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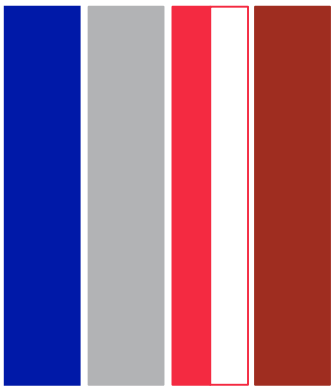
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DIY Politics, Artivisms and Political Communication. Chilean 2021 Presidential Elections Extended Case Study

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2022



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Dissertação realizada no âmbito do Mestrado em Ciências da Comunicação, orientada pela Professora Doutora Paula Maria Guerra Tavares

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The fighting against the economy domination of our lives must go hand with hand with the fight against the State, by beginning to reject the quantification of our existence, which only occurs when our lives are stolen. This fight for the destruction of the institutions of property, of the exchange of goods, of work, is not to make people dependent of a new form of institutions where the domination of survival takes a friendlier face, but rather to let us all reappropriate our lives as the way we wish to, and in that way, pursuit our needs, desires, dreams and aspirations, embracing its immense singularity as a whole[1].

(Landstreicher, 2015: 35).

[1] Original in Spanish: "La lucha contra el dominio de la economía que debe ir de la mano con la lucha contra el Estado debe comenzar con un rechazo de esta cuantificación de la existencia, que solamente puede ocurrir cuando nuestras vidas nos son robadas. Esta es la lucha por la destrucción de las instituciones de la propiedad, del intercambio de mercancías y del trabajo, no para hacer dependiente a la gente de nuevas instituciones en las que el dominio de la supervivencia tome una cara más bondadosa, sino de la manera que tod@s podamos reapropiarnos de nuestras vidas como queramos y así perseguir nuestras necesidades, deseos, y aspiraciones en toda su inmensa singularidad."

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Declaração de honra

Declaro que a presente tese é de minha autoria e não foi utilizada previamente noutro curso ou unidade curricular, desta ou de outra instituição. As referências a outros autores (afirmações, ideias, pensamentos) respeitam escrupulosamente as regras de atribuição e encontram-se devidamente indicadas no texto e nas referências bibliográficas, de acordo com as normas de referenciação. Tenho consciência de que a prática de plágio e auto-plágio constitui um ilícito académico.

Porto, 28 de setembro de 2022

Caterina Tzy-Chun Kuo Chen

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Resumo

A eleição presidencial chilena de 2021 como estudo de caso permite um cenário particular e único entre a política institucional, que neste caso carrega a bandeira da representatividade, e as dinâmicas políticas realizadas pelos artivistas, que carrega um distintivo ethos do-it-yourself (DIY). A relação entre DIY ethos e política institucional parece relevante dado que a luta pelo poder entre os políticos e os mídia (Zaller, 1999) não é mais exclusiva deles, destacando, assim, a importância de se ter diferentes abordagens, a fim de ofegar de forma mais realista a contingência atual. A mudança progressiva do controle das notícias dos políticos e/ou dos mídia profissionalizados para o público que agora não é mais passivo, fez mudar os discursos hegemónicos estendidos e instalados através da Constituição chilena de 1980, manchados com os traços da ditadura de Pinochet, enquanto refletem mudanças importantes nas formas como a comunicação política está sendo realizada na sociedade chilena. Utilizando o método do caso estendido (Burawoy, 1998), serão recolhidos dados primários por meio de entrevistas semiestruturadas com chilenos que estiveram envolvidos em dinâmicas DIY, identificando assim a maneira na qual essas práticas se relacionam com as cenas *underground* contemporâneas. A fonte secundária contará com as publicações Instagram dos candidatos selecionados, recolhidos no último mês das eleições, uma vez que resume toda a campanha do ano (Zaller, 1999). A presente investigação busca elucidar se o ethos DIY tem algo a ver com a política institucional dentro do atual contexto eleitoral presidencial de 2021, e se o tem, qual é a importância do ethos DIY na configuração da política chilena contemporânea? E, como é que o ethos DIY se relaciona com a política chilena contemporânea?

Palavras-chave: communicação política; política institucional; artivismos; DIY ethos; Chile

Abstract

As a case study, the Chilean 2021 Presidential election allows a particular and unique scenario between institutional politics, which in this case carries the flag of representativeness, and political dynamics held by artivists, which carries a distinctive do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos. The relation between one another seems relevant since the power struggle for political news between politicians and the media (Zaller, 1999) is no longer exclusive to them, thus highlighting the importance of having different approaches in order to better grasp the actual contingency. The progressive shift of the control for the news from politicians and/or the professionalized media to the no longer passive public, have changed the hegemonic discourses both extended and installed through the 1980s Chilean Constitution tainted with the traits of Pinochet's dictatorship, whilst reflecting important shifts in the ways political communication are being carried out by Chilean society. Using an extended case method (Burawoy, 1998), primary data through a semi-structured narrative interview with Chileans that have been involved in DIY dynamics will be carried out, identifying how these practices relate with the contemporary underground scenes. Secondary source will rely on Instagram posts from the selected candidates within the last month of the horse-race since it summarizes the whole year campaign (Zaller, 1999). The present investigation seeks to elucidate if DIY ethos has anything to do with the institutional politics within the present 2021 presidential election context, and if it does, what is the importance of the DIY ethos in the configuration of contemporary Chilean politics? and how does DIY ethos relate to contemporary Chilean politics?

Keywords: political communication; institutional politics; artivisms; DIY ethos; Chile

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
DIY	Do-It-Yourself
FOMO	Fear of Missing Out
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NIIO	New International Information Order
NWICO	New World International Communication Order
SI	Situationist International
SNS	Social Networking Sites
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
USGS	US Geological Survey

Introduction

In this moment, the territory within Chile is passing through a novel period of restructuring of power. As a consequence, this temporal instability opened unknown possibilities for individuals and collectives who desire to undermine social, cultural, economic and / or political domination. Nourishing unmeasured dreams of freedom and armed with a determination that is unafraid of ruins, as the burning of Santiago's metro stations and buildings in the 2019 social outbreak suggest, they carry their ethics as their only unshakable compass. The capacity to create the conditions of our own existence through the 'art of doing' (Bennet & Guerra, 2022) within affinity networks becomes a fundamental dynamic for the building of organic, counter-cultural and anti-hegemonic ecosystems characterized by a slower pace that allow an everyday familiarity and complicity. As biological cultural beings (Maturana, 1992), our language becomes a way to coordinate the doing, our feelings and emotions through everyday conviviality in and within the surroundings that make this possible, rather than a tool to handle the world. Thus, self-governed collectives within a do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos connected to underground scenes allow a different language, characterized by their authenticity, which is not simply destined for survival, but rather is aimed at specific insurrectional goals. Although, this approach may seem fragmented if we consider it as incomplete from a quantitative form perceived generally as imperfect, superficial, defective and ambiguous, it is impossible to avoid the character of the qualitative force that does not sacrifice the individual and creative collective networks (Willis, 1997) uniqueness which structures the urban and social fabric, thus it cannot be merged into just one way of communication.

In this sense, I will develop in Chapter 1 - Communication, where do we stand, an initial framework to study Communication considering that products, tools and technologies are created within a context built upon social relations, dynamics, interactions and meta-constructions that mirrors the power holders' perspectives. Furthermore, when these constructions are imposed to a certain group, it modifies the relationship of those same and new social agents, a process described in the language of informatics as circularity (Rosa, 2016), which relates to feedback within a linear model of

communication, the latter characterized by following a quantitative and mechanical approach for studying Communication (Winkin, 1994). Within this perspective, I will further develop on how political communication and public relations have historically interiorized this framework where feedback is not perceived as organic but constructed within imposed parameters and framed by scientific knowledge (Bernays, 1928), and not meant to understand Communication as such, but instead, to profit whether it is for money, for power and /or for sports perpetuating bourgeoisie standards (Barthes, 1957).

As a way to depart from the above perspective to study Communication, Chapter 2 - DIY ethos, will introduce the concept of DIY ethos identified specially within underground music scenes since it allows us to perceive Communication within an autonomous context in which language is organic and creative, thus not linear nor mechanic. Moreover, DIY ethos within underground scenes structures the daily and urban life of the social agents but within a context that is important to consider for the understanding of the struggles they face and how that context translates into the different lifestyles they engage to confront general and specific impositions.

For this purpose, in Chapter 3 - The matter of context, I will firstly make an approach to the international context in which Communication is embedded, especially in relation to the 'New World International Communications Order' (NWICO) as delineated since the 1970s and the reinforcement of the North-South direction (Golding & Harris, 1997), that deepens the gap between hegemonic and locally specific discourses. Secondly, digital networks will also be addressed as another context sphere that considers digital devices as a cultural factor (Turkle, 1980), and also since Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) have become part of Chileans everyday life and used as tools for both institutional and non-institutional initiatives. It is related to these last two practices that I will introduce, as a third contextual sphere, the historically international interference held upon the territory we call Chile through the 'commerce wars' and how the Constitution of the State of Chile has been a continuation of these extractivist practices. Finally, as a counterpart, I will develop the notion of dissent which belongs to the popular lived experience and the popular culture because it emerges through the

invisible politics of leisure, autonomy, affinity, equality, freedom, everyday life and community, all notions that relate with how DIY ethos is perceived and lived. Considering that dissent is usually a way of resistance when channeled into activisms since it becomes a conscious intention, the introduction of non-institutional activisms (Slavina, 2021) related to the patterns of political engagement the social agents have will allow a way to perceive the language of dissent, and therefore, identify DIY practices and dynamics.

In Chapter 4 – Artivisms, I will justify the use of this term for the DIY cultural dynamics identified in Chile instead of activisms since these practices have been identified more often in countries with a long democratic tradition (Slavina, 2021), and as Chile does not have that political culture, activisms in this specific region are perceived through a mass media conception of individuality considering activists as superior beings. Even though if we consider Chile's historical and sociopolitical context that permitted art to be a lifestyle of resistance to previous mentioned hegemonic discourses and activism could seem a right term to define these practices, nevertheless, I will refer to them specifically as artivisms since the DIY ethos bounded to underground artistic scenes that unfolds in the cities of Chile, in this particular case, within Santiago and Valparaíso, are always community based and not individual, as it can be in the case of activisms.

In Chapter 5 - Research object, objectives and methodology, the theorical-empirical process of the research will be presented, defining the initial hypothesis, the objects of study, the justification of the methodological process and the chosen techniques, as well as how these techniques were applied.

The results retrieved from the recollection of institutional politics data will be summarized in Chapter 6 – Chilean 2021 Presidential elections: context and dynamics of institutional politics. The elements considered to be constituent of contemporary Chilean politics and the identification of DIY practices and dynamics will be revealed so as to consider the validity of the hypothesis presented.

In the following Chapter 7 – An artivist ecosystem: trajectories and dynamics of informal and everyday politics, an incursion to the empirical data retrieved from semi-structured

narrative interviewing held with social agents that have engaged in DIY practices and dynamics will be presented as to elucidate how DIY ethos structures the social and urban fabric of the social agents' everyday life and how it will help to boost their artivist trajectory.

Finally, in Chapter 8 – DIY politics: a typology of artivisms, artivist profiles that emerged in the previous analysis will be presented through the identification of different ways DIY practices and dynamics are approached, as well as an overview on how these types of artivisms affects the structuring of Chilean contemporary politics within non-institutional politics.

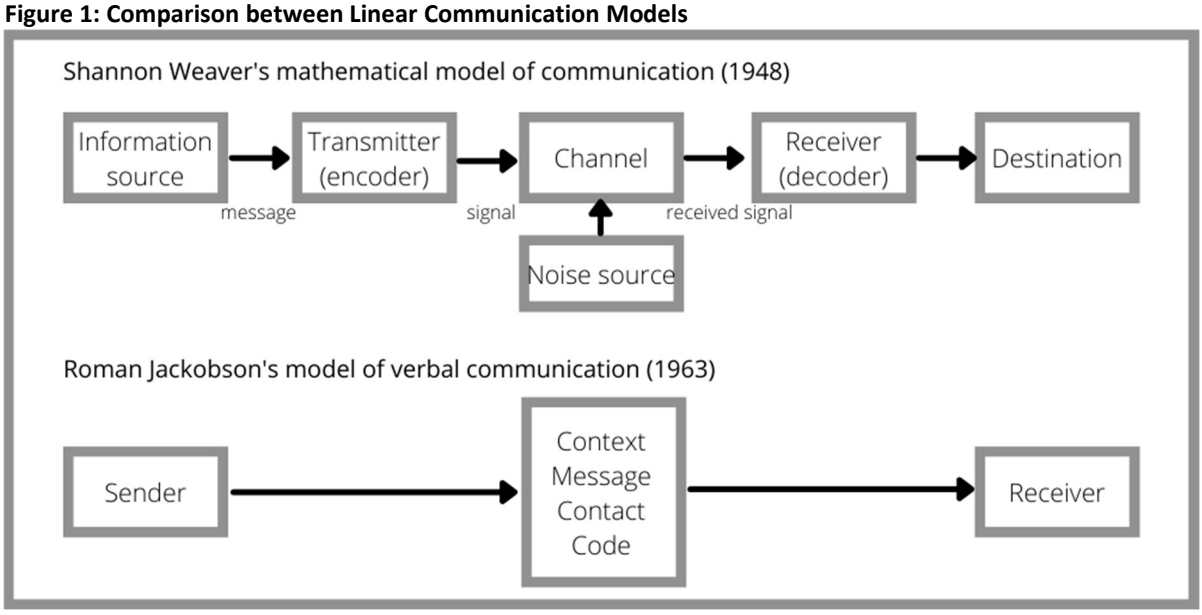
1. Communication, where do we stand

It sometimes becomes confusing studying about Communication since it seems to be so many things, embracing almost everything that surrounds us, as stated in the first axiom of the Theory on Human Communication (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 2008): "You cannot not communicate". Semantically, both in French and in English, the word communication has been associated with communion. Until the sixteenth century, the concept started being used as the 'practice' of news, which later was disseminated in the sense of transmission (including transmission of diseases). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, communication as participation, or conviviality as communion, lost usage to the sense of transmission, especially with the uprise of the traditional means of communication such as the railways and the telegraph. At the same time, Communication started being used in the scientific vocabulary introduced by Norbert Wiener's Cybernetics (1948) which provoked a proliferous wave of new currents emerging from fields like mathematics, ballistics, informatics, psychology, linguistics, social science, and humanities in general, where Communication as field of study will be progressively shifted from language to the field of transmission devices, and later to the media and public relations.

At the time the Model of Communication was being proposed in Cybernetics (Wiener, 1948), Claude Shannon would adopt the model in his Mathematical Theory of Communication (Shannon, 1948), which would later become the preferred approach for future research on all kinds of communication. The main difference between these two approaches is that the first considers feedback while the second one does not. While in the twenty-first century, feedback is commonly used, what really made the difference at that time was how the inclusion or not of feedback while structuring a model, made them understand the Communication process differently. Shannon's Communication Theory was intended for three main objectives: "[to] increase the speed of transmission of a message, [to] avoid losses in the course of the transmission and [to] determine the quantity of information that is possible to send in a specific time frame" (Winkin, 1994: 16), but most importantly, it was conceived linearly and as transmission devices.

Wiener´s feedback was intended to make the system circular, thus systemic. In line with Ludwig von Bertalanffy´s General System Theory (1950), where he stated that he was inspired by observing that "most disciplines reflect as systems of elements rather than isolated elements" (Bertalanffy, 1950), they propose to "investigate the principles that are employed generally to any system, not having to worry about its physical, biological or sociological nature." (Bertalanffy, 1950: 32). A system is then defined as a "complex of elements interacting, which nature of such interactions are not aleatory" (Winkin, 1994: 16). The General System Theory and Cybernetics will interpose progressively to finally give birth to the field known as systemic. This is relevant as Shannon´s linear conception of Communication permeates to scientific approaches, thus limiting thoughts and techniques that would be relevant for the study of an object. An example of the described situation is the Roman Jackobson (1963) Model of Verbal Communication which compared with the Shannon model it seems an analogy to it (Figure 1), containing as separate and main elements, the sender on the one side, the receiver on the other side, and context, message, contact, and code in between sender and receiver.

Figure 1: Comparison between Linear Communication Models



Source: Author's own elaboration from Reddy and Litt (2017) and Winkin (1994).

