectual and aesthetic understanding and consumption of various arts, and to instruct the people in recognizing the characteristics of their identity as a nation.

8 Versényi offers a good discussion of how Boal's and Freire's ideas played out in Latin American theatrical practice in the chapter "Liberation Theology and Liberation Theatre" (159-165) in Theatre in Latin America.

9 Like *chingana*, the terms *zarzuela* and *sainete* do not have direct translations into English. They refer to distinct popular genres imported to the New World from Spain. These often featured pastoral settings, traditional music and dancing, and standard type characters in humorous or romantic situations.

10 "El teatro infantil señala con estas obras una notaria evolución y marca una tendencia renovadora de largo aliento que servirá-esperamos-como una motivación a otros actores, pedagogos y dramaturgos para que, a través de él, eduquen artísticamente a las nuevas generaciones."

11 "Hay varios puntos importantes: primero, son nuestros futuros espectadores, el darles a conocer el teatro de tan pequeñito…"

12 "Les queda claro se requiere de música, de vestuario, de diseño, que todo un equipo humano trabaja para llegar a realizar un montaje."

13 And elsewhere. Said primarily discusses the problem in Eastern countries like India.

Chapter 2 Notes

1 "Hasta fines del siglo XIX los niños eran considerados partícipes de las manifestaciones artístico-culturales y religiosas, y no obstante es sólo a comienzos del siglo XX cuando empieza a confirmarse una orientación más claro de la índole y de la función del teatro para niños.

2 “…la literature infantil es un documento testimonial de la historia y estas piezas de efemérides patrióticas para niños nos arrojan pistas de mucho valor sociológico.”

3 Maria de la Luz Hurtado offers a detailed analysis of these forms and their place within that historical moment in Teatro chileno: identitad y crisis social (1997).

4 A detailed analysis of these texts and this period is outside the scope of this project; it would constitute too lengthy a departure from my primary inquiry. I believe, however, such a project pursued independently would produce a fascinating article or thesis.

5 ". . .porque el niño es una materia plástica, desprovista de sentido crítico que le permita analizar lo bueno y lo malo. En estas condiciones, las impresiones recibidas, sin ser bien definitivas, se grabarán, en una medida imposible de prever, a formarse un juicio errado de la vida o a desarrollar los malos instintos latentes en todo ser humano."

6 "Porque el niño es tan capaz de cruel ferocidad como de gran bondad y justicia. Le gusta sentir miedo, lo que lo impulsa a reclamar situaciones fuertes y trágicas. Le gusta ver que el lobo se come a la abuelita de Caperucita Roja, pero reclama luego imperiosamente un castigo para él."

7 "¿Sería mucho pedir que el Estado se interesara en costear a la infancia una distracción sana y susceptible, además de levantar juiciosamente el nivel intellectual del pueblo?"

8 "La educación de un pueblo debe empezar por la base; la buena semilla siempre fecunda buenos frutos, y si los espíritus se alimentan al igual que los cuerpos, puede esperarse que cuando eso pequeñitos que recibieron una buena educación espiritual, lleguen a la plenitud, sean hombres de verdad, capaces de afrontar todos las problemas que su patria requiere. Esos niños, fortalecidos desde pequeños con una educación completa, serán grandes ciudadanos y resistirán los escollos que la vida les presente, porque espiritualmente están fortalecidos.”

9 "a que los niños de Chile se cuenten con espectáculos apropiados, que les inculque desde chico el verdadero sentido de arte, del bien y de la belleza."

10 This is less true in recent years than in earlier phases of the movement's growth, for the popularity and volume of productions have increased dramatically. Many practitioners, however, still feel that their work does not get an adequate amount of support from within the field or attention from the media.

11 "Es la década del sesenta la que trae la total renovación del teatro infantil…"

12 "No soy parte de la historia, pero soy el futuro de mi patria. No la conozco aún en sus detalles, pero más tarde, cuando sea grande, será también más grande y efectivo mi anhelo de servirla. Porque, debe ser esta promesa verdera nacida del fervor del corazón, en fechas como esta, en que rendimos homenajear a aquellos próceres que escribieron sus páginas brillantes, laureadas, inmortales. Porque no se honra a los héroes con sólo la evocación y la lectura de sus hazañas, sino imitando sus acciones, sintiendo el resplandor de sus ideas, aplicando al presente sus nobles enseñanzas, comprendiendo día a día el valor de su legado inapreciable, cultivando su ejemplo de abnegación con que nos precedieron en esta incomparable tierra nuestra."

13 "Mientras estudio, bajo el techo amoroso de mi hogar y de mi escuela, sueño en la prosperidad y ventura de mi tierra. No soy la historia; soy el futuro; pero de ella tengo ya la inspiración fortalecida por el recuerdo de aquellos que la escribieron con su vida y que hoy nos miran como la firme esperanza de la patria."

14. "…espectáculos convencionales, montados sin ninguna seriedad artística, no marcan el comienzo de éste género."

15 "El verdadero teatro infantil, original, serio e imaginativo…"

16 "…con lenguaje y situaciones propias nuestras, con música inspirada en nuestro folklore…"

17 “A este estreno y su montaje se debe que el teatro chileno saliera de su mediocridad chata y se lanzara en el campo creativo.”

18 “Ya hay una concepción más elaborada y artística de teatro para niños. Ha creación de decorados y vestuarios concebidos en forma más profesional, considerando el montaje con la misma dedicación y esmero como si se tratara de una representación para adultos.”

19 “Ya no bastan las fáciles improvisaciones o las adaptaciones rápidas de cuentos clásicos. Se hace necesario un texto original con un argumento atrayente y personajes definidos y nuevos integrados en una buena estructura teatral.”

20 Díaz is best known for his absurdist plays critiquing the Chilean social and economic situation, including El cepillo de dientes (“The Toothbrush”), Requiem para un girasol (“Requiem for a Sunflower”), and El lugar donde se mueren los mamíferos (“The Place Where Mammals Die”).

21 Morel would also produce ¡Hagamos títeres!, an important publication among puppeteers and educators using puppets with children.

22 “Nunca antes el teatro había tenido tanto auge como en estos tiempos. Ahora no se trata sólo de montar un espectáculo para entretener a la gente, con obras digestivas. Ellas deben tener un contenido, mostrar una realidad o denunciar un hecho. El teatro es el principal auxiliar de la historia en estos tiempos.”

23 “Nuestros objetivos son claros. Además de entretener, tratamos de dar a conocer el teatro, pues es un arte desconocido para el público menudo.”

24 It was true that many professors and students, especially at the Universidad de Chile, were active in the reforms instituted by the Allende administration, and did align themselves intellectually and politically with various Left-wing organizations.

25 “Es así como algunos espectáculos culturales igualmente obvios, pero ideológicamente neutros (si es que hay tal, nosotros creemos que no lo hay en definitivo) son clasificados por el régimen de culturales ni

tanto que otros espectáculos culturales igualmente obvios, pero ideológicamente críticos, son clasificados de comerciales."

26 A number of playwrights, actors, and directors did manage to produce works that reflected and commented on the situation of the country even in the face of incredible opposition and repression. Grinor Rojo, Catherine Boyle, Maria de la Luz Hurtado, George Woodyard and Leon F. Lyday all chronicle the efforts of these theatre artists to reflect and resist their reality.

27 Rojo indicates that the PUC program survived in part because its focus was already on classical theatre, and had produced few plays dealing with the socio-political reality of the 1960s and early '70s.

28 ". . .que promueve los auténticos valores cristianos del hombre de hoy."

29 It reflects Muñoz's comment about the early taste of Chileans for "things French." This privileging of European art was part of a general belief on the part of many people that European culture and products were superior to those produced within Chile. In interviews I conducted, *teatro infantil* and puppetry practitioners lamented that this continues to be so. A 1999 article in El Mercurio, "Chile: colonia teatral Francesa?" ("Chile: A Theatrical Colony of France?") makes the argument that Chile is still deeply enamored with and influenced by France.

30 "Un elenco importantísimo está a cargo de la representación . . ."

31 El Fantasmita Pluft, a script by Cuban writer María Clara Machado, has been popular with *teatro infantil* producers in Chile and has appeared in the repertory on many occasions in both professional and amateur circles. I will return to this play in Chapter 3 to address its elements of values pedagogy.

32 "En el primer lugar se debe partir con absoluta claridad que la actividad teatral para niños es un elemento educativo formidable. Desde el punto de vista infantil, el teatro estimula el desarrollo psicofísico del niño. Todas las obras que hacemos son de participación, en que, a través de diversos elementos en la trama del

cuento, se entregan valores morales, se ayuda a estimular los sentidos y se contribuye a incentivar al niño en su desarrollo."

33 "…creo positivo quitar elementos peligrosos. Ya se han comprobado resultados trágicos en la televisión. No me convence mucho que a la Caperucita la saquen del estómago de su abuelita. Este tipo de situaciones, nosotros las cambiamos."

Quiroga is criticizing the violence of television programs in this statement, but does not give any examples of which programs she considers objectionable.

34 "En este sentido tenemos cuidado hasta con el vocabulario que utilizamos. Tratamos permanentemente de inculcar en los diálogos, el estímulo al consumo de leche, de inculcar hábitos de limpieza, de orden, de estudio. En fin, nos preocupa que el niño siga siendo niño; evitamos agrandarlo antes de tiempo. El niño necesita su niñez."

35 ". . .desde luego no deja de lado su responsabilidad en el plano de la docenia de estudiantes de enseñanza básica, a los que preparan ya por dos años."

36 "Texto positivo, en su estructura y planteamiento moral; canciones con contenido, personajes atractivos, colores y fantasía y buen uso de recursos mecánicos…"

37 ". . .por promover la actividad teatral entre los niños."

Chapter 3 Notes

1 "Yo pienso que los que se han liberado de eso, han hecho teatro muy bueno los que se liberan de decir al niño hay que enseñarle y ha que hacerle participar y uno se libera de eso como prejuicio hace que el teatro sea libre y sea mucho más honesto."

2 "…este teatro debe presentar una disyuntiva moral de fácil comprensión, que produzca en el niño una reacción capaz de hacerlo razonar…"

3 "Es decir, el niño, necesita libertad para establecer juicios. No hay que darle ideas hechas. Presentarle el Bien, el Mal, la Belleza y la Fealdad de manera que su inteligencia pueda descubrirlas mediante un

proceso de crítica personal lo lleva a aceptar lo bueno y rechazar lo malo.”

4 Durante was a professional Chilean actress known for her stage work in the adult theatre.

5 “El buen teatro infantil debe ser un arma tácita contra la violencia, la agresividad, la delincuencia, el mal gusto y debe propender a ensalzar la belleza, la magia, la poesía y el juego. Por eso, una obra para ellos debe llevar implícita una carga de emoción, acción y contenido de paz y fraternidad.”

6 "Internal exile" refers to the practice of forcing individuals to leave the metropolitan region of the capital city and move to distant provinces where their opportunities for influence and activism would be limited.

7 "…ese dinero lo repartiremos entre todo los necesitados del pueblo, haremos pavimentar las calles, pondremos luz eléctrica, construiremos escuelas, miles de cosas…"

8 ANACLETO: Ah, ah. El que más da, más recibe. Eso me huele a moraleja.

VOZ: Y es la moraleja de este cuento.

ANACLETO: Y la moraleja ¿no es una frasecita que va al final de los cuentos?

VOZ: Así es Anacleto.

ANACLETO: Entonces, ¿se acabó este cuento?

VOZ: Así es Anacleto.

9 "la historia de un anciano, avaro y egoísta, que cambia de actitud frente a los demás, cuando descubre que puede hacer el bien si es generoso."

A second production of the play followed in 1989, this time by the group El Teatro Callejero de Feria. This production offered a different aesthetic approach, but marketed itself on the same moral elements, as indicated by a Las Últimas Noticias announcement.

10 “Al final, triunfa la solidaridad, el egoísmo deja paso al amor y los solitarios grillos se dan cuenta que el solo hecho de compartir, les trae la alegría que nunca disfrutaron.”

11 “Los niños llegan a su casa y comentan lo que vieron. Y eso es muy importante para la comunicación entre padre e hijos. Nuestro objetivo es ayudar en la reafirmación de valores como el amor, la solidaridad, la amistad y la paz. Pensamos que el teatro Sur Oeste tiene que seguir entregando esos mensajes.”

12 "es una simpática e ingeniosa historia de piratas y fantasmas, con hermosas canciones que pueden ser seguidas y cantadas por los niños asistentes. Se resaltan calores universales como el amor, la bondad y la amistad."

13 "una tierna lección para los terrores de los niños de todos los tiempos."

14 “Nuestro objetivo es convocar al núcleo familiar a escuchar el cuento, para producir una comunicación con la obra.”

15 “preguntaban a sus padres qué quería decir esto o por qué pasaba aquello. Inmediatamente los pequeños, y los adultos, empatizaban con El Principito.”

16 A beach town in the metropolitan region, Viña is the twin city to commercial center Valparaiso. As many Chileans vacate Santiago in the summer month of February in order to spend time at the beach, Viña would be an appropriate place to premiere a summer show. Performers might even be more likely to attract family audiences there in February than in Santiago.

17 “Un niño que se cuestiona muchas cosas y que quiere ser escuchado.”

18 “Considerando la importancia que tiene en el desarrollo de los niños y el redescubrimiento de aquellos valores que nosotros, como adultos, a veces olvidamos.”

19 “La obra…no solo pretende formar al futuro espectador de teatro sino también contribuir a la formación personal de los niños.

20 “La sociedad de consumo utiliza al niño para meterle mensajes que no aportan nada a su formación como persona. Pensamos que el teatro puede tener tanta llegada como la television, pero en un sentido más positivo.”

21 “muestran a profesores y alumnos las posibilidades para usar la creatividad y la imaginación en el desarrollo de la vida escolar.” The statement appears to be part of a press release as it appears verbatim in announcements printed by La Época on 30 April 1988, El Mercurio on 30 April 1988, Las Últimas Noticias on 2 May 1988, and La Nación on 7 May 1988.

22 At the time of this collaboration, the original Argentine production of Jugando con el cuerpo was celebrating its eleventh consecutive year of professional production in Buenos Aires. A Bolivian version of the play was under negotiation as the Santiago, Chile production opened.

23 ”Se habla de los músculos, del cerebro, los sentidos…todo lo cual me significó un estudio detallado del cuerpo. A través de juegos y canciones, constantemente va enseñando y, sin darles cuenta, los niños aprenden todo lo necesario sobre el cuerpo humano.”

24 “…no todo está perdido y que los niños son los únicos que pueden salvar la ciudad, limpiándola con una bolsa y una canción.”

25 ”a través del cuento, los niños aprenden a ser limpios, ordenados y cooperadores; pues la famosa pandilla está preocupada de la ecología, en un ambiente musical y alegre.”

26 “Este equipo artístico garantiza un sano y entretenido momento de diversión con su montaje”

27 Hickman indicates that the voter turnout was 97% of the registered population. He does not indicate whether the missing 1 % indicates voters who abstained from a choice, a margin of error, or other undisclosed option.

28 “un granito de arena al problema ecológico y del medio ambiente que sufren las grandes y pequeños ciudades del país.”

29 “Deseamos motivar al rescate de las semillas de la creación que permiten al mundo y al hombre preservar la naturaleza.”

30 “Esperamos que los niños y sus padres nos acompañen en un grito que se multuplique en la conciencia de cada ser humano para luchar contra la contaminación y comprendamos juntos que no debemos recubrir las vestimentas originales del mundo con trajes plásticos”

31 “para incentivar a los pequeños en buenas acciones.”