Even though feedback has been included overtime, it continues to rely on a linear framework, also known as the telegraphic Model of Communication. But at the time

Shannon´s model was being known, another group of researchers from diverse disciplines, among them the anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1979), together with a group of psychiatrists; Ray Birdwhistell (1971) and Edward Hall (1966), also anthropologists but with an inclination to linguistics extending the notion of communication to gestures (kinetic) and interpersonal space (proxemic); and sociologist Erwin Goffman (1974), would embark in an alternative view of Communication. Later, Albert Scheflen (1973) would carry on with the previously mentioned researchers work and would refer to an analogy between Communication and an orchestra that best describes this seemingly ambiguous model:

> If we state that the way a musical composition is generally an analogy to the North American Communication structure, particular music styles would be conceived as an analogy to special communication structures. In this sense, a string quartet *fugue* is a reasonable analogy to a four-person group therapy. At the same time, in the quartet and in the psychotherapy session, the structures create a performance. In each case, the execution will reveal a style and particularities, but will also follow a line and a general configuration. The difference between the two structures is that one musical composition has an explicit partiture, written and consciously learnt and repeated. The Communication partiture has not been written and, in certain ways, has been learnt unconsciously. (Scheflen, 1973: 181).

As we can see, the nature of this systemic Communication model is multidisciplinary, allowing different ways of looking at things. In Scheflen´s words when he describes what he learnt from Birdwhistell, it is a revolutionary way, a different way of thinking how to understand the universe (Scheflen, 1973). Communication is seen by these authors as an integrated whole. Messages from other ways of communicating lack intrinsic meaning (Winkin, 1994), thus only within the context of the groups way to communicate, related also to the context of interaction, can the signifier acquire sense or signification. Birdwhistell and Scheflen propose a context analysis opposing to the content analysis favored by Shannon. Psychology and psychiatry fields of study were also very involved in the development of this alternative Model of Communication as the Palo Alto Psychiatric School approach gave an epistemological discontinuity to Sigmund Freud´s psychoanalytical intrapsychic paradigm. So far, the alternative

communicational approach highlights “the interactional and communicational context in which the signs are used by individuals in the way in which they organize into transactional systems that integrate vision, hearing, touch, smell and taste” (Sebeok, Alfred & Bateson, 1964), constituting new ways to grasp the human communication as a whole. It is precisely the multidisciplinary and multisensorial approach that will allow a contingent and contemporary way to look and consider what is Communication in politics.

1.1. Political communication and public relations

> Communication has been introduced from the field of human relations to public relations, resulting in advertisement agencies that transformed into Communication companies. (Winkin, 1994: 11).

The above citation follows the line of thought of the first section about the usage of the term Communication. As the concept was introduced into public relations, it is necessary to address that as the father of public relations Edward Bernays (1928) states, the psychology of this professional field focuses on what is defined as the group mind, concept developed as something that does not think, and which thought is replaced by impulses, habits, and emotions. Edward Bernays adds that “the group mind has mental characteristics distinct from those of the individual and is motivated by impulses and emotions which cannot be explained on the basis of what we know of individual psychology” (Bernays, 1928: 51). The author also suggested that the way to understand the true motives of men, since a propagandist must understand and “not be content to accept the reasons which men give for what they do” (Bernays, 1928: 51), he cites his uncle Sigmund Freud as a reference to resolve this impasse who believes that “many of man’s thoughts and actions are compensatory substitutes for desires which he has been obliged to suppress” (Bernays, 1928: 52).

The propagandist or professional of public relations, considered by Bernays as the executive arm of the invisible government serving primarily as a bridge between politicians and the media taken as main actors, follows a linear approach at its core as

exposed in the previously. Later, it integrated circularity, although it was built-up upon a structure that was meant to be linear, and for machines.

From another perspective, the network society described by Manuel Castells (2010), showed how powerful it was, and still is, for historically silenced voices to be heard. New ways of political participation, interventions and movements have sprouted in the news and waken so many consciousnesses thanks to the open foundations the Web was constructed upon, despite the hegemonic local and global discourses built over it. There has been an increase of problems related to representation and trust in politics, because among other factors, it creates a gap between politicians and citizens, as another of the many capitalist contradictions (Roberts, 2014).

"The scientific marketing […] is now scientific in the sense that it seeks to base its operations upon definite knowledge drawn from direct observation of the group mind." (Bernays, 1928: 66). At a time when Bernays above citation is palpable as the power of algorithms within digital platform arises, it is important to reinforce that circularity in these scientific approaches were funded upon a mechanical trait of the system. But as Bernays mix economics, sociology and propaganda together he would also note that "they can never be an exact science since they deal with human beings" (Bernays, 1928: 69). One of the main characteristics of a linear model of Communication is that it imposes a hierarchy, "a few with most of the interactions and the majority with few interactions" (Rosa, 2016), which appears as a reflection of the sometimes outdated real world, "thus, the search for new connectedness around shared, reconstructed identity" (Castells, 2010). The social dynamics described by Castells in his research were known globally thanks to the enhanced capabilities the participants had with social media and the bearing of some distinctive DIY ethos.

Online political engagement research on *Digital Divide* (Norris, 2009) and the comparative study on *Digital media and political* engagement (Andaluiza, Jensen & Jorba, 2012) conclude that Social Networking Sites (SNS) are only an extension of the political engagement acquired offline. In this sense, the political dynamics that activists engage with should reflect their involvement online. The invisible partiture that is consciously played -online-offline-online- considering individual and group mind

circularity, seems to thrive upon DIY ethos, thus the concept is developed in the next chapter as key in this project whilst guided by alternative ways of discovering.

2. DIY ethos

The ethos behind 'doing' things oneself comes from a long memory of cultures of resistance against the ruling elites. The tanned skin represents in Asian cultures the working in the fields' 'savagery', thus establishing for millennia the white skin beauty standard, and perpetuating bourgeoisie myths (Barthes, 1957) imposed by the few 'white faces' on those who do things for them, judging their ways and reducing them to second class citizens. These types of top-down standards have thrived through industrialization until today. Our metamodern times are characterized by the 'in betweeness' of a spacetime that is neither ordered nor disordered and constantly oscillates between a "typically modern commitment and a markedly postmodern detachment" (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2010: 42) where the 'doing' of the invisibles are now perceived with scientific objectivity, but also considers that there are no master narratives anymore. In this way, the invisibles can become a channel through which we can grasp the 'in betweenness' that permeates these myths, since they have also found, through the globalized network society, alternative and creative ways to be seen. These manners contrast with the classical notion of the creative genius since the creative outputs appear from individuals who have worked hard over many years to master and bring novelty to a particular symbolic domain (Elias, 1993). Encouraged, recognized, and validated by supportive individuals, groups and organizations, the symbolic domain of the invisibles from these particular supportive environments can turn into a process by which a symbolic domain in the culture is changed and perceived as a feeling (Gauntlett, 2012), stressing furthermore the need to reconceptualize terms and frameworks in a contemporary context to understand the cultural identities and practices that characterize our late-modern society.

Such is the case of DIY culture (Guerra & Bennett, 2020). The concept was first introduced as amateurs home improvement (Gelber, 1997) and has started within the twenty-first century to reflect a pre-digested statement against conspicuous consumption-driven societies (Cisar & Koubek, 2012). The post-industrial and globalized context made it evolve into a lifestyle that creates new forms of sociality and public

spheres (Habermas, 2014) within everchanging community networks that will certainly be carried on from generation to generation (Guerra, 2018).

The gap between mainstream broadcast and the reality of the repressed majority is narrower today aided by the DIY practice applied online and offline, although the DIY ethos origins can be traced back to the Situationist International (SI), which interest started as a construction of spontaneous, continuous, everchanging experiences created to shake the apathy of modern life imposed by the increasing commercialization of the art world and commodification of goods. Later, under the influence of Guy Debord's thesis titled *Society of the spectacle* (1995), the situationists started to use art for revolutionary purposes more consciously, by making life more interesting and by defeating the bourgeois consumer values that have taken over everything, including their thoughts that were no longer theirs since they were conditioned by the hegemonic imperatives and narratives.

Situationist strategies to activate the audience and remove them from their passive roles had enormous influence on the May 1968 students and workers revolt in France. It was by wandering around the city (*dérive)*, by studying the effects of the geographic environment (psychogeography), by using the city as participatory work of art (unitary urbanism) expressed through barricades, for example, and taking existing things to use it for other than the originally intended mean (*détourment)*, that the Situationist strategies clearly reflect how by acknowledging the alienation society imposes, the invisibles, the minorities and its underground cultures and scenes use 'doing' as a strategy against this nullifying imposition (Guerra, 2017).

The 'doing' ethos of the artists from the SI found echo among the students, of whom although not all had the intellectual means to be an artist, some of them had flow for music and DIY ethos was appropriated and reformulated into rhythm some decades later. The DIY culture was then catapulted globally, specifically from the United Kingdom, through the emergence of the *punk* movement in the 1970s as an alternative music scene that channeled discontent, anger and dissatisfaction generated by the present socioeconomic crisis together with the increasingly restricted regulations implemented to favor the music and creative industries and corporations on the

production and distribution of creative products. In this context, *punk* movement used DIY aesthetic (McKay, 1996), inspired by the old *rock 'n roll* fever, to visually and pragmatically promote anti-consumerism and anti-corporation statements as such, reframing an old music scene vibe with a new political message that was able to express the actual cultural, social, and political values they believed in. The political discourse mobilized the *punk* community to start what Dunn (2016) called an 'DIY record revolution'. The production, the performance, the distribution, and the promotion of cultural products were autonomous of the big music industries which represented the mainstream form of music that made mass scale music for mass audiences directed for profit, therefore losing the cultural, social, and political values that connected music with their audiences. Thanks to the United Kingdom's influence in the underground scenes across Europe, the DIY labels manifested themselves as autonomous networks that were proliferous in creating new musical and stylistic scenes. The DIY appeal was imminent as an expression of a diverse, creative, global, and politically conscious way of life at this point and was no longer restricted to the *punk* scene, broadening its prospects to subgenres and other genres of music and cultural practices, such as *anarcho punk*, *gothic punk*, *hardcore*, *rap*, *indie*, *dance* (Bennett, 2018) and *guerrilla history* (Lynd & Grubacic, 2008).

In the mid-1980s, the economic crisis was still embedding the population with fear, whilst the deindustrialization process added up to the general atmosphere the feeling of distrust and hopelessness toward institutional practices (Guerra, 2020b). On the one side, we have the implementation of more profound neoliberal policies which as observed by Roberts (2014), it sustains on neoliberalism as a contradictory State project which self-presentation already reflects this main trait by showing "externally to other States as a distinctive body with a specific culture, nationality and means of regulating socioeconomic activity, and internally to its own population as a complex array of bureaucratic apparatuses, mechanisms and national identity" (Roberts, 2014: 48).

Although this State project has come to dominate the social and political landscape since the late 1970s, it is still associated with the rise of Thatcherism and Reaganism and their adherence to free markets and strong, coercive State (Roberts, 2014: 50) which policies

have been adapted to suit different contexts thus neoliberalism started to gain hegemony through an “extraordinary global expansion of business and financial news coverage of stocks, mutual funds, commodities and other products aimed at individual investors” (Chakravartty & Schiller, 2010: 678) where through the years, and even after the 2008 financial crisis, self-reliance, managing risks and gaining over one’s personal finances are understood by various media to be highly positive character traits (Davidson, 2012). On the other side, as a counterforce, we have local, translocal and later, virtual scenes (Bennett & Peterson, 2004) with a DIY code of cultural politics proliferating worldwide since DIY code was able to embrace a common international transcultural voice against neoliberal practices becoming more and more a language of action and intent (Bennet & Guerra, 2018). The socioeconomic scenario of club cultures studied by Cohen (1991) in the mid-1980s, also reflects the effect deindustrialization had on changing the perception about pursuing creative practices as viable occupations since career trajectories were no longer different than any other precarious alternative way of gaining a living. In this way, DIY creative and cultural practice became legitimate as any other viable career path (Guerra, 2020a). The precarity of neoliberalism, flooded with risks and uncertainties, brought forward the creativity of the discontent that while individually aware they could not change the economic nor political course to be implemented in the system they did not agree with, they nevertheless had to survive within it, finding ways through the use of unconventional wisdom and capabilities acquired mostly in alternative cultural practices in scenes to pursue career paths without conventional nor institutional involvement, thus also satisfying the creative and aesthetic motives instead of seeking profit (Guerra, 2021).

The ethnographic portrait that Clara Han (2012) depicts of Chile from 2006 to 2010 also presents how hard it is for the more vulnerable classes to overcome systemic social struggles in neoliberal Chile, where “unstable work, unpredictable wages, indebtedness, discontinuous and sometimes incompetent health care, and the pharmaceuticalization of public health” (Han, 2012: 233) are among some of the inherent problems detected. This reaffirms the stance about the consequences of the deindustrialization of the Global North and later, of the Global South. The described scenario also quickly evolved

thanks to the technological improvements that would democratize, although not completely, the means of creation, performance, and distribution on a global scale (Guerra, 2021). Since DIY culture is meant to be learnt by experimentation, the increasing accessibility to open-source technology seems to indicate that DIY culture practice perpetuating through generations is quite possible, if not almost certain. The socioeconomic context, the global reach and the technological improvements enabled a new contemporary global setting where DIY ethos seem to strive as an evolving and growing way of life in the post-industrial era, resembling Cohen's description of the consequences of deindustrialization in the Global North, where "the chances of finding a full-time occupation was the same for those who took exams or played a guitar" (Cohen, 1991). This have been accentuated for the Global South since the European colonization. As we can see within Han's work, a DIY ethos tradition permeates Chilean communities incorporated through indigenous traditions of resistance that go back to colonialism and moreover, music and DIY culture have been one of the few, and sometimes the only tool, for both resistance and existence (Guerra, 2020a), as we can see the cases of more noticeable Chilean musicians such as Violeta Parra in the 1960s, Victor Jara in the 1970s and Los Prisioneros in the 1980s.

It is under this uprising context that the autonomist Marxist thesis of immaterial labour (Hardt & Negri, 2003) serves also as part of this new contemporary framework by focusing on the "socially necessary labour time, or abstract labour, taken as a whole to produce commodities" (Roberts, 2014: 33), turning themselves into a commodity which represents for Marx the social basis of power within capitalism since what distinguishes it from previous historical systems is the fact that the whole society is transformed into a commodity-producing society (Roberts, 2014) arranged by standards. Capitalist systems also embedded the notion of creative, affective, and informational work as three types of immaterial labour that are clearly reflected into today's complex intertwining of participatory culture, globalization paradox and creativity era (Jenkins, 2006) that characterize the post-industrial cultural production and practice so, in this sense, they constitute new valid measures of work. This may not be a controversial statement in the twenty-first century, but it is important to go back to the time where

the principles of work and play (Willis, 1977) were transformed, where they only started to attract attention at the beginning of this century, whilst for the last thirty years of the twentieth century, it was not a widespread reality.

Along with the thesis of immaterial labour inherent in capitalism, DIY cultural practice based on DIY ethos also retrieves on Chaney's (1996) definition of lifestyle. The author reformulates the term so it is not just limited to the articulation of social status or as a stand through displays of consumption, as Weber (1978) describes when he coined the term, but as an essential mean to explain the basis of individual and collective identities holding cultural consumption as a way to show consumer competence (Chaney, 1996), manifesting the individuals capacity to reflect and decide on ways to negotiate on the everyday basis. Research conducted on worldwide *punk* scenes helps illustrate the elements and interactions of local DIY culture, where the appropriation of DIY principles and cultural practices were a reaffirmation of their opposition to neoliberalism which in a post-industrial view contains the paradox of globalization where the local and global culture confronts, merges, and creates. Practice that starts spontaneously soon becomes conscious ways of resistance, while distancing from neoliberal institutional and cultural politics, they create and nurture alternative public spheres (Habermas, 2014) within the new urban online and offline architecture, turning the DIY ethos embedded in the *punk* scene into a DIY lifestyle. Chaney distinguished between 'way of life' and lifestyle, the first referring to creative projects that display consumer competence and the latter, being associated to more stable communities with shared symbolic objects and social order. This broader DIY lifestyle philosophy favors autonomy and independence from the imposed consumerism of capitalism, which also includes, neoliberal states, creating new alternative paths for socialization, education, family-building, anti-corporation actions, alternative living systems, alternative media and information channels, unique and authentic artistic expressions, heterogeneity and flexibility within the communities, generating overall a distinct collective creative network (Willis, 1977) that would be synonymous for underground scenes.

The political means the invisibles use to be seen through local, translocal and virtual scenes (Bennett & Peterson, 2004) are embedded with DIY ethos against a logic of

consumerism. The underground cultures seek to occupy a space where being seen addresses the question of identities reflected upon this problematic relationship that is typical of street cultures and has long been true for minorities as well. In other words, the importance of the narratives and alternative ways minorities create within their network of underground cultures, characterized by resilient, autonomous, and non-alienated creativity, withholds the power of radical imagination to confront the standards imposed.