32 Other university programs were operating at the time of the creation of the Teatro Itinerante, but the PUC theatre was the only one with an uninterrupted production history and a formal relationship with the government.

33 There is no translation for the word “Chinchinero.” It refers to a street performer who wears an apparatus that allows him to dance and play a group of percussion instruments. It looks a bit like a “one-man-band” outfit, but requires considerable athleticism.

34 “una tierna y mágica historia infantil donde el bien y el amor verdadero siempre triunfan.”

35 “permitir de que mayor cantidad de gente de escasos recursos acceda a las manifestaciones de arte, de la cultura en buenas condiciones y digamos con dignidad.”

36 “Estamos absolutamente conscientes de que es un sector abandonado, de la misma manera que comprendemos que, preocupándonos de ellos, estamos formando el futuro espectador de la puesta en escena. Eso son los objetivos principales de ‘Saltalauchas’.”

37 “Al referirnos a “público de teatro” pensamos en las personas capaces de ir más allá del mínimo grado de esfuerzo y concentración que exigen ciertos medios de entretención. Para asistir al teatro hay que empezar por reservar una localidad, movilarse el día de la función, preocupándose de llegar con anticipación y concentrarse respetuosamente y en silencio durante dos horas o más.”

38 “Los adultos interesados en someterse a este ritual para asistir a una representación artística no se generan de un día para otro: han sido educados en un ambiente con inquietudes culturales y desde niños se les ha despertado la curiosidad y luego el interés por la representación dramática.

Por estas razones, el Departamento de Extensión Cultural del Ministerio de Educación se siente con compromiso de colaborar con los establecimientos educacionales en la labor de preparar al público del futuro.”

39 "Estos detalles que el público menudo se merece para aprender a apreciar, desde muy pequeños, las mejores perspectivas de un espectáculo moderno…"

40 “Sergio Valero, en su afán de darles a los niños el máximo de arte possible, y consciente de que los pequeños que actualmente asisten a las diferentes expresiones del arte, como música, teatro, danza, etc., serán el público artístico de mañana…”

41 “Creemos que es la mejor forma de formar un futuro público para este arte.”

Chapter 4 Notes

1 A presidential term in Chile lasts four years, and the office is not eligible for consecutive re-election.

2 “El fenómeno de crecimiento del teatro infantil surge con los directores egresados de las universidades en el año 80. Hay un vuelto al teatro para niños porque era un género poco molestado para la dictadura. . .casi ni había elección: teatro clásico o teatro infantil.”

3 “se potencia lo lúdico, lo corporal, el gesto. La música cobra mucha fuerza. Se experimenta con técnicas provenientes de las artes audiovisuales y también se recurre al video-clip. Por esos años, en los grupos no era bien visto hablar mucho en escena. Había que decirlo todo con la imagen. . .Cree que en los ’90 recuperan el sentido expresivo del texto porque nos dimos cuenta que queríamos decir cosas, y para ello, la imagen no basta. Es importante el contenido, surgen otras urgencias. El teatro para niños toma esa ruta y se buscan autores.’ ”

4 “Tiene la posibilidad de fantasía, de asertividad, de ruptura, de desafío a los códigos del teatro más para adultos. Se da la magia, el ilusionismo, la acrobacia, en fin…Nosotros en Chile estamos recién dándole la importancia que merece. Por eso queremos profesionalizarnos, elevar el nivel.”

5 “Agrega que este tipo de certamen promueve valores éticos, estimula la solidaridad, refleja la noble conciencia de nuestros maestros y refleja la característica nacional de expresarse en metáforas, material prima de la poesía.”

6 “Muchas e interesantes novedades para los piques y lolos implementará Ocarin en su nueva etapa y de acuerdo a la situación de transición a la democracia que vive el país. Además de los talleres de arte y creación dramática, podrán participar en diferentes alternativas científicas, humanista, sociales y deportivas: “Pequeños genios,” “Defensa del medio ambiente,” “Niños por la paz,” “Herencia viva y otras iniciativas.”

7 My own experience in Chile also bears this out. Most people were not eager to discuss the years of dictatorship in detail, and all expressed horror at the violence on both sides during those years. Many—especially my friends in the arts—expressed dissatisfaction that Pinochet and others had not been tried and punished, yet most people were outraged at his arrest in England. The political affairs of Chile, they insisted, ought to be the business of Chile and no other nation had the right to determine justice for Chile. They read it as an imperialist gesture.

8 "un magnífico rescate y reencuentro de los valores más profundos y esenciales del hombre, como el amor, la solidaridad y el respeto."

9 A esta lección moralizadora se agrega otra que apela a la secuencia necesaria para alcanzar esa armonía y paz: pensar, sentir y actuar.”

10 “…contar la historia de tres personajes que nacen inocentes y se ven enfrentados al egoísmo y a la lucha de los poderes. Pese a todo, logran triunfar sobre la deshumanización con alegría y solidaridad.”

11 "Considerando a Chile como un país marcado por la intolerancia…"

12 “Quedé bastante contento con la respuesta del público y creo que a la gente le llegó el mensaje sincero que entrega El Principito.”

13 "…uno de los proyectos culturales de mayor envergadura realizados hasta el momento en el país."

14 "El deseo de los realizadores es transformar al Principito en 'el' personaje de 1995, entregando a la comunidad una obra de arte de impecable realización, que signifique un verdadero aporte al patrimonio cultural."

15 "Un niño venido de otro mundo, que resulta ser un viaje hacia el conocimiento del amor, la amistad, la muerte y los grandes males que aquejan al hombre, para entregar un mensaje que ayude a crear lazos entre los hombres, tolerancia y respeto por las diferencias."

16 "Que no renuncies a saber, a averiguar, a preguntar."

17 "una generación de niños que es bombardeada por los medios electrónicos"

18 "Acá hay un intento por rescatar los valores que el autor hace emerger, como la importancia de la amistad, la lealtad y la fidelidad. Y también está esa critica que él hace a los hombres de negocios y a otros personajes arquetípico de la sociedad."

19 "Cada encuentro es una ventana hacia el poder, la vanidad y el sinsentido que inunda la existencia humana."

20 Víctor Hugo Romo does not specify what kind of differences they have in mind. A number of conflicts troubled the waters at that time. Tensions within and between right and left wing groups had complicated the 1993 presidential election, vast economic gaps still existed between the wealthiest and poorest sectors, and indigenous populations were organizing to protest their treatment. Pinochet's entrenchment in the military leadership rankled his detractors, while his supporters resented the constant criticisms to which he was subject. All of these things certainly contributed to an atmosphere of tension and intolerance.

21 "Yo pienso que los valores más universales, que la Literatura Universal los tiene casi todos: la generosidad, el hecho de compartir, el hecho de no agredir la libertad."

22 "Lo que hacemos no es transmitir a través del teatro valores personales sino más bien valores universales."

23 "Un montaje que habla de la miseria y la tristeza. Y donde su director, Hernán Lacalle, enfatiza la temática de la solidaridad y de la fraternidad."

24 Initially and briefly, the group called themselves "Los perdidos," but has used the name La Batería for more than five years at this point.

25 "El valor cultural, información espiritual, información cognitiva, información desarrollo del códigos diferentes del lenguaje también diferente e inmediato, eso y la alegría del espectador infantil; el espectador infantil es muy alegre, el adulto, no. El espectador infantil no emite un juicio anterior, es decir, no es prejuicioso, entonces el valor que se plantea en este trabajo es fundamentalmente formativo, educativo, recreativo, eso."

26 "Por un lado no vemos aquí seres que se comportan mal porque sí; cada uno de ellos tiene que sobrevivir y actúa de acuerdo a su instinto. Sin embargo se aportan datos y detalles que permiten que cada uno desenvuelva bien su vida sin molestar al del lado."

27 "Los pequeños establecerán sus relaciones con el mundo adulto y observarán sus problemas de una manera simple."