The main and alternative narratives differ also from a neoliberal socioeconomic context since the empowering of minorities by the main narratives have been channeled through entrepreneurship, using the creative power to feedback to the system and increase the country's overall productivity rather than favoring alternative economies. The neoliberal encouragement of entrepreneurs is similar to the model the popular media describes music industry careers, labelled by Kaitajärvi-Tiekso (2019) as evolutionist, defined by those projects that born locally from a grassroots level to later expect to get local fame; working all the way up towards professionalism, getting wider regional or national awareness; to finally, in the case of the music industry, signing a contract with a multi-national record label. Kaitajärvi-Tiekso (2019) challenges the described model by arguing that already in the 1980s, when recording technology became increasingly affordable and available, production of popular music has often followed a DIY basis, thus amateurism has been preferred to professionalism, since "amateurism provides a 'line of flight' – a way to escape the evolutionist model focused as it is on establishing a professional career stage by stage" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004: 10, 224-6). It is by using the 'line of flight' as strategy to deterritorialize the 'functional activity of occupations' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) that invisible and alternative routes are found to reterritorialize, by defining their own qualifications and territories. This reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Widder, 2012) may master 'perpetual flight' from the establishment of qualifications, territories, or categories through 'nomad thought' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004), by adopting Haraway's cyborg being which "skips the step of original unity, of identification with nature in the Western sense" (Haraway,

1991: 151), or by decolonializing our thoughts and practices (Paredes, 2015), just to name some alternatives.

The ethnographic work of the Portuguese *punk* scene presented by Guerra (2016) gives us empirical insight on how DIY lifestyle is constructed and highlights the importance of the musical pathways (Finnegan, 2007) or of the initial design of leisure careers (Blackman, 2005) of the social actors of the scenes. The individual and collective trajectories are key to understand the new cultural practice where post-youth generations use the skills acquired in alternative DIY scenes to empower personal projects as a career strategy reordering, as the interviewees in the research expressed, the notions between work and play (Willis, 1977) which relates not only with the concept of lifestyle but also with the three types of work (the creative work, the affective work and the informational work) from immaterial labour in capitalist systems that have become commonplace, all of which DIY cultural practices rely on to produce, perform, distribute and promote their own cultural products. Interestingly enough, since it may appear to be contradictory practices, these competences are also serving as a way of survival in the neoliberal world. This new scenario is also confirmed by the Human Development Report (2019) from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) which reveals an emerging new generation of inequalities where despite convergence in those defined as basic capabilities such as early childhood survival, primary education, entry-level technology and resilience to recurrent shocks on the one side, it will be on the other side, increasingly divergent in a new set of enhanced capabilities, some of them being life expectancy at the age of seventy, for health; population with tertiary education, for education; fixed broadband subscriptions, for technology; and resilience to unknown shocks. These new abilities will be increasingly more necessary in the new late-modern era (Guerra, 2019) thus becoming the new parameter for measuring inequalities. In this sense, DIY cultural practice have evolved from a way to overcome the inequalities of basic capabilities to nurture what are considered enhanced capabilities for the twenty-first century such as flexibility, adaptability, and resilience to unknown shocks.

Research on the origin of DIY record labels as representative of DIY ethos cultural practices have further identified that the fact that although DIY labels go through financial and legal problems, they have not ceased to continue since their interest is not to release a band that might sell, but rather to support artists according to their personal inclinations, revealing an emotional commitment that relates with the relationship between affect, autonomy and proximity that builds up the symbolic capital that reinforces authenticity which is perceived as "the voice of the most unfavored, the vehicle that broadcasts their values, beliefs and lifestyles"[2] (Moreira, 2013: 1). The emerging structure of feeling where authenticity, autonomy and local communities are essential dimensions, is more palpable within underground cultures and scenes following DIY ethos which impels people to undertake ethical, cultural and aesthetic values and also calls to establish themselves as standards, creating and becoming self-sufficient thus, DIY ethos becomes prefigurative politics (van de Sande, 2013) providing the power of radical imagination that not only dreams but use enhanced abilities to realize them collectively, creating in parallel, the means for social alternatives or the production of commons outside capital, which is already by itself a political struggle (Hardt & Negri, 2003).

Within the networked digital sphere, digital media individual movement entrepreneurs have a large input into conventional politics that could be depicted as movements withholding DIY ethos however, the contradictions and problems identified in these forms of activisms manifest neoliberal utterances which reproduces social divisions and social hierarchies (Bennett & Guerra, 2019). Even though SNS provide stimulating grassroots activism creating more self-directed political campaigns and increasingly levels of civic twist, research in 2012 comparative study on *Digital media and political engagement* (Andaluzia, Jensen & Jorba, 2012) reveal that online political communication are able to provoke engagement only on those who are already somehow engaged offline or had previous interest in politics initiated outside the digital

[2] Original in portuguese: "voz dos mais desfavorecidos, de ser o veículo de divulgação dos seus valores, crenças e estilos de vida."

environment (Andaluzia, Jensen & Jorba, 2012; Norris, 2009), moreover, evidence points to SNS as more often used to articulate previously established relationships than to meet strangers (Papacharissi, 2011), thus empirical research suggests that SNS simply enhance the connection between individual lifestyle choices and politics which does not mean that we live an enriched civic life full of new political possibilities, but that we rather perpetuate industrial capitalism surpassed by an informational global capitalism powered by "innovative creative clusters that stretch across different spatial scales of the local, national, regional and global" (Roberts, 2014: 27). This scenario conforms a new network economy, comprised of computers, connectivity and knowledge (McKeown, 2009), upon which entrepreneurs and businesses, in order to be globally competitive, must rely on 'codified knowledge', in other words, they need to transform data and information into usable knowledge through the channels of creation, learning and innovation to anticipate contingent and uncertain circumstances by the construction of representations of possible futures (Leydesdorff, 2006), leading to self-fulfilling prophecies among those whirled up in the neoliberal system of contradictions.

Although these contradictions facilitate a critical and reflexive attitude towards the world giving rise for everyday beliefs and dialogue to carry an antagonistic potential to enter into public dialogue about specific contradictions and their related social problems (Bakhtin, 1981), this alternative critical public sphere (Habermas, 2014) emerges not because of the dominant power relations since it has always existed within the invisibles, as unnamed and *intocables*[3] resistance, which as a type of dissent embroiled in activism, survive through networks of belonging leaded by a strong DIY ethos. These types of resistance differentiate itself from those grasped within the new network economy, where

> people [that] might have once 'resisted' hegemonic power relations at the level of everyday - for example, through pop music – are now increasingly complicit in the

[3] Chilean slang meaning literally, the untouchables. Used in Chile as a derogatory way of referring to the marginalized portion of society.

> subversion of everyday resistance as they gain enjoyment and pleasure letting new media objects occupy mundane and routine popular spaces (Roberts, 2014: 98).

At this point, we may identify some traits of contemporary society, where mythologies are shifting towards a diversity of narratives adopting the 'both-neither' metamodern dynamic meanwhile, the 'dark faces' DIY lifestyle philosophy and creativity have created cooperative, collaborative, affective and creative networks which supports cultural productions that have spread globally as an ideological opposition towards professional standardization. The increasing amateur attitude within underground scenes, as "a conscious ideological struggle against the determination of artistic practices by commercial objectives" (Kaitajärvi-Tiekso, 2019: 104) or out of necessity, "borne by an unwillingness to waste time and effort into rationalizing production and profitability and a passion to instead pursue their own artistic and cultural objectives" (Kaitajärvi-Tiekso, 2019: 104), is a reflection of the relevance DIY ethos have in contemporary cultural, social and political research, since it have been able to grasp the adaptability and heterogeneity of DIY practitioners and how the skills acquired in these alternative scenes have become working tools for building sustainable and satisfying creative life projects for post-youth generations. DIY is the place where perpetual flight can be achieved. The ways outside the standards have always relied on the memory of the unnamed invisibles to maintain their identities. Art found its way of giving voice to some of those memories through the SI, as a first international expression, and although the spirit that once was felt seems to vanish, DIY research have been valuable to identify DIY ethos as a connecting thread of past invisibilities placed within social memory (Fentress & Wickham, 1992), in this case through music. Since it covers both sociological and political spheres, both approaches need to be addressed in order to give a broader and more extensive knowledge on how they intertwine following different lines of flight as a reflection of a very real but yet invisible reality of contemporary societies. Under this perspective, activism becomes throughout the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, the viral rise of alternative voices through a distinctive DIY ethos approach that allows, through supportive communities, the encounter with lines of flight that are able to create and produce their own existence.

3. The matter of context

The Chilean 2021 presidential elections as a case study bears different interactional and communicational contexts that will be summarized for the sake of the present research into four spheres:

A first macro level context that will focus on the one side, on the international weight and role of mass media in relation to the North-South communicational dependency and on the other side, an approach to the intercultural communication context. This becomes relevant since Chile have been historically dependent on Global North's news outlets as a semi-periphery country and have also suffered economic and political interference guided by international interests, aided by the Chilean bourgeoisie, situation that affects the internal dynamics of the country and their inhabitants.

A second sphere will consider digital networks, which permeates through global, local, translocal and virtual contexts and dynamics, as they are also important tools to either institutional or non-institutional practices.

A third context will be represented by the institutional dimension of Chilean politics through its constitutional process since the independence struggles, that are nevertheless bounded in relation to European culture and economy.

A final sphere will approach non-institutional politics in the way of activisms and the relation it has with patterns of political engagement.

3.1. Communication beyond media

The debate concerning the changes in a global culture, where old ways of cultural and power struggles amid an information-saturated environment are present although upon dynamics of change, the analysis of the international context of the World Communication since the establishment of the MacBride Commission by the 19th session of the United Nations (UN) Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) General Conference in Nairobi in 1976, serves as key, where the ambitious task to reassess all the existent problems of communication in contemporary society were discussed. It is important to consider that the different perspectives on international

communication had press control and censorship attempt by UNESCO under the guise of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) (Golding & Harris, 1997). Within this context, the Mass Media Declaration in 1978, as the UNESCO charter document, revealed an excessively mass media focused frame of reference, which would further deepen the gap between center and periphery causing a range of international cultural impacts beyond media.

Cultural imperialism has been a wide used term to refer to the hegemonic discourses delivered by mass media, but it is limiting, as Garafalo (1997) summarizes, beginning with the overstatement it makes to external determinants and undervalues the internal dynamics that exist in dependent societies, referred specifically as Third World States. This concept also seems outdated thus coined within historical and political specificities, particularly within the independence struggles that arose throughout the South regions of the world, nevertheless bounded in relation to European culture and economy. The second limitation of the term cultural imperialism is that it mixes economic power and cultural effects, where dynamics are subject to a different set of variables, since the first is held by the elites, and the latter, is a mixture of imperialism, generally dictated by the dominating center, as a way of erasing historical memory from their territories and the particularities of each culture which effects cannot be generalized just within one point of view. The third argument to the concept limitation is the assumption audiences are passive, "and that the local and the oppositional creativity is of little significance" (Golding & Harris, 1997: 7). Finally, it has patronizing assumptions on the 'authentic' and 'organic culture' of the developing countries at risk due to West synthetic interventions. Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997) also brough to question the term by her interest in documenting the rise of American corporate power and its ideological expansion worldwide via the media. The author presented two reductions, argument from the Frankfurt School, that make cultural imperialism unacceptable thus it reduces culture to the products of the cultural industries alone, and it has the tendency to assume that the earlier political and military dynamics of imperialism have a minor cultural impact upon these regions (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1972).

Globalization also becomes a controversial concept as Mohammed Musa (1997) argues, where globalization of information seems to be a process where the lowest common denominator rules, thus leaving the complexity of some issues and processes aside (Musa, 1997), feeling that have emerged throughout history as campaigns against 'cultural poisons' by the Vietnamese government, and rules that have been implemented since 1996 by the Chinese government seeking to increase control over cyberspace, limiting and prohibiting information that could 'hinder public order', as some examples.

Even though globalization is bound to be 'the concept of the 1990s' (Waters, 1995), for Peter Golding (1997) it constitutes the third phase of Communication research in international dynamics, where the first, involves a happy optimism toward the media as multipliers that would magically bring development advice "immediately, effectively and extensively to the info-hungry multitudes" (Golding & Harris, 1997: 4). The second phase involves the spread of western imagery and culture as a new way of imperialism, referred sometimes as cultural imperialism, and globalization as the third phase implies a different set of dynamics but nevertheless a continuum of previous enthusiasm and cultural imperialism.

The New International Information Order (NIIO) was meant at the beginning as a complementary to the Third World appeal for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) that claimed that it could restructure the international economic system that governs the flows of trade, capital, and technology, so to weaken the North-South direction domination thus dependency of countries from the South under the recognition of the global imbalances in communication and information structures, but the NWICO was taken up by UNESCO and applied ways that reinforced North-South direction especially between mass media institutions from the North, such as the 'Big Four' international news agencies (Agence France Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) and Reuters), for example, and the 'Third World', using communication and information as serving commercial rather than social functions. As Peter Golding (1997) foresaw,

> The internet is being heralded by aficionados as the means for horizontal communication and global networking which will revolutionize relationships, both local and global, yet it is commercialization in the mid-1990s looks all too familiar to observers of past technological promise (Golding & Harris, 1997: 7).

The appearance of the 'village planet', in terms of communications, has leveled consumer and living patterns qualitatively, meanwhile the worldwide dimension has also been questioned for accentuating the contrasts thus deepening frustrations. Criticism to communication and media scholarship poses that they too frequently get confined in administrative bureaucracy, and that the frame of reference is generally focused in the mass media, as the UNESCO charter Mass Media Declaration in 1978 clearly insinuates, by which they control and license journalists in the Third World authoritarian regimes, posing contradiction when interpreting local culture through the western 'liberal freedom of the press' view, thus raises inadequate cultural, identity and globalization questions.

Finally, the NIIO referred as the effort mainly by the NWICO for alternative and egalitarian flow of information worldwide, remains inegalitarian, in ways which mark the lives of a privileged majority as much as the impoverished minority as depicted in 2019 Human Development Report, where not only disparities remain widespread, but they also reveal a new generation of inequalities which basic capabilities converge but enhanced capabilities diverge greatly (UNDP, 2019), concluding that inequalities accumulate through life, often reflecting deep power imbalances.

3.2. Digital networks

With the network effect upon us, it is difficult to imagine how things used to have a human pace or even how it felt like *When Computers Were Women* (Light, 1999), once upon a time, when women-computers were handled by male supervisors, who defined the architecture of the programs given as form of instructions to the groups whose job was that of the first universal machine conceived by John von Neumann, and that of pattern-spotting, used nowadays in technologies such as algorithms. This was a common practice in research, where women were invisible, thus their work was not valued in

respect of the credit they deserved, now that we have seen the role of computers, whatever form it takes, in our daily lives. This fact does not seem trivial when increasing gender studies within Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) are emerging presenting important findings that bring attention to the masculine shaping of this technology (Haddon, 1990), from hardware, middleware, software, to apps, as well as everything they contain. This informal institutionalization of the way of constructing and mapping the web further sustains a gender-bias hierarchical power structure, as well as mental health issues among new generations, thus presenting serious aspects at different levels, which has called for a deconstruction as alternative options have appeared, such as grassroots movements, to tackle hierarchizations of race, ethnicity, and other age-old inequalities associated with gender and class (Garofalo, 1993). Since the computer may be perceived as a cultural factor (Turkle, 1980), standing as an interactive machine that has influenced the interface between user and the machine in a different way than other technologies, affecting and influencing both technical and social features of human relationships, thus it has become a symbolic object in the daily environment (Aune, 1996). Yet how does this relate to political communication?

The struggle in media politics between politicians, journalists and citizens presented by Zaller (1999) is accurate, whilst it exposes a power bias between the former two upon the latter, which remains as a passive recipient of the messages. Nowadays, media has evolved into what some authors have called as network society (Castells, 2010; van Dijck, 2012), where, especially Castell's work, it reveals how the network facilitates the creation of new forms of popular movements, where the receiver and sender becomes somewhat undistinguishable. Even though, as in Kraut and collaborators (1998) words, "the effects of technology will be shaped by how they are constructed by engineers, how they are deployed by service providers, and how they are used by consumers" (Kraut *et al.*, 1998: 1030), which indicates that self-regulation, as a solution against the downside of social media, is just a part of what shapes our technology, being increasingly difficult considering how the construction of digital structures facilitates digital platform providers persuasive and abusive mechanisms upon their users. Also, in the realm of semiotics, within an intercultural communication context, the transcodification of the

messages are generally produced by senders that hold symbolic power over receivers, meanwhile the latter will translate the messages within their existing hierarchies of symbols and signs (Sarmento, 2015). To be conscious of these social networks structure becomes part of what some researchers refer as digital or media literacy. Five humanistic principles developed at Aspen Institute Leadership Conference on Media Literacy for a better understanding of the constraints chained to their messages are elucidative, as first, all media messages are constructed, second, this construction uses language with its own rules, third, individuals interpret the same media messages differently, forth, media have embedded values and points of view, and fifth, it states that most media are organized to gain profit and/or power (Hobbs, 2018).