28 "Entendemos el teatro como un instrumento de formación social: por lo tanto, creemos que es fundamental nuestro rol en el desarrollo del estimulo de la imaginación del niño. Queremos colaborar en la formación de un ser con valores y creencias firmes, que posea una amplia visión cultural y social."

29 "…buscando una relativa participación de los niños…con el objeto de incorporarlos en una historias de padres e hijos, de separaciones, de amigos imaginarios."

30 "La representación tiene un espíritu ecológico y, a través de las diferentes escenas, entrega conceptos y mensajes para cuidar y proteger nuestro medioambiente."

31 The format of the Teatro Itinerante changed in the late 1980s, so that tours were conducted by groups selected from the northern and southern regions rather than a central, Santiago-based unit. That format would change again in the mid-1990s.

32 "un tema que…debe anidar hoy en las mentes infantiles para que, en el futuro, aflore en defensa y conservación de la naturaleza."

33 "El objetivo es contrastar los ambientes de los cuales provienen los personajes, para que el espectador (infantil) pueda captar la diferencia entre los valores."

34 The current president, Ricardo Lagos, is a long-time member of Chile's Socialist Party.

35 I was surprised to learn that, despite their cultural focus on family relationships, many Chilean couples put their children in childcare from infancy so that both adults can work outside of the home. When I asked why, friends would tell me that most middle and upper class families want a second car, a beach house, or other desirable but non-essential property. For this, both adults must earn an income. Additionally, many families of moderate income employ a domestic servant, a woman who cooks, cleans, and watches the children on a daily basis. This is a cultural norm, and for a family not to employ day help implies real financial hardship; it is at least undesirable, if not gauche, for the couple to perform those duties themselves.

36 "Titiloco, después de este cúmulo de experiencias, regresará al circo, su hogar, entendiendo que su principal tarea en la vida es divertir a grandes y pequeños, 'porque la risa refresca el alma.'"

37 "además de hacer reír y entretener a los niños, los hará comprender la importancia de cuidar el medio ambiente y de cultivar el amor, la bondad y la sencillez."

38 "En cada uno, la aventura será diferente, aprendiendo lo que significa el consumismo, en qué se ha transformado el aire limpio, a lo que

conduce la guerra y la dominación, más el miedo a crecer y desarrollarse.”

39 “el dramaturgo no sólo nos está mostrando un mundo con sus valores y contravalores, sino que realiza una crítica a los dogmatismos, a la contaminación, al consumismo.”

40 “Insectini trata de ayudar y convencer al pequeño de que mantenga el equilibrio y siga sano.”

41 “La idea es presentar al público una aventura donde estén involucrados elementos para conocer su cuerpo, además de que se entretengan. Por eso es que es una pieza para todo espectador, no solo para niños, porque lo que ellos no puedan entender, lo van a suplir con la diversión…y hay hasta romance. Y los adultos, o los niños más grandes, podrán asimilar el mensaje con respecto a la salud. Para que venga toda la familia.”

42 "reivindicar la lectura en los niños, demostrándoles que los cuentos clásicos son una puerta abierta para nuestra imaginación."

43 “Antonio y su madre, desde una mirada sencilla y honesta, pondrán en duda los valores y mitos de una sociedad competitiva y materialista."

44 "…les da una verdadera lección de humilidad a sus eventuales antagonistas, a través de una canción que un especie de moraleja final ('cada uno es quien es')."

45 "Pero, poco a poco, logra adaptarse al ambiente, sobreponiéndose a desaliento, gracias a su capacidad a diferenciar lo lícito de lo ilícito. Y en medio de todo los conflictos que vive, descubre la verdadera amistad."

46 "Nos interesa que el niño se arraigue en su entorno y aquí entran, por ejemplo, las relaciones laborales, la dificultad de adaptarse, la injusticia, la crueldad. Todo lo cual forma parte del entorno del niño y se los replanteamos en una historia donde pueden participar."

47 “…está desenfocada porque tiene un matiz nacionalista y se limita a que niños y jóvenes clasifiquen objetos, stresando a profesores y

alumnos. Cuanto más compleja es la sociedad la escuela pasa a ser considerada solo un a guardería.”

48 “Primero: capacidad para sumir pautas y normas sociales, valores y análisis de situaciones; proporcionar la necesaria elasticidad y expresividad emotiva; desarrollar la creatividad y en quinto lugar, clasificar objetos del mundo.”

49 "…la idea del respeto y la tolerancia que debe existir entre todos para construir un mundo mejor."

50 "la lucha de egoísmos en la gran ciudad" and "enseñanzas para la formación de buenas cualidades en los pequeños."

51 "…esta creación busca fomentar en los niños la capacidad de soñar, y de paso, hacerlos reflexionar sobre el consumismo y materialismo del mundo actual."

52 "Todavía creen en la bondad, en el respeto a los compromisos, que los fanfarrones son negativos…Y no en la desvalorización mercantil de las cosas."

53 “Al niño actual ya no le basta con los cuentos clásicos. Ellos están inmersos en una sociedad cada día mas compleja y así es válido que el teatro, como un elemento de comunicación, le entregue al pequeño una respuesta a sus inquietudes.”

54 The pamphlet from which I draw this information has several distinct lists of children’s rights, covering civil, political, economic, social, and cultural considerations. The festival for that year seems to have limited itself to the list of Civil Rights and Freedoms, though there are only 9 rights listed on the pamphlet and website. Perhaps the festival compiled its own list of rights choosing from the UNICEF lists. There is no information in the available media to support this theory.

55 “La búsqueda de un teatro infantil adecuado a las necesidades del público de hoy.”

56 “Remedo de niños. Malas imitaciones que muestran a estúpidos infantes. Obviedades en temas y personajes. Canciones ridículas y añejas. Elementos valoricos que más que educar y formar, dañan.”

57 “Un *enemigo* del teatro—sobre todo del infantil—es la televisión. Con sus programas *educativos* atrae a los mas pequeños como un imán y ayuda a la *comodidad* de los padres.”

58 “El campo del teatro infantil es poco explotado; sobre todo por la comodidad de los padres. Es más fácil sentar al niño delante del televisor que ir a comprar entradas, y pegarse la lata de ver con él esas obras.”

59 “El teatro infantil juega un rol muy significativo en la estimulación de la creatividad de los niños, pues rescata su capacidad imaginativa y lúdica, la que se ha visto opacada por la tecnología de los juegos actuales, que ha ido limitando la heterogénea potencialidad de los niños.”

60 “…elevar el nivel de teatro para niños en Chile y permitir el contracto entre los distintos profesionales que participan en esta actividad, evaluándolo desde el punto de vista artístico y pedagógico.”

61 "…promover y desarrollar un teatro profesional y responsable para la infancia…demonstra que el teatro para niños está a la par con el teatro para adultos y que éste es una alternativa de entretención, aprendizaje y encuentro familiar."

62 "…los más pequeños podrán disfrutar y aprender, a través de una muestra de títeres, la importancia de los valores como amistad y el amor."

63 Following the return of democratic elections, many in the discipline of theatre in Chile entered a state of crisis, primarily because many artists found themselves without inspiration. During the 1980s, much creative energy had gone into opposing the military regime and campaigning for a “No” vote in the 1988 plebescite. Troupes returning from exile also discovered that their audiences had disappeared, and other forms of entertainment had risen to present serious competition for audiences.

64 “La idea era darles armas a estos profesores para ir generando una actividad cultural que desde dentro de la escuela se proyecte hacia el conjunto de la comunidad.”

65 “todo un horizonte innovador en materia educativa, que no sólo será útil para el desarrollo personal de los alumnos, sino que los acercará de una vez y para siempre a esa gran expresión artística que es el teatro, haciéndolos espectadores y amantes de una forma de cultura para toda la vida.

66 “formamos el público de las próximas generaciones.”