As already refered, research in 2012 comparative study on *Digital media and political engagement* concludes that political communication in digital realms are able to provoke engagement only on those who are already somehow engaged offline or had previous interest in politics initiated outside the digital environment (Andaluzia, Jensen and Jorba, 2012; Norris, 2009) which would suggest that political communication online is of no use if there are none offline, thus implies a deeper question, as how do people get engaged politically? Trying to elucidate this question, I will go back to the time *When Computers Were Women* (Light, 1999), where it depicts the struggles inherent to minorities, outlaws and invisibles, whom within every displacement are resilient to unknown new shocks. It is within this context, that political communication in the network society makes sense, where it is the creativity of minorities that boosted new inter-cultural forms and diversified ways of popular movements along the way. Instead of racing after the last trend, as a Fear-of-Missing-Out (FOMO) symptom, cross-cultural communication between key actors should be further studied as the power dynamics of the users with the institutions within their devices would reveal patterns of offline political engagement, as the the digital device is considered to have a key role since cultural studies consider CMC equivalent to face-to-face interactions after a period of time thus considered a form of intercultural communication (Barker & Jane, 2016).

3.3. A State called Chile

The Republic of Chile is formally defined as a Presidential Government, a unitary State and a Representative Democracy, but it is only by analyzing how it interacts throughout the country's political, economic and cultural history that we can really understand how and why of its political culture. Since the way processes and actors of a country's political system emerges and maintains throughout history helps us recognize the State in which a particular country is immersed, I will start by giving a brief historical view that led to the different Fundamental Laws from 1810 to the present one of 1980, making a special emphasis on the articles that shaped the structure and the values of the future ones. This journey becomes relevant as the Constituent Assembly created as a result of the 2019 social outbreak will be considered as the control group of the following research bearing both and neither institutional and non-institutional political features overcoming the left-right political spectrum.

The wave for Independence in Latin American countries started to see a way through when Napoleon invaded Spain during the Peninsular War, leaving the administration of the Spanish colonies and their armies without its legitimate King Ferdinand VII. The wars for independence were mainly a victory for the creole, also the leading military and intellectual forces behind these wars. Scattered in Latin America, they would be the ones to decide the organization of the new States ruled by the remaining Europeans descendants and themselves. This is the case of Chile, where these two groups, together with the clerical authorities, were the only active political forces (Bengoa, 2015). Among them was creole José Miguel Carrera, whom after fighting in Spain against Napoleon, went back to Chile to join and lead in 1812, the recently created Government *Junta*[4] that would set the starting point for the period of constitutional exercises that will follow from 1812 to 1828.

José Miguel Carrera was succeeded by Bernardo O'Higgins, also member of the before mentioned Government *Junta*. Bernardo O'Higgins enforced the 1818 Provisional

[4] 'Junta de gobierno' in Spanish.

Fundamental Law which included Chile's Independence Act but concentrating all decision making to the city of Santiago and to the Supreme Director, role O'Higgins designated for himself. In 1822, Chile's first Carta Magna was presented showing a more structured system, including some political rights and a more defined separation between executive, legislative and judicial power, but nevertheless, it was clear of O'Higgins intentions to perpetuate his mandate (Bengoa, 2015). Resistance from the cities of Coquimbo and of Concepción forced O'Higgins to resign while the Conservatives were taking over by imposing a new Constitution in 1823 which dissolved the National Congress, that was at that time under the Provisional Constitution of 1823 titled Regional Union Act[5]. Although, the new 1828 Carta Magna had the merit of declaring Chile to be a sovereign State for the first time[6] (Republic of Chile, 2015) his author Juan Egaña, a jurist and a writer, also included strict moral and economic views, such as the suspension of citizenship if considered an unemployed servant[7] (Republic of Chile, 2015), for example. Also, the term National Morality[8] was introduced, where all legislation should be dictated following a moral code. Meanwhile, the federalist spirit was strong in the region leading to the derogation by the Supreme Director of the 1823 Constitution because it did not respect previous regional rights[9].

At this point, Chile's political forces were divided into two fractions: the *Pipiolos*, formed mostly by Liberal Federalists and Centralist Liberals creoles; and the *Pelucones*, represented by the Spanish, the *criollos* that defended monarchy, Conservatives, Catholics, *O'higginistas*, landowning class and merchants[10].

From 1826 to 1827 Chile went under a Federal Constitution Project that divided the country into eight regions (Collier & Sater, 2012). Due to the active opposition of the *Pelucones* to federal systems, the *Pipiolos* in power shortly replaced the project with a

[5] 'Acta de Unión de las Provincias' in Spanish.
[6] Title I, Chapter I, Article 2 of the 1823 Constitution of Chile.
[7] Title III, Chapter II, Article 16 of the 1823 Constitution of Chile.
[8] Title XXII of the 1823 Constitution of Chile.
[9] 'Derechos provinciales' in Spanish. At that time, Chile was divided in provinces and each of them was considered a region with individual rights under the 1823 *Acta de Unión de las Provincias* [Regional Union Act] and under previous federal laws.
[10] 'Estanqueros' in Spanish.

mandate to the appointed Constituent Congress to redact a new Fundamental Law. Put in practice in 1828, it defined Chile as a Popular Representative Republic[11], where the legislative, executive and judicial powers would be separated[12]. The legislative power would reside on a bicameral Congress composed by deputies and senators, the first elected by Electorate Vote and the latter, by Regional Assemblies, both representing each of the eight regions.

The hostilities between the *Pipiolos* and *Pelucones* would finally lead to the 1829 Civil War won by the latter mainly due to the fragmentation inside the Liberal group with the Federalist army leaded by José Miguel Carrera[13], on one side, and the Centralist Liberals on the other side (Collier, 1967). The 1833 political Constitution, also known as the beginning of the 'Portalian State', would replace the previous one with a parliamentary system dominated by an oligarchy (Salazar, 2012). As referred by Darío Montero:

> the Portalian State was not a consensual and legitimate national project. Quite the opposite, it was born from within a dramatically divided society and from the onset had to face intense resistance, which in turn explains the need for a strongly authoritarian State. That division and this resistance had their roots in a typically Chilean popular democratic imaginary in centuries-old traditions and sovereign-political habits. (Montero, 2015: 16)

This authoritarian Constitution (Illanes, 2003; Montero, 2015; Salazar, 2005) would be the first Fundamental Law to perdure for almost a hundred years which also the wars, such as the Occupation of Araucanía (1861-1883), the Hispanic American War (1865-1871) and the Pacific War (1879-1884), helped to sustain.

During the following period, Chilean political actors matured and defined stronger leaderships and political parties. After a coup by the Conservatives, overthrowing Liberals that were finally going to end the Conservative predominance, the 1925

[11] Chapter IV, Article 21 of the 1828 Constitution of Chile.
[12] Chapter V of the 1828 Constitution of Chile.
[13] José Miguel Carrera had previously escaped to Argentina, visited the United States and with a renewed federalist inspiration, returned to Chile leading the Federalist army against Conservatives in the 1829 Batalla of Lircay [Lircay Battle].

Constitution was implemented. This Fundamental Law was based on the previous 1833 conservative principles but favored presidential powers and an even more centralized country. This one would stay in force until the military coup of 1973. The next Carta Magna would only appear in 1980, under the Military Dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet and redacted by the Chicago Boys which introduced Milton Friedman's free-market economic theory from the Chicago School of Economics, also known as the Neoliberal Model. The Constitution of 1980 would be reformed twice, once in 1989 with 54 modifications, particularly reducing the use of the State of Exception condition and then, in 2005, where major changes such as the elimination of designated and life senators, the reduction of the President's mandates from 6 to 4 years and the reinforcement of civil power over military power were included.

This quick journey into Chilean constitutional history was intended to highlight aspects within its political culture that would somehow explain how and why legitimate power has been held systemically by those born into families with high social, cultural and economic capital, exposing its historically technocratic approach and the systemic exclusion of popular voices in the decision-making instances. It is a history where the constitutional periods, including the current neoliberal phase, are "seen as avatars of an essentially anti-democratic State matrix" (Montero, 2015). As Chilean historian Gabriel Salazar (2012) points out, the people of Chile have never really exercised their sovereignty nor their constituent right since the political forces, after the Spanish colonization, have continuously discriminated the *mestizo*[14]people *"without god nor law"*[15] (Salazar, 2012: 275) which makes up the largest part of the population. From another perspective, in line with the consequences reflected in Chilean contemporary society, the difficulty to overcome the systemic social struggles of neoliberal Chile were so tangible and coercive that 'something in the air' was felt by all Chileans that 2019.

The long-lasting effects of the Spanish colonization; the regional and internal key events, summarized in this occasion by its constitutional history which becomes relevant since

[14] *Mestizos* is a derogative term to refer to the children of European settlers and existing indigenous locals.
[15] "Sin dios ni ley" in Spanish.

the importance of writing a new Constitution as the political result of the 2019 social outbreak is a milestone in this aspect; and the poor economic and social conditions, especially in childhood and of the elderly, may give some insights into Chile's political culture and how it shaped the actual political scenario. Systemic abuse of power over the most vulnerable portion of the population have been disguised behind layers of outstanding political and economic stability figures. It creates at first sight, contradictory realities like in 2019, Chile joining the top-ranked countries from a 'flawed democracy' to a 'full democracy' (EIU, 2020) and the bursting of the biggest social outbreak that same year. In a political culture based on foreign interference, the connectivity of the twenty-first century has played a major role by reinforcing local networks to be heard internationally giving some balance in the weight of power. The fact that Chile is seen, by its numbers, as a model country in the region, has also contributed to legitimate the voices of the people of Chile by the global community, thus creating a clear and stronger common voice. The creation of a Constituent Assembly with 155 members elected by popular vote was 'approved'[16] by 67% of the voters in the October 2020 National Plebiscite. The future Constitution of Dissent[17] may give the people of Chile the opportunity to exercise their democratic right by being participant, for the first time, of a legitimate Constitution where actual contingency gave the conditions for thus to happen.

Due to the change, a rebound, more knowledge, education, access to virtual skills which allows us to be informed about trends and causes, various struggles came together with a common discourse which context mirrors in many sociopolitical and cultural ways the plebiscite of 1988 in Chile, where what was at stake was resistance guided by the strong sentiment of hope that an opportunity to retake their lives back from dictatorship was palpable, echoing forward to the period of Chilean 2021 presidential elections.

[16] Ballot had the option to approve [*apruebo*] or reject [*rechazo*] the draft of a new Constitution for Chile.
[17] Term coined by Aldo Mascareno (2020) referring to the results of Chile's national poll carried out by CEP in December 2019 which revealed that Chileans disapproved of almost all institutions, the government and the political class.

In 2019, Chile was the stage of a social outbreak that Chilean sociologist Alberto Mayol (2020) has called the Big Bang, an inevitable and violent explosion boosted by cycles of contraction that ignored the signs of a society fed-up with the recurrent cycles of crisis and distrust (Mayol, 2020). Some of the more visible social bursts in the last cycle were the 2011 student movement; the 2012 regional movements in the cities of Aysén and Calama, including environmental movements in the cities of Freirina and Antofagasta; the 2016 *NO+AFP*[18] movement; the 2018 feminist movement; and the mentioned 2019 social uprising. According to Mayol, the fundamental trait that marks the beginning of these social mobilizations from the previous ones is the incapability of the State to handle administratively the problems that were emerging, together with other distinctive characteristics such as the magnitude of the movement and the pronounced top-bottom cleavage (Mayol, 2020).

It is important to consider the historical memory of abuse in Chilean society. These social manifestations have been representative of Chile's 2011-2019 crisis cycle in which the concept of abuse is the core aspect of the crisis of the State legitimacy (Mayol, 2020) reflected at the beginning of this process, although abuse is not particular to this period only. As we can quickly recall the Spanish colonization, the English saltpeter industry domination, the North American copper industry domination are just a small summary of crisis provoked by external interference relying on Chilean workers adaptability and vulnerability until the election of 1970. As Eduardo Galeano (2017) stated:

> Chile served as an appendix of the British economy: the most important provider of fertilizer for the European market did not have the right for a life of its own. (…) The saltpeter crisis was Chile's crisis, a deep wound, because Chile lived of saltpeter and for saltpeter – and saltpeter was in foreign hands.[19] (Galeano, 2017: 230).

[18] 'No more AFP' in English. AFP represents Chilean Pension Funds that are administrated by private companies.

[19] Original in portuguese: "O Chile funcionava como um apêndice da economia britânica: o mais importante fornecedor de adubos do mercado europeu não tinha direito a uma vida própria. (…) A crise do salitre foi a crise do Chile, ferida profunda, porque o Chile vivia do salitre e para o salitre – e o salitre estava em mãos estrangeiras."

These internationally imposed ‘commerce wars’ carved profound wounds in the Chilean historical memory of abuse, leading to the election of socialist Salvador Allende as president in 1970 as a way to seek for an alternative approach of governability. During his three years of presidency, the international media commanded by North American news outlets, employed the same discrediting tactics they had used in the previous ‘commerce wars’ to influence the international public opinion, in line with the Chilean bourgeoisie. After the 1973 military coup that overthrew Salvador Allende, the abuses under Augusto Pinochet would only deepen the gap between the classes, salt peppered with unresolved grief, terror, and alienation.

As Chile prepared for democracy after 16 years of harsh dictatorship, the ‘No’ political campaign for the national plebiscite to vote the leave of Pinochet and the beginning of the democratic transition, was an example of the use of creativity embedded of DIY ethos and dynamics to deliver a political message that was constantly boycotted and censured. After the election of Patricio Aylwin as first president of the transition to democracy in 1990, political messages lost the drive it had with the ‘No’ campaign in 1988, which was also reflected on the decreasing voting turnouts. It was only until the October 2020 plebiscite, that 51% of the population went to vote, resulting in the highest turnout since voting became voluntary in 2012. At the 2020 referendum, 67% voted ‘Yes’ to approve the election of a constituent body that would draft the new Constitution for Chile. This broad overview of Chile’s political scenery through approaches on political communication and the population voting patterns would suggest a gap between institutional politics and informal politics, where the latter becomes interested in engaging in formal political practices only when DIY dynamics are perceived through its messages by relating them to their community practices where there is a window of opportunity to participate for foundational changes. The institutional politics, therefore, uses messages with DIY ethos as commodities which feeling (Gauntlett, 2012) when perceived as non-authentic leads to ignoring, and when leaded to action, runs the risk of falling into populism. Nevertheless, the uprising of social movements, political participations and manifestations during the last years as a global phenomenon, accelerated the retaking of the voices of *the invisibles* in Chile. The

increase of these activisms with a clear DIY ethos dynamics have proliferated since 2011, at the beginning of the last crisis cycle in Chile, together with a decrease in voting which may further indicate that DIY dynamics, channeled through activisms, may be the territory for offline political engagement, place where empirical research suggest, is the only trigger for further political participation or commitment.

In this context, political engagement only refer to the activities that imply behaviours (or purposeful abstention from an activity) that target political or broader community problems (Slavina, 2021). The acceptance of the emerging political repertoires such as protests, boycotts, petition signing, flash mobs, etc. as activisms, was differentiated from the conventional forms of political participation, such as voting , party membership or authorized manifestations, thus categorized as non-institutional activisms (Kaase, 1999; Slavina, 2021), with actions ranging from donating money for political causes to helping neighbors.

3.4. Non-institutional activisms

Activism, as a moment of resistance, is more often than not, conscious of its political and social aims and goals, which can be included as a form of dissent, which refers broadly to those that differ in opinion, disagree with a majority or take an opposing view, thus not all dissent can be conceptualized as part of activism or resistance. Also, the border between activism and resistance is quite undistinguishable, although we may perceive acts of resistance through organized activism, where the individuals are considered activists for a specific economic, political, or social cause that they believe is worth fighting for in society. Furthermore, there are individuals that are unintentionally engaged in resistance, which would be difficult to identify or to isolate for research, thus I will borrow Roberts (2014) concept of dissent "as a conceptual tool that overcomes the polarities that emerges from resistance, focusing on less political, less organized and less conscious acts of defiance against perceived grievances" (Roberts, 2014: 10), all of which belongs to popular lived experience and popular culture because it emerges through the invisible politics of leisure, solidarity, friendship, networks, family life and community. The use of activism and resistance will be used interchangeably to refer to the conscious

intention by an individual or group through any organized political and social acts of resistance.

More specifically, non-institutional activisms cover a wide range of actions that requires, for the study of these dynamics, a framework that relates to political engagement and activisms, which Slavina (2021) have resumed through three types of non-institutional engagement: the collective, the communicative and the individualized activism. These activisms become more identifiable by analyzing the three variables that define the patterns of political participation: (1) resources and social location, such as education, income, cultural capital, etc.; (2) Individual level values, in this case categorized within a 'duty-based citizenship' or an 'engaged citizenship'; and (3) contextual-level structure, referring to the local/ global/ virtual context. In relation with the first variable, Slavina's (2021) research concluded that higher income households are more akin to engage in individualized activisms, which allows them to participate politically as a part of their daily routines, where women are the most likely to participate; and the lower income households' activists are more likely to belong to collective engagements. As for the individual level values, the 'duty-based citizenship' stresses social order and obligation as values, while the 'engaged citizenship' favors autonomy and critical thinking. Moreover, the people that value equality, autonomy and freedom are generally more probable to prefer an engaged citizenship approach. Although, both share a mistrust of government (Kaase, 1999), feeling associated with the engagement in non-institutional activism, being individual, collective or communicative.