67 Ambrosio nació de la necesidad de enriquecer el escaso material de teatro infantil que hay en Chile.

68 “Es un Buena oportunidad de entretenerse y apoyar esta labor casi heroica de hacer teatro infantil en nuestro país.”

69 “Mucho se habla de la crisis que vive hoy el teatro en Chile, pero poco de la que experimenta un género específico, el infantil. Y éste, como muchos otros problemas, no es algo Nuevo. Pareciera que a lo largo de su historia, el teatro para niños ha sido considerado como un arte menor, muchas veces vinculado con quienes no tienen trabajo o con los actors que recién empiezan, como una etapa inicial, pero transitoria.”

70 “En Chile, el teatro para niños es escaso y, generalmente, malo.”

71 “El teatro en general tiene validez si es contemporáneo y si habla de lo que sucede; es entonces cuando la conexión con el público se produce de manera cabal.”

72 Weaver makes an important differentiation between what she labels “children’s theatre” and “Theatre for Young Audiences.” I will address her opinion on the differences and how they connect to *teatro infantil* in Chapter 5.

73 “El buen teatro opta por interpretaciones de mundo, y esto no depende de la edad del público al que está dirigido.”

74 “Finalmente, mal podremos pretender que los menores vayan más tarde al teatro si sus primeras aproximaciones a él no han significado algo importante en sus vidas.”

75 "Todos sabemos que hubo un período de gloria para el teatro chileno, pero éste se fue perdiendo y creo que los mismos actores cooperaron en lo que sucediera, en los años setenta. Ahora siento que renace. Si eso es así, lo fundamental es hacer buen teatro y dar auge al teatro educacional. Hay que formar al futuro público y en eso las universidades tienen una gran labor."

76 “En el teatro, los *cabros chicos* gritan, se mueven, participan, lloran, se ríen y la gozan. Es que en el teatro son testigos presenciales de la acción. No están de una trama, cuyos dibujos o personajes solo viven en dos dimensiones. El teatro está “vivo”: las cosas están pasando ahí, en el mismo lugar y momento. La obra no es nunca la misma y sus protagonistas están en tres dimensiones. Incluso se les puede pellizcar y tocar, y si el niño de pronto tiene el impulso de gritar, por lo menos se darán vuelta a mirarlo.

77 “Sin embargo, la gente lleva más a sus niños al cine. Esto tiene que ver en gran medida con la difusión: rara es la vez que una obra de teatro tiene la posibilidad de anunciarse en televisión, cosa que para una película es habitual. Los anuncios de los cines en diarios y revistas son grandes y vistosos; los de teatro, pequeños y opacos (si hay). El cine mueve *muuuchos* más recursos: es multinacional. El teatro es criollo, pobretón, íntimo y no masivo.”

78 “los niños hay que crearles la costumbre de ser espectadores de teatro…”

79 “Los chilenos vamos poco al teatro, un hábito que, al igual que la lectura, lo ideal es que sea inculcado desde temprana edad.” La Tercera would include statements almost identical to this in *teatro infantil* articles in 1996, as well.

80 “El teatro infantil es una labor delicada, porque si al niño no le gusta, se pierde como espectador, y esa es la única manera de formar público de teatro.”

81 “Mal podremos pretender que los menores vayan más tarde al teatro si sus primeras aproximaciones a él no han significado algo importante en sus vidas.”

82 “Que mejor para los pequeños comiencen a familiarizarse y disfrutar con el teatro que llevarlos desde muy pequeños a obras pensadas especialmente para ellos?”

83 “Los trabajos infantiles siempre son menospreciados, porque dicen que carecen de sustancia artística. Mi objetivo nunca fue hacer algo artístico,’ sino hacer algo que a los niños le guste, lo entiendan, que se emocionen. Y si es artístico o no lo deduzca la gente se preocupa de eso.”

84 “Los niños son el futuro del teatro y merecen, por lo tanto, el mejor esfuerzo.”

85 “…el teatro es para la gente y hay que hacer que vaya la mejor cantidad; en especial los niños , porque así logras cautivar un público a futuro.”

86 “Un espectáculo puede ser visualmente atractivo, pero los niños reaccionan a la visualidad durante diez segundos y después ya están mirando para el otro lado. Siempre tiene que haber algo más. Algo que llame al atención no solo de los niños sino que también le entregue algo Nuevo de la historia a los adultos.”

87 "Es fundamental contribuir a la educación e los niños porque están muy desprovistos, están muy libre de información, entonces la responsabilidad que uno tiene al hacer buen teatro o teatro que el niño no se olvide, es mayor que la de una persona adulta puede discriminar y e puede decir eso es bueno o es malo, el niño no toma la decisión él por lo general de ir al teatro, es una obligación más, en muchos casos, el papá le dice vamos al teatro."

88 “La principal preocupación de estos teatristas es que los niños de hoy no vean el mismo teatro que vieron sus padres a su edad. Coinciden en que ahí puede estar la razón de por qué falta publico para el teatro adulto.

89 “Queremos romper el estereotipo de teatro infantil. Empezando por dejar de tratar de estúpidos a los niños y creer que no piensan, no ven y no sienten. Los niños ven tantas porquerías que después cuando crecen no van al teatro. Nuestra meta es forjar los espectadores del futuro.”

90 “estar frente a espectáculos edificantes y moralizantes, y donde lo que prima es la función didáctica por sobre la excelencia artística.”

91 Female roles are currently hotly contested in Chile right now, especially by young women. During my visit, I attended a party with a group of young adults who discovered that I was married, but traveling alone. The young men asked why my husband would allow me to do so; I replied that it was not in his authority to prevent me. The young women replied by exclaiming that they envied me, that “when a woman marries here, her life is over!”

Chapter 6 Notes

1 Even the conflict between the Spanish and Chilean colonists that birthed the republic cannot be categorized along Said’s distinctions, for most of the resisting population were themselves immigrants and mestizos. The indigenous tribes of Chile, though never fully conquered by the Spanish, did not participate extensively in the revolution. In fact, they later clashed with (and lost to) the Republican army.

2 “. . . logran acercar a los pequeños a algo que parece demasiado árido para la mente infantil, como la explicación desnuda sobre los horrores de la guerra, o la teoría del big-bang, además de presentar a cada planeta de un modo sencillo y gracioso.”

3 They were also able to offer a benefit performance for the ailing son of a Santiago actor.

4 “Ése tipo de concesión no la haría or ningún motivo. Se perdería todo el respeto frente el teatro, frente a la gente o frente al producto. Ahí tengo que hacerles entender que si eso pasara, les haría un flaco favor.”

5 I believe that Moulián meant Afghanistan.

6 “Estoy esperanzado que…el Fondart destine latas específicas al trabajo infantil, que el gobierno entienda que el niño . . .quede también estar en un debate presidencial preguntando, que el niño puede ser un periodista, que el niño tiene inquietudes, que el niño quiere saber que

pasa en la Guerra en Pakistán, el niño quiere saber que pasó con unas torres que se cayeron . . .el niño debe estar mejor informado…y debemos tener una preocupación mayor frente a la problemática infantil en todo aspecto y ese es mi sueño y esperanza.”

Appendix I

Sample Interview Questions:

1. Please describe your group—particularly its goals, philosophy, history, and preferred techniques.

2. What, in your opinion, is the importance of doing children's theatre?

3. What is the current state of children's theatre in Chile?

4. What would be the ideal situation for children's theatre as an art form in Chile?

5. How has the practice of children's theatre changed during different periods of Chile's history?

6. What influence does children's theatre have in Chilean society, if any? What influence could it/should it have?

7. How can children's theatre be useful to its audience? To the community?

8. What is your opinion of the use of theatre for educational purposes?

9. What errors do practitioners make in creating performances for young people?

10. What are the most appropriate methods for doing children's theatre? What are the most successful methods?

11. What are your hopes for the future of children's theatre, and for your own work?

Appendix II
Observation Questions for Productions
(Guidelines for Note-taking)

1. Describe production values (lighting, costume, set, etc.). Do they provide any immediate information about the nature of the production?