At the contextual-level sphere, the political structure of the State and the social-political-economic particularities of each country and the life trajectories of each social agent must be considered since it is crucial for the understanding, from the notions of habitus, capital and field of Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice, how these cultural practices reflect social structures.

> The conditions associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices (Bourdieu, 1990: 66-67).

In this sense, if we consider activisms and artivisms as cultural practices reflected within underground scenes, we may distinguish how they become an habitus with a particular ethos since authenticity, youth conviviality, artistic production, mainstream defiance and ritual performance that characterize these scenes impels the social agents to undertake ethical, cultural and aesthetic values. The ethical stance through DIY practices and dynamics becomes a symbolic domain to confront the hegemonic impositions, where autonomy, equality, freedom, creativity and the community of doing creates creative collective networks (Willis, 1997). As it relies on everyday conviviality, the structured structures are considered radical habitus (Crossley, 2003), calling to establish themselves as standards and a lifestyle that becomes prefigurative politics (van de Sande, 2013) creating social alternatives that produces commons outside capital, which is already by itself a political struggle (Hardt & Negri, 2003).

At this point, before addressing communicative activisms, the voice- and exit- political strategies for activism (Teorell, Torcal & Montero, 2007) must be mentioned, where the voice- strategy uses the exercise of voice as a way of political engagement, and the exit-strategy are sporadic, informal and of individualized nature. The communicative activism, then, relies on voice- based strategy, such as contacting the media, politicians or civil servants and expressing political views on the Internet. The individualized activism would use exit-based strategies such as the signing of petitions, boycotting products, donating money or raising funds for a political or social cause and engages politically through daily, personal lifestyle choices and position taking.

We may distinguish DIY ethos within some non-institutional activism, specially related to collective activisms, although individual activisms considering it as a lifestyle also bears DIY characteristics. In this way, non-institutional activisms serve as a framework to identify DIY dynamics within the object of research.

4. Artivisms

Artivisms as a strategy of activism, empowered by the rise of social media (Castells, 2010; Wang & Liu, 2020), have been defined as a social and political engagement of militant artists or art used by citizens seeking for political expression (Salzbrunn, 2019). Artivisms have also been considered as an association between something with artistic value and the political impact it may reach through activisms (Wang & Liu, 2020), or as any activist collaboration between artists and other actors. Taking these definitions, we could apply the term to many cultural practices of the Global South as artivisms since art, perceived through music, theatre, performance, dance, etc., is the most abundant resource people in Latin America rely on to protest since censorship and traditional governments have always imposed their main narratives therefore, the use of creativity to overcome these restrictions through art becomes an effective tactic, embedded with DIY dynamics, that uses the main narrative holders blind spot, that is, the conception of art as a respectable work that increases cultural capital, thus ignoring political stands for the sake of this perception and for the sake of the mass commercialization of a product, since as biological beings we do not see that we do not see what we do not see (Maturana, Varela & Behncke, 1984).

In contemporary Chile, the resistance strategies of the Mapuche people have been perpetuated and translated later, into DIY competences for cultural and political production and practice. This is especially visible within the 2019 social outbreak, where the representative flag as holding the symbolic power of the outburst was the Mapuche flag, while the national flag was present but secondary and, moreover, the national symbols have been questioned in relation to their representativeness in upcoming manifestations and institutional events in Chile. This is important since the Mapuche people have been the only indigenous group in South America that were able to stand a war against the European colonization and managed to merely survive, thus their resistance rely on a long memory before written History, thus embedded in the Chilean culture, although always hidden, because of shame or social convention, until the 2019 uprising. The reappropriation of indigenous symbols, rituals and practices openly becomes a political use of identity to express resistance from hegemonic discourses,

aesthetics and art. This has been the case of the *tinku*, an Andean dance reappropriated into Santiago's urban context present in political demonstrations, which supported by a strong counter-hegemonic and self-governed collective, has been able to deliver aesthetic resistance (Fernández & Fernández, 2015) against the standards imposed by 'white faces' over their bodies and our environment.

In recent years, political messages in the way of artivism (Aladro-Vico, Jivkova-Semova & Bailey, 2018) have been extensively explored in social studies, where the role of minorities have been an explosive surprise in the interconnected world within the contemporary global setting as value-driven to satisfy creative and aesthetic gratification instead of profit motives (Bennett & Guerra, 2019). This has also been reaffirmed by the effects of the 'visual culture' studied across many academic fields (Guerra, 2019). The adaptation and resilience shown in political messages worldwide reflect many features that were already present in the DIY code of cultural politics in the mid-1980s recognized as a global alternative culture (Guerra, 2020b). This initial approach for deciphering the many changes of political communication beyond media should be further strengthen methodologically. Nevertheless, locally specific but transnationally connected ways should be respected through an interdisciplinary and multi-sensorial approach (Sebeok, Alfred & Bateson, 1964; Bieletto-Bueno & Burdick, 2019).

In this sense, artivisms, whether it is a strategy of activism (Castells, 2010; Wang & Liu, 2020), the social and political engagement of militant artists (Salzbrunn, 2019), art used by citizens seeking political expression (Salzbrunn, 2019), the association between something with artistic value and the political impact it may reach (Wang & Liu, 2020), or any activist collaboration between artists and other actors (Wang & Liu, 2020), I believe they define a way of categorizing artivisms that are inevitably tied to institutional expressions. As developed previously on how DIY ethos can be identified, the dynamics that artivisms create are not visible or tangible at first glance. It communicates through senses that cannot be captured by a linear model of communication, but only perceived when you can experience the invisible orchestra playing the unwritten partiture only they somehow know how to play. If we take artivisms to the Chilean socioeconomic

context, we may discover at the surface many differences with the way, first of all, activism is perceived in Chile in relation with the internationally acquired notion of activists. Norris (2009) states that that activisms online and individualized activisms were found in a greater number in countries where they had a longer tradition of democracy that also relates with the difference in access to the skills needed so to be part of the online community of activists. I believe that as any concept that is introduced, it will always be determined by the territory where they are practiced, experienced and lived.

In this aspect, in the case of Chile, where there is little democratic tradition, the cultural practices with local DIY ethos that have been local and translocal for quite some time, are considered more acceptable thanks to *punk* globalization and has been present in the cities cultural and music scenes. In this way, artivisms could be defined as the political use of identity that expresses dissent from the hegemonic aesthetic and art. These artivisms articulate anomic interest groups (Almond & Powell, 1966), such as the ones seen at the student's movement, that reclaimed what people thought public services and spaces should be, that criticized how more and more spaces were being appropriated by institutions or privatized and that called out for direct action by organizing themselves through affinity networks. As anomic articulations, it empowered a new emerging social movement that searched for a gradual increase of the acceptance of the political values they represent, by promoting themselves to break the cultural indifference through the enforcement of cultural trends that would be maintained in the future exposing the conflict of objectives and values between the public policies and the pressure group (Rose, 1974). The success of 2019 social outbreak was also favored thanks to how Chileans maximized their resources using new communication channels, although all of this could not be possible at the wrong timing. 2019 was a strategic place and time where these articulations were able to benefit from the most favorable moment to pressure the entities with decision-making power using the intolerable uncomfortableness they helped to create among the population (Pasquino, 2000). As anomic groups characterize by being sporadic and heterodox, artivisms seem to appear and disappear, being impossible to eradicate despite the adversities they meet. Without

an identifiable leader, they always seem to emerge from time to time whenever a voice asks to be heard. They are able to mobilize themselves rapidly thanks to prior experiences in social movements, enhanced technological capabilities and an extended affinity network based on DIY ethos. With a strong visual, empowerment of woman, body politics, inclusive music and a resistance culture, they are able to articulate their interests placing the question and the concerns about neoliberalism and resistance in meeting discussions, press releases and at the dinner table of the Chilean society.

This scenario surpasses the Bourdieuian sociology of the habitus and the flow of transmission of the different capitals (Bourdieu, 2009) where the author restricts the notion of class to politics, as another of the many causes activists' advocate today, and revindicate the microsocial level as a key moment for action giving the individual and its capitalization a relevant position. It has indeed multiplied the voices silenced by the historical notion of class, nevertheless, amidst a neoliberal system that encourages a strong individualization based on standards that have erased, whenever possible, the memory and practices of resistance, by imposing a culture that separates, a culture that serves as an instrument of differentiation rather than a communicational intermediary that unites. The disputed cultural capital between institutional and non-institutional practices collides within social and popular movements. In the case of Chile´s 2019 social outbreak, the collective revindication of equality as a way to create the conditions to freely express their diverse, although fragmented, identities within a historical moment that permitted to build, despite the accumulation of cultural capital from the power holders, a common and plural identity into which the individuals could finally fit in. In this sense, the individual of fragmented identities found temporarily an answer to the cultural challenge of identifying a We as Chileans (PNUD, 2002), entering a post-Bourdieuian sociology (Gayo, 2021). In other words, within a social, political and cultural convulsion that leaves culture adrift (Gayo, 2021), the inversion of the key notions presented by Bourdieu (2009) contributes to bring forward collective identities that construct island-cultures (Gayo, 2021) within the reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of a diversity of multiple territories (Caulkins *et al*., 2020; Rodríguez *et al*., 2020).

5. Research object, objectives and methodology

The above chapters tried to elucidate the key concepts and arguments that will try to first answer the question if DIY has anything to do with the institutional politics within the present 2021 presidential election context, and if it does, secondly, what is the importance of the DIY ethos in the configuration of contemporary Chilean politics? and How does DIY ethos relate to contemporary Chilean politics?

The Chilean 2021 Presidential Election gives a unique framework to study the dynamics of contemporary Chilean politics since it reflects, as I have tried to describe in the previous chapters, a particular confrontation between institutional politics and non-institutional political participation. It is important to address that after the 2019 social outbreak, a Constitutional Convention was created after 67% of the Chilean population voted yes to the approval of a constituent body that would draft a new Carta Magna for Chile in a period of 9 months, extensible for another three months, which means that it should be ready on the first-year presidency of the new elected president. The national plebiscite of October 2020 which resulted in the highest turnout (51%) since voting became voluntary in 2012 represents a shift in Chilean politics and in this case, the Constitutional Convention formed by almost one-third of the candidates from independent lists, following egalitarian principles and mostly as a response to unsustainable neoliberal policies, served to address the representativeness of DIY dynamics in contemporary Chilean politics. In this context, for the purpose of the present research, the Constitutional Convention will be taken as a control sample group, first, as a result of the 2019 social outbreak, since the results are part of every process, following the systemic approach, and as a process itself which as a different product from institutional and non-institutional politics, merges dynamics of both formal and informal politics.

The relation between institutional politics and non-institutional politics seems relevant if we also consider the audience-producer circularity (Rosa, 2016) of our post-modern times where the once power struggle for political news between politicians and the media is no longer exclusive to them, thus highlighting the importance of having

different approaches to grasp more realistically the contingent public opinion and the effectiveness and efficiency of Chilean contemporary political communication.

Having identified the research object, my initial hypothesis that will guide the present study states that DIY dynamics are more resistant than other political practices, and as a second hypothesis I will further indicate that the use of contemporary institutional politics of DIY dynamics as an extension of their political communication are most of the time aleatorily efficient or effective.

5.1. General and specific objectives

To better delimitate the object to be studied, I have identified the following two main objectives:

1. Identify and map the DIY practices / dynamics of political resistance, especially but not exclusively, in Santiago of Chile in the last year within the 2021 presidential election political context for daily informal practices.
2. Identify and map DIY practices / dynamics of political resistance framed in institutional politics in Chile within the 2021 presidential horse-race period.

In order to reach these objectives, activist profiles will most probably emerge. If that is the case, my third objective would be to:

3. Outline and make a typology of DIY practices / dynamics of political resistance in contemporary Chile.

5.2. Methodology

The Chilean institutional politics, on one side, and the Chilean informal practices of political participation, on the other side, will be studied during the 2021 Chilean presidential election period, but since, formal politics dynamics differ from informal ones, using an extended case method (Burawoy, 1998), different techniques for data recollection will be applied in order to identify each of the sample groups particularities.

5.2.1. Chilean 2021 Presidential Candidates data for institutional politics

5.2.1.1. Sample

Through secondary data retrieved from the posts of the presidential candidates Gabriel Boric, Sebastián Sichel and Antonio Kast official Instagram accounts, institutional politics will be analyzed and DIY practices and dynamics will be identified. The first two candidates were selected since they are considered independent from traditional political parties: Gabriel Boric, leader of the progressive Social Convergence Party, founded in 2018 and legalized in March 2020, and Sebastián Sichel, former Minister of the Social Development and Family Ministry and former president of *Banco del Estado*[20], who as an independent candidate won the center-right *Chile Podemos Más* coalition primaries. Antonio Kast was also included since he was the runner-up candidate on the 2021 presidential election and represents the right-wing traditional parties.

5.2.1.2. Data collection

Institutional politics data will be collected in the last month of the political horse-race, as it is a relevant period that summarizes the entire election campaign (Zaller, 1999). In order to categorize the institutional politics data from the selected three candidates, I will be using frame building elements which will cover the cognitive, critical and constructive approach to frames, especially as network activated frames (Aruguete, 2021). In this way, the cognitive paradigm considers frames as a knowledge activation process (Price & Tewksbury, 1997) where the frame assists to the attributes of the messages, being organization, selection of content or theme structure, and where accessibility is referred as the potential accumulation of the available knowledge. For the critical perspective, frames are conceived as persistent models of knowledge, interpretation and presentation with which who holds the social and political power organize their verbal and / or visual discourse (Gitlin, 2003). Finally, the constructivists approach frames as bond to productive routines where senders process information by creating tool packages (D'Angelo, 2002) with which the active audiences interact, and

[20] Chile's only public bank.

start with the premise that all news are social constructions (Tuchman, 1983). Under these perspectives, the data collected from each candidate official Instagram account posts will have Format, Emotion, Narrative and Theme as main categories. The dimensions included in the narrative category used the elements that framing defines in the messages, such as, the effects or the conditions as problematics, the identification of causes, the transmission of moral judgements, the promotion of remedies and forecasting. Overarching themes dimensions will be identified during the data collection process. Further dimensions included in the main categories will be retrieved while categorizing the selected candidates' posts.

5.2.1.3. Analysis

Using frame elements to categorize the data collected from the selected candidates' posts I expect to retrieve results that would indicate the trends related to format types, exploited emotions, preferred narratives and recurrent themes, which should allow to identify how the campaign messages of each of the candidates were constructed and finally identify the importance institutional politics give DIY practices and dynamics, thus able to position the relevance of DIY ethos in the configuration of contemporary Chilean politics.

5.2.2. Artivisms and political interventions data for informal and everyday politics

5.2.2.1. Sample

The sample group for identifying informal and everyday politics in relation to the Chilean 2021 presidential elections will have 15 interviewees that have engaged previously in DIY dynamics and practices. They will be contacted by snowball effect since it allows us to approach social agents that have a special relevance in the configuration of Chilean contemporary non-institutional politics.

5.2.2.2. Data Collection

For informal political practices, primary data will be collected among Chileans that have been involved previously in DIY dynamics and practices, particularly but not exclusively, held in Santiago of Chile. Taking the 2021 Presidential Elections as an initial framework,

semi-structured narrative interviewing (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000) will be carried out for semi-directive information. Interviews, as an emblematic technique of the qualitative paradigm, allow the deepening of particularities of the social agent's life trajectory, as well as the meaning and significance of key moments intertwined with the situational context they are immersed. The use of narrative interviewing is advantageous since it combines life stories with socio-historical moments, which opens

> the possibility to narrate what people have been through or to pass on to the other his / her life experience, making the experience that is finite, infinite. Thanks to the existence of language, narrative can take root in the other. Thus, narrative is fundamental to the construction of the notion of collective. The oral way of communicating re-signifies the time lived, the things of life, and concomitantly with it, the historical past of these people emerges through their own words. In this sense, one of the functions of the narrative interview is to contribute with the historical construction of reality and, from the report of the facts from the past, promote the future, since the past also bears the potential to project the future. (Muylaert *et al*., 2014: 195).

Moreover, by telling, the interviewees are able to recall what has happened putting their experience "into sequence, find possible explanation for it, and play with the chain of events that shapes individual and social life" (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000: 1), which for the present research becomes a valuable asset to identify the transformations in the informal everyday politics (Beck & Beck-Gensheim, 2002) of the social agents and the way they engage with DIY practices and dynamics in everyday life experiences.