2. Describe the basic dramatic construct for the production.

3. What themes or messages become apparent as the play progresses? What does the production try to communicate to the audience? Are there obvious lessons or ideals that come across?

4. If pedagogy is present, how does the production transmit messages to the audience? What dialogue? What symbols? What scenarios? Do they seek to engage the children emotionally or intellectually in the discourse or ask them to accept/affirm/challenge certain precepts?

5. How do performers communicate with the audience? Is there audience participation? Do they maintain the fourth wall? Do they physically or verbally interact with the audience?

6. How do children respond to the action on stage? Do they pay attention? Do they reply to performers? Do they accept the dramatic premises offered them? Do they engage with the topics or questions presented?

7. Where does the focus of the production lie? On aesthetics and an engaging story? On didactic messages? On challenging children to consider difficult issues or addressing specific concerns? Does the show seem geared to entertain or to teach? Does it try to accomplish both?

8. What does the production have in common with others that I have seen? Where does it differ?

9. Are there any “identifiers” in the production or corresponding materials (program, dramaturgical displays, posters, etc.) that communicate important information about the group? Are there any indicators about goals, affiliations, background? Are they funded or sponsored?

10. Where does the production occur? What might that indicate about the intended audience? Are these working class children? Children of white-collar professionals? Children in an area with high illiteracy/lower educational standards? Wealthy or privileged families? Mixed group?

Bibliography:

Books, Plays, and Journal Articles:

Aguirre, Isadora. Don Anacleto Avaro. In Cinco obras en un acto. Cuadernos de Teatro 6, Santiago: Departamento de Extension Cultural del Ministerio de Educación, September 1982. 42-60.

Bennett, Susan. Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Bhabha, Homi K. Nation and Narration. London: Routledge, 1990.

Boyle, Catherine M. Chilean Theater, 1973-1985: Marginality, Power, Selfhood. Toronto: Associated University Press, 1992.

Bravo-Elizondo, Pedro. Cultura y teatro obrero en Chile, 1900-1930 (Norte Grande). Madrid: Ediciones Michay, 1986.

Campbell, Margaret. The Development of the National Theatre in Chile to 1842. Gainesville, Fl: U of Florida P, 1958.

Canepa Guzman, Mario. El teatro en Chile: desde los indios hasta los teatros universitarios. Santiago, Chile: Arancibia Hermanos, 1966.

Courtney, Richard. Dictionary of Developmental Drama. Landham, MD: University P of America, 1986.

Dorfman, Ariel. Heading South, Looking North: A Bilingual Journey. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998.

Doyle, Clar. Raising Curtains on Education. Westport, Conneticut: Bergen & Garvey, 1993.

Echeverría, Mónica. “El teatro infantil.” Apuntes 55 (December 1965): 2-11.

El mundo es un pañuelo. By Jorge Díaz. Cía. Cataplum. La Reina Centro de Cultura, Santiago, Chile, January 2002.

Fernández, Teodosio. El teatro chileno contemporaneo (1941-1973). Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1982.

Garcia-Huidobro, Veronica. Manual de Pedagogía teatral. Santiago, Chile: Los Andes, 1996.

Gené, Juan Carlos. “El herrero y la muerte: Del como y porque de este pieza.” Apuntes 59 (June 1966): 1-5.

Hickman, John. News from the End of the Earth: A Portrait of Chile. New York: Saint Martin’s P, 1998.

Hurtado, Maria de La Luz. “Chile.” The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre. New York: Routledge, 1994.

----------. Memorias Teatrales: El Teatro de la Universidad Católica en su Cincuentenario 1978-1993. Santiago, Chile: Apuntes, 1993.

----------. Teatro chileno y modernidad: identidad y crisis social. Irvine, California: Gestos, 1997.

Jara Azocar, Oscar. Chile: Dramatizaciones de su historia Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cultura, 1961.

Kruger, Loren. The National Stage: Theatrical and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America. Chigago: U Chicago P, 1992.

Lasseaux, Marcel." En Viaje March 1950: 76-77.

Loca tv, ¿Qué quieres de mi esta vez? Cía. Cuentacuentoscortos. Centro de Cultura Montecarmelo, April 2001.

Madre Tierra. Cía. El Rostro. La Reina Centro de Cultural, Santiago, Chile, January 2000.

Mason, Jeffrey D. and J. Ellen Gainor, eds. Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theatre. Ann Arbor, Michigan: U of Michigan P, 1999.

May, Charles Paul. Chile: Progress on Trial. Camden, NJ: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1968.

Machado, María Clara. El fantasmita Pluft. In Cuadernos de Teatro 10, Santiago, Chile: Departamento de Extensión Cultural del Ministerio de Educación, January 1985. 33-49.

McPharlin, Paul. The Puppet Theatre in America: A History. New York: Harper Brothers, 1949.

Morgan, Patricia. "Teatro para niños," En Viaje November 1952: 81.

Mulato Ñunque, Antonio. Escenario: Selección de las mejores obras de teatro infantil. Temuco, Chile: Imprenta San Francisco, 1959.

Peña Muñoz, Manuel. "Sintesis historical de teatro infantil en Chile." Cuadernos de teatro 3, February 1981. 5-10.

Pereira Salas, Eugenio. El teatro en Santiago del nuevo extremo 1709-1809. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta universitaria, 1941.

Perrin, Celina. Teatro infantil: Las interpretaciones, dramatizaciones y representaciones teatrales infantiles. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Orbe, 1933.

Planetas. Los Kerubines. Carpa Kerubines Las Condes, Santiago, Chile, 23 January 2002.

Rojas, Luis Emilio. Desde las aulas: poesía y teatro infantil. Santiago, Chile: Artes y Cultura, n.d.

Rojo, Grinor. Muerte y resurreción del teatro Chileno 1973-1983. Madrid: Ediciones Michay, 1985.

Said, Edward W. Culture and Imperialism. New York: Vintage, 1993.

Sotoconil, Ruben. Teatro Escolar. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Los Andes, 1993.

Swortzell, Lowell. “History as Drama/Drama as History: The Case for Historical Reconstruction as a Research Paradigm.” Researching Drama and Arts Education: Paradigms and Possibilities. Philip Taylor, ed. Washington, DC: Falmer, 1996, 96-103.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child. UNICEF, 1999.

Uribe, Rebeca. "Desde la antigua Grecia los niños participaban en espectaculos publicos." Cuadernos de teatro 3, February 1981. 15-18.

Versényi, Adam. Theatre In Latin America: Religion, Politics, and Culture from Cortés to the 1980s. New York: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Videlia M., Horacio. “Una dramaturgia de la escena: Reportaje de El Sueño de Clara.” Apuntes 108 (Spring 1994-Summer 1995): 3-4.

Watson, Ian and Susan Epstein. “Theatre After the Dictatorships: Developments in Chile and Argentina,” New Theatre Quarterly 11 (February 1995): 40-54.

Woods, Leigh. “American Vaudeville, American Empire” in Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theatre. Jeffrey D. Mason and J. Ellen Gainor, eds., Ann Arbor, Michigan: U of Michigan P, 1999.

Woodson, Stephani Etheridge. “Underlying Constructs in the Development and Institutionalizing of the Child Drama Field.” Youth Theatre Journal 12 (1998):1-9 .

Yrarrázaval D., Paz. “El teatro infantil: un nuevo proyecto de extensión teatral UC.” Apuntes 90 (November 1983): 65-67.