5.2.2.3. Analysis

Summarizing social movements and participations such as the 2019 social outbreak to the results within institutional politics would only cover a small part of the implications it has on society missing important dimensions that have further impacts in the structuring of the social fabric, as what happened, for example, with the May 1968 social and cultural movement that has remained a global reference of resistance meanwhile the elections of June of that same year where the French right-wing party won, is a fact that nobody seems to ever mention, because what really remains are the transformations in the informal everyday politics (Beck & Beck-Gensheim, 2002). Going

back to the case of Chile, the anomic articulations that appeared during the 2019 social outbreak which separated themselves from traditional politics were characterized by horizontal structures, direct and non-hierarchical participation and the use of information technologies and digital communication as political tools. Within these structures of collective creative networks (Willis, 1997) we can identify the surge of new collectives, that coordinate new generational activists' networks that advocate dissent. In this context, it is relevant to take the Chilean 2021 Presidential elections as a time frame since, on the one side, the interviewees were able to reflect over what the 2019 outbreak meant and how it could have affected their everydayness and, on the other side, would also be embedded in a political context that would allow them to be comfortable to speak openly about political thoughts and everyday resistance.

The information will be organized in order to create a database that will allow to map on the one side, a characterization of the activist collectives or movements; the existing offer of DIY dynamics in contemporary Chile, in this case in the cities of Santiago and Valparaíso, and the emerging trends for the structuring of individual and collective artivisms, and on the other side, these activists' geographic and biographic trajectories (Pais, 1990) characterized by their lifestyle choices, motivations and frustrations as DIY past or present practitioners, focused on activisms and artivisms in Chile. Categorical content analysis will also be used in order to compile the information to later categorize it.

6. Chilean 2021 Presidential Elections: Context and dynamics of institutional politics

Esto es mentira y no progreso (Los Miserables, 1998).

2019 social outbreak became a milestone for the beginning of Chile's political self-determination if we consider the impacts it had within institutional politics, particularly with the creation of a Constituent Assembly as the result of the last crisis cycle that began in 2011 which represents a rupture with the long sustained hegemonic political, social and cultural capital in the hands of a neoliberal economic system drafted by the Chicago Boys, supervised during Pinochet's dictatorship and made sure to be implemented efficiently during the so-called transition to democracy period. A lot has been documented in relation to the new ways of political expressions that emerged during that period highlighting the power of anomic articulations that create the uncomfortable pressure (Pasquino, 2000) necessary to provoke radical changes (Roberts, 2014). As I have developed in the previous chapters, DIY ethos is distinguishable within non-institutional activisms and artivisms within the Chilean context but in relation to the present 2021 presidential election, DIY practices and dynamics, although also distinguishable, bears the capitalist contradiction of the appropriation of the image of a lifestyle that already mistrusts government into their propaganda discourses, as to distance themselves from the government and instead defining themselves as a new way of governing. This discourse was especially relevant within Boric's campaign Instagram SNS posts retrieved for the present research, as DIY practices were depicted through a very distinctive trend within the visual imaginary of the recent uprising by using local, artistic and cultural production as a main trait.

Before addressing the findings about the construction of each candidates' campaign messages through Instagram SNS, the Chilean 1990's 'No' political campaign needs to be mentioned as a frame of reference for political engagement through institutional processes since it captures an important propaganda period, if we consider all the social, political and cultural context that transition to democracy and the end of dictatorship

meant. The 'No' campaign main slogan: "Chile, the happiness is coming"[21] did not reflect the general sentiment of grief, terror and alienation at the time. The main narrative of the 'No' campaign was thought as a way to bypass censorship while at the same time it could allow to openly announce the end of dictatorship so to, among other things, prevent election fraud since international press would make sure to make the process more transparent. "Chile, the happiness is coming" used pop culture television ads as their preferred format as it served both as a censorship shield since it was considered frivolous (using advertising mechanisms) and also as a narrative that engaged people emotionally, where hope for happiness was the main narrative which represents the end of Pinochet's dictatorship. Because the 'No' campaign was not conducted by one-party but was a creative and collective production, meant to make people vote for the end of Pinochet's dictatorship on the plebiscite that would mark Chile's transition to democracy, it depicts Chilean particularities that translates to DIY ethos, since there was a strong weight on autonomy, community, creativity, equality and freedom through underground scenes where authenticity, youth conviviality, artistic production, mainstream defiance and ritual performance were present, as the surge of a new underground music scene, with Chilean *punk rock* bands such as Fiskales Ad-Hok, and later Los Miserables appearing after the victory of the 'No' campaign suggests.

If we forward to Chilean 2021 selected candidates' presidential campaign, DIY ethos was present but not as a continuous narrative, in other words, not as a lifestyle, but only used as images that relate with those practices and dynamics. In this sense, Boric's campaign related strongly with underground music but relied on the causes the political campaign promoted to forge alliances that would complement DIY ethos, as in this case, climate change was the recurrent theme within the 'political, social and economic discourse' dimension with 16 out of 72 posts, constituting a significant 22,2% in relation to the total posts of the referred dimension. The official support from the feminist movement was also reflected in this dimension through the 'support of the rights' sub-dimension with a very close 20,8% of the posts. These results may reflect the importance

[21] "Chile, la alegría ya viene" in Spanish.

of the DIY ethos in the configuration of contemporary Chilean politics, where political communication trends indicate a studied preference of potential voters. Instead, Sichel's campaign approach may have some DIY practices but while associated with entrepreneurship and exposure of personal abilities, rather than DIY practices and dynamics, we could consider an 'influencer ethos' within 'patterns of political participation' dimension where 16 out of 38 posts (42,1%) were identified by exposing a follow up of the candidate's personal life through family time, cooking, face-to-face interactions using CMC and dancing skills. These results are also complemented with the rest of the 22 posts (57,8%) classified within 'duty-based citizenship'. Finally, Kast's campaign would appeal for the maintenance of the *status quo* and also following an 'influencer ethos' with a significant number of 24 out of 34 posts (70,5%) as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1 – Chilean 2021 Presidential Elections summary of themes

Theme Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Quantity of posts		
		Boric	Kast	Sichel
Emotional Engagement	Total Posts	7	3	12
Patterns of political participation	Individual level activism	1	0	0
	Duty-based citizenship	6	22	10
	Influencer ethos	4	16	24
	Total Posts	11	38	34
Political Agenda	Alliances	29	12	17
	Discourse by concepts	65	55	86
	Ideological positioning	27	17	36
	Program	38	11	40
	Territories	2	0	1
	Total Posts	161	95	180
Political MKT	Media exposure	0	0	5
	Political marketing	38	43	42
	Pop Culture Trends	2	5	1
	Total Posts	40	48	48
Political social and economic discourse	Art and Culture	12	1	4
	Climate	16	0	10
	Contingency debate	13	10	17
	Rights	15	0	13
	Science and technology	1	0	0

	Sports	3	2	2
	Urbanism	0	0	4
	Health	12	3	3
	Total Posts	72	16	53

Source: Author's own elaboration

At this point, we may consider, on the one hand, that Boric's campaign was efficient in terms of creating a campaign that was able to engage with a wide segment of voters by capturing the 2019 social outbreak through images that used the DIY aesthetic of the uprising. As the results of the present research shows, Boric's campaign use of images represents the most frequent format within the uploaded posts, with 60 out of 162 posts, an important 37% of the campaign's total posts, which relates with the visual culture studied across many academic fields (Guerra, 2019). Although, as an efficient campaign, multimedia format depicted as video posts followed closely with 59 posts, engaging a different segment of voters. Not only does the campaign efficiently identify and appeals to different voters but it also balanced the quantity of posts within the three types of formats – image, video and pictures – where the last format was used in 43 posts, 27% of the total posts, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2- Chilean 2021 Presidential Elections summary of formats

Candidate	Image	Picture	Video	Total Posts
Boric	60	43	59	162
Kast	9	30	62	101
Sichel	25	45	84	154

Source: Author's own elaboration

On the other hand, Gabriel Boric's electoral campaign would be considered effective since it led their candidate to victory. Nevertheless, if we take into account the particular social, political and cultural contingencies, especially with the second round presidential elections where the vote was disputed between Gabriel Boric, the progressive candidate, and Antonio Kast, the far-right candidate, voters were in a situation that brings back the memory of the plebiscite of 1988, where the option was to say 'Yes' or 'No' for the continuation of an authoritarian and neoliberal system that, just 2 years ago, with the 2019 uprising, Chileans had expressed to themselves and to the world that it

was “not 30 pesos but 30 years”[22] of this oppression the reason why they were out in the streets protesting. Also, the efficiency of the campaign would not be possible without the alliances made with specific causes which collectives gave their unconditional support, but when the candidate reaches the institutional level, the dynamics would sure be different.

Within another perspective, the rejection of the New Charter, drafted by the Constitutional Convention, because of the 2019 social outbreak, by mandatory vote on September 5, 2022, reflects an inefficiency of the now President Gabriel Boric political communication, as well as making transparent how the international media, where US news outlets play an important role in Chile, perpetuate the same old ‘commerce wars’ discrediting tactics to influence the international public opinion, as the publication of an opinion article, four days before the plebiscite to approve or reject the draft of the New Charter, entitled ‘Chile should send its proposed Constitution back for a rewrite’ by the Editorial Board of The Washington Post news outlet demonstrate. In line with the North-South direction of hegemonic discourses and standards, the article begins by referring that the US “electrified automotive future” (WP Editorial Board, 2022) will be based on lithium and that Chile has one of the world’s largest lithium reserves[23]. Then, it asks the reader to pay attention to the plebiscite in Chile since the New Charter “could recast the legal framework for mining in the South American nation, which has an 18-year-old free trade agreement with the United States.” (WP Editorial Board, 2022).

In this context, the hypothesis that the use of contemporary institutional politics of DIY dynamics as an extension of their political communication are most of the time aleatorily efficient or effective is valid, considering that the perceived efficiency is under an external and international dependency and the effectiveness in bounded to social, political and cultural contingencies that relates to the specificities of multiple territories (Caulkins *et al*., 2020; Rodríguez *et al*., 2020).

[22] In Spanish: “No son 30 pesos, son 30 años”, one of the most popular slogans of the Chilean 2019 social outbreak.
[23] Chile has the biggest lithium “mine reserves” according to the US Geological Survey (USGS).

7. An artivist ecosystem: trajectories and dynamics of informal and everyday politics

The social practices and dynamics of new ways of political participation and intervention have been recognized thanks to the social agents' use of their enhanced capabilities (UNDP, 2019) on the available technological tools to coordinate and expose their demands and / or realities in what has been called a network society (Castells, 2010; Van Dijk, 2012), in search for "new connectedness around shared, reconstructed identity" (Castells, 2010: 23). In the case of Chile, where culture is adrift (Gayo, 2021) because of the social, political and cultural convulsion witnessed during the last decades, the previous statement applies and moreover, the fragmented identities of the social agents due to the strong individualization based on neoliberal standards that use culture and the flow of capital (Bourdieu, 2009) as an instrument of differentiation and separation, have found a common and plural identity through the collective revindication of equality (Gayo, 2021) that allows diversity and the use of culture as a mean that unites. This is reflected within the cultural taste construction of the interviewees when they were asked about the moments, people or spaces that determined their initial approach and interest on collectives, as depicted in the following citations:

> I left school and, well, before I left school, there was a community center, a neighborhood council near the school and one day, I passed there, and I saw people hanging from a cloth and I was very attracted to the idea of getting up and throwing myself up and down and back (laughs). And there I learned, I met a group of people who did circus and there I met a girl, I became super friends with her, and she invited me, like, to travel with her, she said that in the summer, I mean, at the end of the year, she wanted to go to the South to meet up with her boyfriend who was in Osorno and asked me if I wanted to travel with her. And I told her I didn't have anything to travel, but I had learned to play drums at the time, and I offered to, like, the truth is that she told me actually, hey, look, if you want to, we can do traffic lights and you can play the drums and I can juggle and then we pass the hat. (Male, 37 years old, circus artist).
>
> I took workshops of whatever I found, because of this interest, to find cultural spaces or an identity that made me feel a little bit like home, or happy, by doing. (…) Then, at the

University, I felt that it was more a community thing, when I had a more defined identity. (Male, 30 years old, software engineer).

I went to live with cousins, with friends, like, always trying to find a house with many rooms so we could share a big house. Like, each one of us had a room, and like, building a small community. So, I think that it is also a strategy, like, a strategy for a different kind of life, like, getting together with people that are not your family, sharing a space, so we can live in the city (laughs). (Female, 25 years old, dancer).

I studied in the former Pedagogical University, a place where there is, where there has always been, like, the fight of *encapuchados*[24], who are those that like to go out to the streets, to the barricades, against the *pacos po*, the Chilean police. (Male, 40 years old, art professor).

These friends were working at La Carpa Azul. They were working at La Carpa Azul and they were part of the collective, so that's where I started, I started going there. I started going more to the amphitheater. And then, there was a training cycle, a training program that was a Fondart. And from there, the training cycle was of six months. Six months and then, they won it again, so it was six more months. And… and we with a group of, like, girls, we started going to all the workshops. We said, yes, we are going to all the classes. But the team that existed at the time in La Carpa Azul were very strict, so they said no, you can only take one class. We wanted to take six, so it was like, what do we do? Yeah, let's do it anyway. And, since many of us knew the teachers, the teachers said, come, come, it's better for more people to come, I am here with five students, I prefer your group to come, even if it's the same people, and the good thing is that you want to do things, you will learn and, and the good thing is to make a *semillero*[25]. So, from there, they started to open their minds and allowed us to be, like, almost all the semester assisting to all workshops. So, from there, I started to inhabit the tent much more, because we spend most of the week there. We spent most of the week there, so we started to be more present. And then I started joining the working team. (Female, 35 years old, performer).

[24] Spanish expression for people that use hoods or masks to protest in the streets so to avoid identification from the police or formal authorities.
[25] Spanish expression that means literally a hotbed, which in this case, it refers to place for artists to grow.

In this sense, as depicted above by the interviewees, culture is not learnt but conquered by the reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of the public space through a collective, beyond cultural, economic and class, defined identity, that differs from the hegemonic standards imposed until the present day. In this way, the inversion of the key notions presented by Bourdieu (2009), with the seek of a collective identity as a point of departure, will generate the cultural capital that will allow the social agents to build alternative ways of life outside the hegemonic public sphere (Habermas, 2014), entering a post-bourdieuian sociology (Gayo, 2021), where the flow and transmission of capitals (Bourdieu, 2009), especially but not restricted to cultural capital, are no longer dictated and in the hands of those that withhold hegemonic power but are built upon affective and affinity networks with a distinctive DIY ethos. In this context, DIY culture (Guerra & Bennett, 2020) within a post-industrialized and globalized territory, as is the case of Chile, evolves into a lifestyle (Chaney, 1996) that creates these new forms of sociality and public spheres (Habermas, 2014) within everchanging community networks identified and related to the cities underground scenes. As identified by the interviewees of the present research, the consumption, tastes and positions within the cultural and ludic field in relation with the urban environment and fabric of Chile suggests the adoption of specific ways of life that would boost the social agent artivist trajectory. As expressed by the interviewees:

> With Coprófago, it was an album that we made when we were kids, we were 19. And we recorded it at Germán's cousin's house. Germán cousin is Pablo Álvarez, and Pablo lived there, in Arrayán, and we recorded the album there, then we recorded the drums in a studio here in Providencia, but it was a record like that, made by ourselves, nobody gave us money, nobody gave a thing. And we recorded it on a CDR, you see? I mean, we printed it, we circulated it and it became super famous, like hell, and that album passed through the hands of many people in Europe, because the comparison was, like, dude, how is it possible that these bands playing in Sweden, in Germany, [that are] at this level, and there are some crazy dudes that live in Chile who do this and are more innovative than them. (Male, 43 years old, amateur musician and lawyer).
>
> And when the rain passed, we had to put all the material back, so it was very exhausting. So, we decided to build a base, and we did it from scratch with, with brothers that have

helped us with all our crazy projects, from the El Litre Workshop. They are people that make all kinds of crafts with wood, cans, scenic creations. Apart from that workshop, there is also a costume workshop, who are our partners, who create for us all the crazy things that we happen to imagine and… It's the Willy Mayra who are… well, for me, they are the greatest representatives of collective life, they have a space that is an occupation, that has been activated now. And this occupation is now a committee because it had many legal issues with a real estate company that wanted to evict them. And they have been in that territory for more than 20 years. It was a family that came, came to an old house of season workers and from there, the Pequenes neighborhood started. (Female, 35 years old, performer).

Would DIY dynamics be one of the ways of activating this type of autonomous circles? Yes, for sure, or, like, I'm gonna share this example of some friends, anarchist punks, who don't come from the academic world and who are not from la Chile or la Mancha or whatever school, no, these cats are DJs. So, they come from a ghetto, Villa Alemana, another one from Gomez Carreño, like super ghetto ghettoes, you know, their parents worked in the mall, they went to technical schools and where they graduated from technical schools, and these technologies and techniques were obsolete so they couldn't gain access to college, so these 3 cats said, well, alone we are gonna die, let's get together. So, when they were like 18 years old or something, they squatted a house, which was a mortuary, dude imagine *po*, a mortuary! Scary shit. They squatted it, a terrible place, you know, so what did they do? they went out every night to gather material like a pack of mice, they had cordless drills, like they managed, they stole from the mall (laughs), and reselled that in the market and bought tools (laughs). So, they went and started taking apart abandoned houses in *Valpo*, and they started to store stones, parquet, wood, beams in the squat, and after two years they hired a truck and brought all the material to the top of the hill where they took some land and constructed a house, 7 years ago, before taking land became a thing. There they made their recycled mansion which includes a silk screen workshop, a beer brewery, so they found another punk who makes beer and they started teaching each other things. So, they end up learning how to weld metal, they work in construction two days a week and the other five days they make iron sculptures. But this only works because they are 3 people, you know? Because every day one of them go recycling, for example, in the market and shows up with food for the others, but alone it would be impossible. So, these three cats

> today, like, 10 years after I met them for the first time, they are a family, and I'm not talking about a family of moms and dads and sons, they are a family of autodidact and self-governed punks. (Female, 33 years old, cultural manager).

The last two citations belong to interviewees that lived in the city Santiago but at the time of the interview they had moved to the city of Valparaíso that, according to them, allowed alternative ways of life that were only possible outside the capital. The previous statement is valid for all interviewees that left Santiago to live in other regions, as the following citations claim:

> I think that the biggest difference between the way you live activism in Santiago and the way you live it in regions is that Santiago is a place, like, of activisms through ideas. Santiago is like a lost territory, I feel, where you can only, loke, activate from ideas or from the generation of spaces, resources, and things like that. But in regions, it's where it really is, well, I don't know if really, but where you see it, you live more closely, like the consequences *po*. Santiago is like, under a protection bubble, where there is no lack of resources, where everything is available. It is so wide the range of thing the city offers that; I feel that Santiago becomes the support for struggles that are embodied elsewhere. And in regions, it's where the forests are burned, in regions is where activists are killed by contract killing, where the risk is constant. Well, in Santiago that happens too, but I think it's more latent in regions, in the territories. (Non-binary, 29 years old, self-taught performer and activist).

> I believe that there is independence when there is rebellion. Because the scene that tries to be official within regions is going to have as a reference Santiago, you are going to have Europe as a reference. Because it is as if colonization had not ceased to exist, right? But the collectives that are, the manifestations and artistic productions have been managed in whatever form they take, if they are rebels or insurrectionists, they will be indigenist. Therefore, Santiago doesn't matter, that is, the Mapuche does not care about Santiago, well, nor do they feel Chilean either. (…) As I empathize with the cause, I have had access, for example, to share with people from their cultural backgrounds and I have observed that for them Santiago is not a reference. For them, the reference are others. Their references are the Zapatistas, the black *pueblos*[26], you see? Afro-descendants from

[26] In this case, *pueblo* in Spanish refers to local communities.

> Cuba, Colombia, Peru, the Aymara *pueblo* of Bolivia, the Kawéscar and there are others, it's like there's another parallel sub-scene. (Female, 32 years old, stage designer).

The above statements are in line with the gap between center and periphery due to Chile's centralized politics, as one of the interviewees living in Santiago commented:

> First, [there is] a context of strong centralization where every source of access, dissemination, information and visibility is greater in the city of Santiago, then, activism in Santiago will obviously have another character than in the regions. At the same time, activism in Santiago has had to generate a decolonizing, rupturist character and, so, to also make visible those margins that come out of the hegemonic narratives. So, I think there is an exercise of decolonialization, of constant decentralization in activism both in Santiago and in the regions, but obviously, in regions it is even more powerful by this historical invisibility of other places outside Santiago. (Female, 45 years old, anthropologist).

This centralization has provoked, among other consequences, the migration of a great part of the population to the capital city, which also makes Santiago's urban fabric richer, in the sense of the quantity of people the social agents encounter. As expressed by the interviewees:

> I started participating in this society, at the age of 13. I lived in Curicó, in the Maule region. Nothing happened, the cultural panorama wasn't as wide and diverse as in Santiago, which is the capital, where there are many more people, it is bigger, and there's a lot more money flowing into all areas of society. (Female, 25 years old, dancer).

> [In Santiago], there is much more accessibility and people find themselves with much more resources for developing projects than in regions. That's why I moved from a region to the capital. And [there are] a lot more people in the capital. But the organization, it's not so different. (Male, 37 years old, circus artist).

> Yes [it is different], in numbers, the first obvious difference. (…) for example, Puerto Montt is a very small town, and the number of young people is certain. You can remember them. So there, yes, everyone, each individual participates in different things, and you recognize them. So, the quantity is a very notorious difference. (Male, 30 years old, software engineer).

At this point, having distinguished a strong center-periphery direction flow of capitals in Chile, we must address the issue of the perception the social agents have about the way Chileans relate to culture where it is neither satisfying nor fulfilling, situation that creates the need to seek for counter-cultural and counter-hegemonic dynamics and practices. As expressed by all interviewees and depicted in the below citations,

> Chileans relate with a culture that is very, very narrow. With a culture that is garbage (laughs). (Female, 25 years old, dancer).
>
> Passive, I don't know. I think there's little involvement, almost none. There's more about the comfort of staying at home, looking at appliances. (Non-binary, 30 years old, self-taught performer and activist).
>
> We have a predatory culture. It's like the case of you save yourself here, if you have money, good, and if not, well, you are lazy, like, even that happens, right? (Male, 40 years old, art professor).
>
> There is no interest. Art consumption answers to other logics, commercialization logics. Like, there isn't a relation with culture. Culture is very defined by class. (Female, 33 years old, architect and dancer).
>
> It comes a lot from formulas. There isn't a cultural identity. It comes from competition, from the prestige. (Female, 33 years old, cultural manager).
>
> It has different nuances, complexities, because, on the one hand, there has been a kind of cultural hegemony, a whitening policy that has made invisible and hidden the indigenous, afro, migrant, dissident or *mestizo* dimensions in relation to culture. So, there is a way to relate to culture from the white creole hegemony that denies the other cases. However, there have obviously been collectives and territories in resistance that have rather made an exercise to make these horizons visible. (Female, 45 years old, anthropologist).
>
> Deficient because museums are always empty. People in Chile go more to malls than to cultural events. (Male, 61 years old, theatre professor).

The above reflections are in line with the statement that Chilean culture is adrift (Gayo, 2021), where the configuration of centralized policies reinforces a mainstream imposition that does not consider alternative voices as valid, which also relates with the

historical practice of defining culture from a mainstream political representation. This situation is also observed by the interviewees:

> I feel, like, we have a very big trauma after dictatorship. I feel like it moved everything that is cultural, that it now relates to people from a very distant place. Like, now it has opened a little bit more, like the things of… like dance, rhythm, music is always present in society, and is part of the day-to-day. (Female, 33 years old, performer).

> Why is it that the poor doesn't have the right? You walk along the Ahumada street and on every corner there's a group, and you say, how beautiful they sing. Or in the metro. And look, they forbid that because they tell you through the loudspeaker, if you see people enter the metro to sing or to do things do not encourage them, because we have been taught to be encapsulated. And it is a good reference for education, to dream, to live the art is fundamental. (Female, 59 years old, drug rehabilitation technician)

Considering the above-mentioned socio-political context, we may reckon a fragmentation of Chilean identity and a separation between mainstream and underground scenes, as referred by one of the interviewees:

> I feel that Chileans, in general, relate to culture in a segmented way. With your friends you will have a type of culture, a consumer type of art or of culture, that can be mainstream, for example, or marginal, and it's very difficult for them to blend, to talk, to dialogue between these two cultural forms, these two aesthetics or scenes. Like, the bourgeoisie, let's say, doesn't have much knowledge about the popular world, doesn't enjoy what's popular, are not present in those moments. On the other hand, the popular world is super broad and diverse and very connected to folklore practices, for example. They seek to generate, well, I think that everywhere, actually, one always seeks to generate an identity through representation. Like, how do we represent ourselves and say that this is our folklore, or this is our theatre, or this, we are saying, it is me, right? It is like a statement of principles of a community, and it seems like, everything now is like, very about manifests, about manifests. This group declares that they are this and that and uses other aesthetic. (Female, 32 years old, stage designer).

The segmentation of culture, the lack of a common identity and the socio-political instability Chile is passing through have enabled the social agents to think about other ways of life outside the dominant impositions. The socioeconomic context, the

availability and knowledge over the use of technological tools and the global reach of DIY practices and dynamics powered the social agents to learn by experimentation or outside the institutional spaces. This learning process relates to the evolving and growing way of life in the post-industrial era that have become a widespread reality since the last crisis cycles within the Global South, accentuated, in the case of Chile, by neoliberal policies. Empowered by the recently found common identity based on equality (Gayo, 2021) that embraces diversity, self-governed collectives and underground scenes becomes the social agents' territory to find the necessary tools for survival without sacrificing their uniqueness. The connection with these territories, first as a way of survival to pursue alternative and viable career paths (Guerra, 2020a) due to the precarity of neoliberalism, and afterwards, through the everyday conviviality within communities of doing, will enhance the social agents' creation of social, economic and cultural capitals for themselves through the exchange of knowledge within networks of affinity and affection, all of which are based on DIY dynamics and practices. The habitus (Bourdieu, 2009) is transformed into radical habitus (Crossley, 2003) through the conscious adoption of a lifestyle guided by DIY ethos which relies on autonomy, authenticity, freedom, equality, creativity and community of doing, thus becoming prefigurative politics (van de Sande, 2013) that boosts artistic ecosystems through the reterritorialization of those same territories. In this way, DIY ethos becomes fundamental in the configuration of Chilean contemporary politics, structuring the urban environment and fabric of the social agents' everyday life.

8. DIY politics: a typology of artivisms

Identifying the presence of DIY ethos within the dynamics and practices the social agents have engaged through artistic productions and / or political resistance as a way of dissent, we may distinguish a strong connection with underground scenes, that in the case of Chile, are related with creative collective networks (Willis, 1997). As all 15 interviewees in the present research expressed, the authenticity, the artistic production, the mainstream defiance, the ritual performance and the youth conviviality within the underground scenes in Chile are sustained by a network of everyday practices between agents that inhabit a certain territory whenever DIY dynamics are carried out.

> Before, in a record store you weren't just going to look at the album, but you had a chance to talk to the dude, who showed you things. You could leave recording an album you wanted to take and that you could not buy, you know what I mean? So, that world for me was super important, because there, I met crazy people who knew a lot more about music, and that also had the disposition to explain things to you, you know what I mean? Because, unlike what exists now, where, perhaps, the pattern of music consumption is more direct. I mean, the musical structure is such that you like or dislike a song, within five, ten seconds, through a speaker that measures, I don't know, 3 millimeters, you know what I mean? At that time, we were at a record store that had a turntable, there were speakers, there was an old man sitting there, a couple of kids hanging out here, a couple of schoolchildren there, and we were there too, so it was super ritualistic man, it was amazing, it was super nice. Yes. It was a ritual. (Male, 42 years old, amateur musician and lawyer).

The above citation reflects the engagement of DIY practices and dynamics at a time where Chilean underground music scenes were in the rise during the 1990s. More than three decades later, artic scenes would also translate the same configuration based on DIY ethos as the below citation suggests:

> The first exercise we did was on October 31st, 2019, and the revolt in Chile, let's say, the convulsive and enigmatic process in which we are still immersed, let's say, started on October 19th, and we were on the 31st of October in the streets with a bunch of people here in Valparaíso. Theatre directors, dancers, actors, designers. We organized ourselves

> on a face-to-face basis so that no register would be on the phones, for a matter of, like, evading, like, the spying from the police, and we generated, like, a march for the dead. So, we used a key date, that is a date, right? The 31st of October, the day of the dead, when everyone was going out with their costumes. We took that advantage to do something by ourselves. We went out with our costumes and called, also, called more groups, so, on that day, the whole city was taken by us. And without any violence. It is also kind of crazy because, for example, I could show you pictures of this and you'll see that it's just fire and, like a representation of something violent, at the end. But during the act no one got hurt (laughs), no one got hurt. In fact, that was not the premise we got together for. It was like, yeah! Let's protest, let's prepare ourselves, let's use all the tools we have in theatre, let's put hands on the self-governing production of the spaces, but so we could take care of ourselves, to protest in a protected way. So, our costumes were a protection because the police looked at you and said, they are nuts, are they celebrating Halloween or are they protesting? And they walked passed us rather than shoot you in the eyes, let's say, that was what happened in places where protesters did not use this kind of tools. (Female, 32 years old, theatre stage designer).

Although there is a connection between DIY practices and underground scenes, not all the interviewees engage in DIY ethos as such, characterized by a strong weight in autonomy, community of doing, creativity, equality and freedom. For four of the interviewees, the exercise of DIY practices or dynamics are framed within institutional forms, although they have once resisted hegemonic power relations at the level of everyday life but are now "complicit in the subversion of everyday resistance as they gain enjoyment and pleasure letting new media objects occupy mundane and routine popular spaces" (Roberts, 2014: 98). This group was identified as the 'institutional guided DIY' type, characterized by being the oldest age group within the sample, with 43, 51, 59 and 61 years old, and although engaging in DIY practices and dynamics at a young age, they have a 'duty-based citizenship' discourse. The 43 years old male interviewee, for example, participated in Chilean DIY record revolution industry from 1996 to 2019 but separated this autonomous practice from his formal work as an independent lawyer, thus did not integrate DIY practices and dynamics as an everyday community-based conviviality. 51 and 59 years old female interviewees are members

from the Communist Party since Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973) and engaged in DIY ethos during Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990), while in exile and also after they were able to return to Chile. Nowadays, they belong to partisan collective networks that although have community-based everyday conviviality, the DIY practices and dynamics they engage with are defined by a partisan practice thus institutional, where autonomy and freedom are not as relevant since their main goal is to be part of institutional politics as such, in the words of one of the interviewees:

> I am a partisan activist. I have my political position and through that political position I move, I move. My principles are my values that I try to incorporate. We were always told that communists had to be supportive, generous, empathic with the pain of others, so we have, at least I have tried to incorporate it, that is, I have it in the genes, I think that's it, I have it in the genes. That's like partisan activism, isn't it? Supporting different causes, right? But always with a political content. (Female, 51 years old, agronomist).

At last, the 61 years old male interviewee of the present group engaged in DIY ethos also during dictatorship through street and popular theatre as a way of political expression but today, as an university professor, has become more compliant with institutional forms, although advocating for community-based projects. As he confesses:

> I personally don't consider myself an activist. (...) I've done a lot for that, but I think the activist doesn't stop doing. I have stopped doing. In my time I have stopped doing. The activist dies doing. And over time I have stopped doing a lot. I've been institutionalized a lot too, haven't I? The fact that you're an academic, the fact that you're working in a foundation, like, you're leaving out the possibility of activating yourself outside the system, outside the more organizational apparatus, the more public instances. The activist doesn't marry anyone, does he? I'm not married to anyone, but the fact of being institutionalized already defines a structure, right? I try to mobilize myself. What I consider myself to be is that I have been consistent. It's different from being an activist. There are a lot of consistent people. (...) The activist dies with his boots on. Activists risks their lives. (...) [I] consider myself a consistent artist. (Male, 61 years old, theatre professor).

The second group identified within the informal politics sample group are those that use their formal knowledge acquired at institutional spheres to engage in non-institutional

collectives or individual level strategies. This group is formed by 6 interviewees between 27 and 45 years old, with 5 women and 1 man. When asking the youngest member of the sample about the importance of DIY we may distinguish the strong DIY ethos that sustains her practices and lifestyle.

> Lately, I have learned that it is very important to do things by yourself, by myself, and it is lately that I feel that I am positioning myself from, how can I explain this? Like, I always want to be learning something, like, I don't know, from learning to cook vegan food to learn how to make my own clothes. I think that it will help me, it will provide me the tools for the social, the community aspects. Also, for creativity and autonomy, as a way for sustaining my autonomy. (Female, 27 years old, dancer).

The biographical trajectory of the interviewees within this 'formal knowledge guided DIY' reveals that for the adoption of specific ways of life to remain autonomous from the imposed stress of looking for a career you need to be successful at, would eventually boost the social agent artivist trajectory. As one of the interviewees in the group referred: "If I didn't have this lifestyle, I couldn't be dedicating myself to art" (Female, 33 years old, architect and dancer). Within this context, the urban environment and fabric allowed a certain position, taste and consumption within the cultural and ludic field, where self-governed collectives are perceived by the social agents as a space where this kind of autonomy can be achieved.