Archived Newspaper Articles:

“4 obras estrenará la compañia U.C.” (El pájaro azúl and Los niños que no podían ser niños). La Nación 29 January 1985, Carpeta 1985, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“11 jornadas de teatro infantil.” La Tercera 10 January 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“A defender la naturaleza llama ‘El árbol y la bruja’.” La Época 4 November 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“A los Derechos del Niño Dedican Festival de Teatro.” El Mercurio 8 January 1991, Carpeta 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Abren Sala en Bellavista.” (Ambrosio). El Mercurio 30 October 1991, Carpeta 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Actores jóvenes tras 'El Principito.' " La Tercera 12 April 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Al rescate de aire limpio." (La pandilla del arco iris). El Mercurio 7 August 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Algo huele mal' muestra el grupo Pirale en el Goethe." La Época 8 July 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Algo huele mal', en el Instituto Goethe." Las Últimas Noticias 30 July 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Alicia Quiroga: de actriz a directora." La Patria 14 December 1973, Carpeta 1965-1973, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Anacleto Avaro' al Galpón." Las Últimas Noticias 15 May 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Arriba el telón." La Tercera 21 May 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Batuta para niños en Ñuñoa." Fortín Mapocho 11 January 1991, Carpeta 1991, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

"Bibliobus y teatro infantil." La Tercera 13 January 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Bizama F., Lilian. "Debe haber un cambio politico en educación en Latinoamérica." La Nación 29 April 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Brujita rockera para los niños." (Abracadabra pata de cabra). Las Últimas Noticias 14 April 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Brujitas buenas en Teatro para Niños." (Abracadabra pata de cabra). El Mercurio 14 April 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Burgos, Beatriz. “Dramatizar sin Perder el Don de Ser Niños.” El Mercurio 20 August 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Carvajal Q., Rigoberto. “A. Frank: Lola Judía Radicada en Chile.” El Mercurio 15 August 1982, Carpeta 1982, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro Santiago, Chile.

--------. " 'Momo' contra los hombres de gris." La Nación 29 April 1999, Carpeta 1999, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Cerda, Patricia. "Acercando el teatro a las aulas." La Nación 24 April 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Chocolate concert", comunicación directa." La Época 14 February 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Comedia Musical Ecológica Para Niños de 4 a 9 Años." (El cometa Vita-Zeta). El Mercurio 30 June 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Comienzan estrenos infantiles.” (El niño que pide amor and La princesa campesina). La Segunda 11 March 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Compañia ‘El Puente’ ganó el intercomunal de teatro.” Las Últimas Noticias 2 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Con ‘Ambrosio,’ Pequeño Gran Teatro inicia una nueva etapa.” La Época 31 October 1991, Carpeta 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Con ‘Algo Huele Mal’ Vuelve Teatro ‘Piralé’. “ El Mercurio 9 July 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Con niños en el escenario debutó la comedia infantil ‘Zambacanuta’.” La Nación 8 December 1982, Carpeta 1982, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Constenla C., Nury. “Teatro Infantil: Alimento espiritual donde se conjugan valores y fantasia.” La Nación 24 October 1981, Carpeta 1981, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

Costamagna, Alejandra. "Las gallinas no van con sapos." (La luna sobre el gallinero). 18 May 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Corresponsales.” El Mercurio “Apuntes” insert 28 August 1980, Carpeta 1980, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Con ojos de grande."(El grillo en la cocina). La Tercera 19 May 1996, Carpeta 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Cuando el teatro infantil se toma la calle y la plaza.” La Época 6 January 1991, Carpeta 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Cuento de Oscar Wilde Estrena Teatro Callejero." El Mercurio 9 January 1993, Carpeta 1993, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Debuta Versión Teatral de 'El Principito.' " El Mercurio 1 September 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Díaz, Florencia. “Teatro, panorama mágico.” unidentified source 6 May 1984, Carpeta 1984, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

"Dos obras se estrenan esta semana." (El principito) 2 September 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“ ‘El arbol y la Bruja’ para enseñar ecología.” El Mercurio 30 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" El Fantasmita 'Pluft'." La Nación 3 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"El fantasmita Pluft abre jornada teatral infantil." La Tercera 7 January 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'El fantasmita Pluft' inicia teatro infantil en el Cariola." La Época 3 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“El Mundo es un Pañuelo.” El Diario 12 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“ ‘El mundo es un pañuelo’ para el actor Jorge Guerra.” Las Últimas Noticias 13 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'El Principito.' de Saint Exupery, llegará mañana a Viña del Mar." La Segunda 31 July 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“El Principito en el Parque.” Las Últimas Noticias 25 June 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“El señor Smog.” La Tercera 22 July 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile..

“El Taller 71 presenta teatro infantil.” (Los destinatos del Príncipe Cacheton). 25 March 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile..

“El teatro chileno enfrenta desafíos.” (El arbol y la bruja). La Tercera 29 March 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“El teatro como arma para los profesores.” La Época 28 July 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Es ministerio de chocolates." Las Últimas Noticias 6 August 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Este mediodía estrenan la obra ‘El poder del cariño.’” La Época 25 November 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Estrenan obra infantil de Isadora Aguirre." El Mercurio 22 August 1987, Carpeta 1987, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Estrenan obra infantil de J. Díaz.” (Abracadabra pata de cabra). La Tercera 14 April 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Estrenan obra infantil 'Don Anacleto Avaro.' " La Segunda 21 August 1987, Carpeta 1987, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Estreno de ‘La blanca sonrisa real.” La Época 9 June 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Estreno de obra para los niños.” (La escuela refrescante). Las Últimas Noticias 2 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Fantasmita Pluft' jugará con niños de Maipu." La Tercera 7 August 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Festival de Teatro infantil en el Camilo Henríquez.” unidentified source 6 January 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Grillos y hormigas que enseñan.” Las Últimas Noticias 6 July 1987, Carpeta 1987, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Grupo de Kleine U enseña a no contaminar.” (El señor Smog). El Mercurio 8 July 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Guerrero del Rio, Eduardo. “Teatro.” (Mamá, Me Tragué un Avión). La Época 9 July 1993, Carpeta 1993, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

--------. “El mundo es un pañuelo.” La Época 29 January 1991, Carpeta 1991, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

--------. "Momo." El Mercurio 24 April 1999, Carpeta 1999, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Guzmán V., Claudia. “Vasco Moulián Dirigirá ‘El Libro de la Selva.” El Mercurio 10 September 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

-------. “Vasco Moulian estrena el montaje más caro de su carrera teatral.” (Planetas) El Mercurio 10 November 2001, <http://www.emol.com>.

-------. And Rodrigo Miranda. “El teatro infantil se pega el estirón.” El Mercurio 20 November 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Ideas ecológicas.” (“Los ecologistas”). El Mercurio 16 September 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Itinerante en Maipu.” (El arbol y la bruja). La Tercera 27 January 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Juicio a la Mentira en Teatro Infantil.” (Mentiras y Mentiritas, No Rosita). El Mercurio12 August 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"La Contaminación, Tema de Obra de Sieveking." (La cometa Vita-Zeta). El Mercurio 22 July, 1989, Carpeta 1989, , Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“La escuela refrescante.” La Nación Teatro section 7 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“La escuela refrescante: Anita Reeves Dirige Otra Obra Infantil.” El Mercurio 30 April 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"'La Escuela Refrescante, se estrena hoy en Teatro C. Henríquez." unidentified source, 20 April 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'La muñeca dormilona' trae mensaje ecológico." La Segunda 22 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"La historia sin fin." La Nación Teatro section 21 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Larraín, Rosario. "Canciones y Encanto para Enseñar Mientras Se Entretiene a los Niños." El Mercurio 2 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Leiva M., Gloria. "Palco Reservado." Tercera de la Hora 25 November 1981, Carpeta 1981, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

-----. "Palco Reservado." (El Baúl Magico). La Tercera de la Hora 25 December 1981, Carpeta 1981, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

-----. "Palco Reservado." (El Principito). La Tercera de la Hora 4 December 1981, Carpeta 1981, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Llega 'La blanca sonrisa real'. " La Segunda 8 June 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

" 'Mamá, me tragué un avión,' aventura para todo espectador en el Montecarmelo." La Segunda 28 May 1993, Carpeta 1993, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

Marinao, Verónica. "Otro mundo." (Planetas). El Mercurio 15 November 2001, <http://www.emol.com>.

"Menosprecian el teatro infantil." Las Últimas Noticias 21 November 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Mimos, juegos y vsitas." La Tercera 30 December 1994, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Montaje Infantil Educativo." (La cometa Vita-Zeta). Las Ultimas Noticias 25 July 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Montecinos, Yolanda. “Dos astros de la tevé infantil y su público juegan con el cuerpo,” La Nación 9 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

-------. “ ‘La Escuela Refrescante’ un hallazgo en el teatro infantil.” La Nación 11 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

-------. “Teatro 1985: Un año para la vanguardia.” La Nación 19 December 1985, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

-------. "Un grato montaje para la obra infantil 'El fantasmita Pluft'." La Nación 13 October 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Muñoz H., Juan Antonio. “Otro éxito de Moulian.” (Planetas) El Mercurio 24 November, <http://www.emol.com>.

-------. “Teatro y no bochinche,” El Mercurio 2 June 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Nikiforos, Willy. “¡¡Tengo un insecto en la guata!!” La Nación 28 May 1993, Carpeta 1993, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

--------. “Teatro Infantil: A Pasos de Gigantes.” La Nación 26 June 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Niños.” (Frambuesita y el Pan Duro). 18 October 1987, Carpeta 1987, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“¡Niños, Vamos al Teatro!” La Segunda 16 August 1996, Carpeta 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Nuevo estreno para niños de ‘La Estrena’. “ (La Muñeca Dormilona) La Época 19 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Obra Infantil Destaca El Poder del Cariño.” El Mercurio 8 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Obra para público infantil.” (La pandilla del arco iris). La Nación 6 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Obra infantil de Jorge Díaz estrenan en Teatro de la UC.” La Nación 2 December 1982, Carpeta 1982, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

"Obras interactivas para niños." (El grillo en la cocina). Las Últimas Noticias 25 May 1996, Carpeta 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Obras para Grandes y Chicos en la Plaza Ñuñoa.” (La historia sin fin). El Mercurio 12 August, 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Oyarzún, Carola. “ ‘El Poder del Cariño,’ Obra Didáctica y Entretenida.” El Mercurio 16 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Pandilla enseña hábitos a niños.” (La pandilla del arco iris) Las Últimas Noticias 14 May, 1988, Carpeta 1988, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

“Para cabros chicos.” (Los niños que no podían ser niños). La Cuarta 5 June 1985, Carpeta 1985, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Para espectadores del futuro.” La Tercera 8 October 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Parte festival infantil en el Camilo Henríquez.” Las Últimas Noticias 8 January 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Pedagogía: Una nueva dimension del teatro.” La Nación 14 August 1971. Carpeta 1965-1973, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Pequeñas tablas invaden la capital." La Tercera 26 April 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Por los Derechos del Niño Será Festival de Teatro.” El Mercurio 28 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Presentan adaptación del 'El Principito'. " La Época 6 May 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Presentan obra infantil y ecológica," (Las semillitas) La Época 28 October 1989, Carpeta 1989 , Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Presentan obra ‘La escuela refrescante’ de Jorge Díaz.” La Época, 30 April 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Pulgar I., Leopoldo. "Los niños creen en la bondad y no en la fantasía mercantil." (El gato que quería volar) La Tercera 11 April 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Radrigán, Flavia. “Planetas.” El Mercurio 7 December 2001, <http://www.emol.com>.

Ramírez Hein, Claudia. “El Teatro No Conoce Al Niño.” El Mercurio6 December 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Salmar. “El círculo encantado.” El Mercurio Antofagasta 21 July 1972. Carpeta 1965-1973, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Saltalauchas al Rescate del Publico Infantil.” La Tercera de la Hora 24 December 1982, Carpeta 1982, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro Santiago, Chile.

“Se estrena obra de Jorge Díaz.” (La Pandilla del arco iris). El Mercurio 14 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro Santiago, Chile.

Serrano, M. Teresa and Marta Infante. “Jaime Silva: Entre gatos, violines y teatro.” Que Pasa 12 July 1974, Carpeta 1974, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro Santiago, Chile.

"Sieveking con obra infantil." (La cometa Vita-Zeta) La Tercera 26 July 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“ ‘Súbete al apa’ con la carreta en la sala Abril.” Fortín Mapocho 4 July 1991, Carpeta 1991, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Teatro." (El principito). Las Últimas Noticias 26 April 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Teatro Ecológico Ofrece Función en Puente Alto." (Las semillitas). 27 October 1989, Carpeta 1989, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Teatro en Valparaíso, con 'Las Máscaras' y 'El Baúl'." La Segunda 13 June 1997, Carpeta 1997, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Teatro infantil en La Batuta.” (La blanca sonrisa real). El Mercurio 10 June 1989, Carpeta 1989 Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Teatro infantil llega al Cariola." (El fantasmita Pluft). Las Últimas Noticias 4 September 1988, Carpeta 1988, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Teatro infantil: El 11° Derecho del Niño,” El Mercurio 11 January 1991,Carpeta 1991, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

“ ‘Titiloco’ o el retorno del actor Jorge Guerra,’ “ La Tercera 28 December 1990, Carpeta 1990, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Tras el espectador del futuro.” La Tercera 10 January 1999, Carpeta 1999, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Tres Obras Infantiles para Fin de Semana.” (Caluguín regresa a la tierra, La pandilla del arco iris and “El niño que pide amor”) El Mercurio 28 May 1988, Carpeta 1988, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

"Un Príncipe y una Golondrina." El Mercurio 2 July 1993, Carpeta 1993, Archivo del Teatro de la Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Santiago, Chile.

“Una Mágica Comedia Musical Se Estrenó Para los Peques.” Las Últimas Noticias 7 December 1982, Carpeta 1982, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Un menú teatral para niños." La Nación 19 December 1992, Carpeta 1992, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Un tramoyista y un sapo son los heroes." La Tercera 14 May 1995, Carpeta 1995, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

"Variada oferta teatral en centro de la UC." (El grillo en la cocina),publication unknown, n.d., Carpeta 1996, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

“Vasco Moulian prepara musical.” (El libro de la selva), Las Últimas Noticias 26 October 1998, Carpeta 1998, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Zeliasnik, Yael. “Los niños quieren ir al teatro.” La Época 27 August 1993, Carpeta 1993, Biblioteca Universidad Catolica, Archivo del Teatro, Santiago, Chile.

Interviews:

Díaz, Jorge. Personal Interview. 27 January 2002.

Garcia Huidobro, Veronica (La Balanza). Personal Interview. 9 February 2000.

Guerrero del Río, Eduardo. Personal Interview. 25 January 2002.

Lacalle, Hernán. Personal Interview, April 2001.

Llerenas, Marco (Ministerio de Educación). Personal Interview. 24 January 2000.

Marquez, Veronica (Teatro del Baúl). Personal Interview. 19 January 2000.

Moulián, Vasco (Kerubines). Personal Interview. 25 January 2002.

Muñoz, Juán Antonio. Personal Interview. 25 January 2002.

Pueller, Claudio (Balmaceda Centro de Cultura). Personal Interview. 29 November 1999.

Yávar, Marco (Compañía Itinerante). Personal Interview. 26 November 1999.

VITA

Carolyn Dianne Roark was born in El Paso, Texas on April 7, 1973, the daughter of Johnnie Marlene “Cookie” Roark and Charles Elvis Roark. After completing her work at Irvin High School, El Paso, Texas, in 1991, she entered Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas. During the summer of 1993 , she attended the University of Texas at El Paso. She received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Trinity University in May 1995. In August 1995, she entered the Graduate School of the University of Texas. She received the degree Master of Arts from the University of Texas in May 1997.

Permanent Address: 4612 George Patton, El Paso, Texas 79924

This dissertation was typed by the author.