> I think autonomy is part, in this sense. Why? Because that is the point, isn't it? That's the whole point of being in a collective, like, you don't have to answer to anyone else but the collective. That is, that is also the beauty of it. And at the end, later, it transforms into a part of your life, this practice. Like, you are always into that kind of stuff, it is part of your everyday practice, it becomes an habit. Well, it transforms into a way of life, yes, that is the word. A way of life in relation to this community, to the different communities. (Male, 40 years old, art professor).

The 'formal knowledge guided DIY' group of interviewees also refers to institutionalism as a barrier for autonomous and creative production since it censors and retains the scarce resources that the Chilean government allocates for artistic productions, as the below citation demonstrate:

> On the one hand, there is a constant problem with the process of funds, of economic resources. All communities, whether autonomous or not, that appeal to institutional funds will always have problems with resources, which are scarce. There is a conflict between the institutional and the non-institutional, how the way of supplying oneself by applying to certain public funds that are not permanent and often, also restricts the creative and autonomous character of the work. On the other hand, the collectives that have maintained a path of autonomy have problems, precisely, with the presentation of their proposals because Chile is very, very based upon officiality, it is very institutional and often there are problems with the repression and the criminalization of autonomous proposals. (Female, 45 years old, anthropologist).

The separation between institutional and non-institutional spheres relates with the evolution of artivism, connecting social and political characteristics of the Chilean society, where those who do not belong to institutional practices have to nevertheless engage in the bureaucratic apparatuses in order to create formal networks that would deliver some resources to carry on with more ambitious productions. As one of the interviewees expressed when referring to the situation non-institutional collectives find themselves when confronted with institutionalism:

> You see, it was an abandoned church [the house of the clown and the puppet]. They restored the place and this group of clowns, who really WERE clowns, which is an interesting point to understand, you know, they set up a clown school, and they also wanted to set up an international South American network and try to build up this structure. Political alliances were made with the Council of Culture and all that, but they are all clowns, none of them have any tools, you know what I mean? Like, no commercial engineers, no cultural managers, so this is all done by hard work and with a lot of bad habits as well because they are, like, disassociated, you know? Or, like, they are actually performers, but they find themselves in this place where they have to do administration stuff and all the other difficulties that come with institutionalism. (Female, 33 years old, cultural manager).

Regarding to the lack of tools in order to surpass institutional bureaucracies and dynamics, it is important to mention that all interviewees considered as 'formal knowledge guided DIY' type of artivists are conscious of their privileged position, in

relation to the institutional tools they were able to acquire, thus as a political position they reappropriate this knowledge to serve self-managed and self-governed collectives, where the exchange of formal and informal knowledge exchange becomes important since it will help boost the social agents artivist trajectory and allow the surge of an ecosystem of creative collective networks (Willis, 1997).

The third group belongs to 'Artivisms guided DIY' and gathers 5 interviewees between 28 and 37 years old, with 2 women, 2 men and 1 non-binary. They acquired artistic sensitivity and knowledge, among other tools, from non-institutional and self-governed collectives, where they assisted to courses or workshops imparted in these spaces. Their initial motivation to DIY ethos came from the seek for autonomy and freedom, as described in the below citation:

> This was an academy [in Brazil] that gave you formation, during 2 years, as an circus artist, so to speak, because they didn't give you any formal paper (…) it later opened a door to pedagogy so I could transmit what I learnt because, for example, with what I knew about circus, I was like super entertained with my life, so to speak, and suddenly, I don´t know, I had this tool that allowed me some independence and autonomy, that made me loosen up a little. It freed me from the stress of having to know that you have to do something, like, this imposition of the system, that, if you are not doing something, you are simply a nobody. (Male, 37, Ekun social circus).

The autonomy and freedom that DIY practices and dynamics allow in relation to the social agents' territory, will be later translated into the transformation of the principles between work and play (Willis, 1997) becoming a DIY lifestyle as they will progressively engage, because of the design of their leisure careers, with other self-governed collectives they have affinity with. The territory they inhabit is transformed by their presence since the community of 'doing' relies on an everyday face-to-face conviviality within a specific territory. This is in line with what one of the interviewees expressed when asking about what DIY meant for the social agent:

> I think the do-it-yourself thing is the right thing to do. I give it a whole lot of importance because somehow, or at least from my vision, generating collective, community practices involve seeking autonomy. And to have autonomy you have to engineer and

> search for it, like, I don't think it is useful, as [someone] having an anti-capitalist struggle, going to buy materials from the big stores, knowing that, around you, the materials are thrown away, like transforming into garbage, into waste. So, I think the do-it-yourself is a very, very important thing to manage. And for that, you have to be educated, like, we have to investigate, we have to do a lot of things to be able to be there, like creating empathy. In practice, as in the search for autonomy, like trying to resort to the business conglomerate only with… Reaching out for our affinities, reaching out to all those beings that are close and have the knowledge and from there on, making an exchange, I think that's how it materializes. At what point do you resort to such practices? All the time (laughs), [at] all times. (Non-binary, 27, network for the visibility of the murder of Emilia Milén).

The exchange mentioned previously, becomes an important element within these networks of affection, although not restricted to a few since art needs to be shared with an audience. Indeed, the kind of exchange between networks of affinity and affection and an audience is not the same, as another of the artivists will explain in the below citation, nevertheless, as artivists, they mention the importance of showing people outside their artivist network that another way of living and facing life was possible, by setting a point of reference.

> But, in the whole movement of, of public that there is... all that energy is exchanged between, all the energy we gave, and they also brought something. They are different when they leave the place, they leave with a joy, they changed the switch of their day, they realized that another life is possible. And that is what moves me the most, that they realize that it is possible to get out of this system and take another path. That we're happy, also that, is like something very incredible that people kind of think... like, when the tent fell down, everyone thought we were sick. Everyone said, no, what a tragedy, how terrible. And we, the truth is, we knew it was going to happen. Yes, it was sad, but we embraced our grief and hugged each other tighter and said, we're going to get a new tent. (Female, 35, Carpa Azul self-governed cultural center)

Which they did. Artivisms, in the Chilean context, refers in this sense to a DIY lifestyle which ethos becomes the social agents only and unshakeable compass, because within this self-governed artivisms, spaces and people are rather transient than permanent,

generally due to precarity. Nevertheless, as depicted later, as DIY ethos is what guides them, the practices and dynamics will accompany them wherever they transit which builds up an underground artistic ecosystem that surely impacts Chilean contemporary politics.

> So, these are things that come out a lot, they come out of the frames of this structured economy, you understand? They tell me what to do, I get paid, I go and I'm there so many hours. This is what happens really, with this artivism, that for the threshold of the hours that one says ok, when I go somewhere to work and I get paid, I go for those hours. But when it is not like that, artivism is so wide that you could stay until, I do not know *po*, until infinity. From helping the lady to take out the poster, to dismantle everything, which is something that is born, like, from this collectivity. Because we have that, because we're used to it. We know that it is like that, we know that an activity is done since you begin to put the chairs until later, when you keep them. And that's an education given to us by the collectivity, by doing self-... Collaborative things, where we all have something to deliver. We have learned it in doing. (Female, 35, Carpa Azul self-governed cultural center).

At last but not least, It is also relevant to consider the musical style these interviewees have or had since DIY lifestyle is constructed upon the relevance the musical pathways (Finnegan, 2007) and the initial design of leisure careers (Blackman, 2005) have for the social actors involved at the scenes. In this sense, it is interesting that the genres the interviewees of this 'artivisms guided DIY´ group referred corresponded to underground counter-hegemonic music scenes. The mentioned reference bands belong to the following genres: *rap* (female, 28 years old), *queer punk* (non-binary, 29 years old), *metal* (male, 30 years old), *rap* (female, 35 years old) and *minimalism* (male, 37 years old). Even though music is not the language they use to express themselves, nevertheless it seems to define certain lifestyles and trajectories, in in this case, using art as the mean and the end to achieve, through and based on DIY ethos, an alternative ecosystem of artivisms.

Final remarks

The community of 'doing', as key aspect of DIY ethos that can be identified through underground scenes, is more visible when institutional crisis is imminent upon the territory. The search for autonomy, equality and freedom in the middle of a crisis, that can be transient or permanent, would bring together individuals that within a strong, supportive and affective network allow the freedom to fail and to have fun, as in a way to be creative and withholding the power of radical imagination to achieve a way of reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Widder, 2012) that may master a perpetual 'line of flight' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). But the question of what DIY ethos has to do with contemporary Chilean politics remains. Trying to elucidate the answer to this question, we present on the one side, the institutional politics that reappropriates DIY forms to appeal to a certain population based on the high turnout on the October 2020 National Plebiscite. On the other side, we identified the strong DIY ethos within self-governed collectives that engage in artivisms as a lifestyle seeking to build alternative options of life based on their reality rather than the one imposed by institutionalism. Meanwhile, the draft of the New Charter presented by the Constitutional Convention used as control group was rejected by 61% of the population through compulsory vote on September 5, 2022. This result may seem like a defeat for alternative voices since the Constitutional Convention was the institutional result of the pressure created at the 2019 social outbreak, but it also was representative since the members were elected through popular vote, where one-third of the elected candidates were independent from political parties. At the time, we saw hundreds of non-institutional campaigns that mirrors the 'No' campaign enthusiasm and the DIY ethos that characterized that period. Hundreds of candidates, supported by the increasing alternative media outlets, would make the election of the Constituent Assembly members the first exercise of democracy *a la chilena*, in line with values such as parity, and indigenous and independent candidates' representation. It was the highest turnout within voluntary vote which reflects that the majority of the population agreed with a transformation when held within participatory, non-institutional, equal, autonomous and community-based politics. Nevertheless, the period following the constitution of

the Assembly until the presentation of the New Charter's final draft, the Constitutional Convention presented itself as a non-institutional organ, while it is highly institutional. This contradiction somehow reflects the dynamics between institutional and non-institutional politics in general, where the appropriation of non-institutional practices by institutional politics fails and will always fail since it is unable to build the affection that only a community of 'doing' and everyday conviviality based on DIY ethos can deliver, that is, strong bonds that create network of affections which allows the everyday familiarity through which the artist within each one of us (d'Avossa *et al.*, 2013) would open up and make use of creativity, allowing radical imagination into an ecosystem of creative collective networks (Willis, 1997) that uses culture as an exchange tool that unites, thus solving internal conflicts of a fragmented identity while structuring the social and urban fabric of their everyday lives.

From another perspective, the identification of three types of DIY guided practices may elucidate DIY ethos relevance in the configuration of Chilean contemporary politics. The first identified typology of DIY practices and dynamics of political resistance designated as 'institutional guided DIY´ gives us insight about the evolution of these practices in Chile, where those who once were engaged actively and identified with a strong DIY ethos have, throughout the years, become more complicit with institutional forms. Most of its members main motivation was to confront dictatorship but at the time Chile entered the so-called transition to democracy, the networks were dismantled or absorbed by institutional forms. Although they still engage in DIY practices and dynamics, they have formal evolutionist (Kaitajärvi-Tiekso, 2019) career paths that do not relate with the previous mentioned activities and are characterized by a 'duty-based citizenship' discourse. Instead, the second group identified as 'formal knowledge guided DIY', where participants are professionals that acquired their knowledge from formal institutions but nevertheless pursued alternative creative career paths engaged in DIY ethos based self-governed collectives, they have an 'engaged citizenship' discourse, where they make use of both individual activism and collective strategies. They also take advantage of their formal training to help their collectives and to earn a living when necessary. Another particularity of this group is the exchange of their formal knowledge

with the informal knowledge acquired in the scenes, where their main motivation is to build alternative public spheres (Habermas, 2014). Finally, there is the 'artivism guided DIY' where its members acquired informal knowledge from collectives within underground artistic scenes, maintaining collective engagement and DIY ethos as a lifestyle. In this sense, the 'art of doing´ (Bennett & Guerra, 2022) becomes essential for these artivists' trajectory, moreover, politics through a DIY ethos perspective have revealed to be more resistant than other political practices since it does not have generational borders which allows a continuum, perhaps the only permanent feature artivisms in Chile have. Also, artivism DIY cultural practice identified within the communities of 'doing' as a way to reterritorialize their territory, allows the use of the tools given by these practices to get resources, both from institutional and non-institutional activities, thus overcoming a new generation of inequalities by nurturing flexibility, adaptability, and resilience to unknown shocks (UNDP, 2019).

In this sense, DIY ethos seems relevant in the configuration of Chilean contemporary politics since it nurtures implicit and symbolic artefacts and knowledge that are recognized and esteemed within artistic underground scenes that are increasingly and distinctively localized yet translocally connected, helping to overcome socioeconomic and technological shifts by measuring success in terms of symbolic capital (Moore, 2004), as well as effectively and efficiently transforming the notions of work and play (Willis, 1997) by privileging creative autonomy and putting weight into institutional challenge and resistance, thus opening up the possibility for new cultural practices and trajectories based on a diversity of 'lines of flight' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) making visible the historically suppressed richness and uniqueness of contemporary society.

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Annex

Annex 1: Semi-structured narrative interviewing script

Interviewee:
Interviewer:
Interview:
Date:
Place:
Duration:
Time of realization:

General elements of sociographic characterization
Age:
Gender:
Profession:
Education:
Professional trajectory:
Naturality and place of residence (region):

NOTES

- Explain the motives behind the interview and its objectives.
- The gathered information will strictly serve the ongoing work.
- It seeks to consolidate visions and gather different ideas and opinions to contribute for a sustained knowledge about contemporary Chilean activisms / artivisms, highlighting the importance activisms / activisms have in the structuring of the urban and daily cultures of the different actors involved.

1. Consumption, tastes and positions within the cultural and ludic field in relation with the urban environment and fabric

1.1. Main cultural consumption, the way free time is used and the qualitative and quantitative importance of activism in the cultural consumption sphere (in the broadest sense).
1.2. The city's cultural supply (present situation and how it has evolved, resources and needs) with particular emphasis on music.
1.3. How the city is lived and the adoption of specific ways of life that would boost the social agent activist / artivist trajectory.
1.4. Cultural taste construction: moments (pre-adolescence, adolescence, youth, after graduating, etc.); agents/ instances of socialization (friends, siblings, parents,

family members, teachers, etc.) and life changing experiences (concerts, parties, night out, trips, etc.).

1.5. Ways people relate with culture (assessment and positioning).

2. Activism / artivism, ways of life / lifestyles and connections

2.1. Daily influence of activism / artivism daily (moments, people, spaces).

2.2. Daily influence of activism / artivism through music (life soundtrack).

2.3. Music as a display of differentiated cultural consumption. Connections between activism / artivism and specific circles of their lives (friends, colleagues, leisure, family, special affections, etc.).

2.4. Draft by the social agent of the city's' activism / artivism cartography. (Does it relate roughly to music and cultural scenes? with which ones are they related to?)

2.5. Differences in the experience of activism / artivism between Santiago and the rest of Chile's regions perceived by the social agents.

2.6. Construction and evolution of DIY practices / Dynamics (moments, frames, names).

2.7. Relation between activism and aesthetic (images, representation of the self)

2.8. Musical style that defines the social agent and their reference bands (identification and justification).

2.9. Consumptions associated to activism and music (outfits, songs, books, alcohol, drugs, etc.).

3. Trends and structures on the field of activism / artivism in Santiago of Chile

3.1. General characterization of the present activist / artivist panorama (main trends and defining styles).

3.2. Characterization of the present activist / artivist panorama in Chile (main trends and defining styles).

3.3. Evaluation of the Chilean activist / artivist production (main actors and justification).

3.4. Evolution of Chilean activism / artivism in the past 30 years in relation to their main characters, spaces, agents, etc.

3.5. Interpretation and subjective conception by the social agent about activism / artivism.

3.6. Spaces known for the usual agglomeration of activists / activists in the city (evolution, divulgation points and their importance).

3.7. Determine agents in the activism / artivism field (musicians, teachers, friends, influencers, etc.) and their justification (including hierarchization of the agents in the field of activism / activism and the most relevant power relations).

4. Considerations about the trends of structuring activism / artivism

4.1. Change on dissemination formats and media (due to democracy, internet, technology, etc.).

4.2. Characteristics and specificities of Chilean activists / artivists.

4.3. Activities carried out in parallel with activism / artivism.

4.4. Self-representations of the social and activist / artivist status of social agents.

4.5. Differences between mainstream and underground activism / artivism.
4.6. Relation between activists / artivists and media.
4.7. Relations and connections between the evolution of activism / artivism field and the social, political and economic characteristics of Chilean society.

5. Activism / artivism: collectives and projects

5.1. Presentation and definition of the actual collective / project (what is it about? When and why did it come to existence?
5.2. Connection between the evolution of activism / artivism and the personal evolution (main moments and turning points). Connection with the city's project.
5.3. Characterization of activists / artivists in terms of age, sex, geographic precedence, education level and presence of followers or fans.
5.4. Activist / artivist contributions for Chilean activism / artivism (exploring new strategies and tactics, internationalization of demands, voice- activist strategies, contingent particularities, etc.).
5.5. Previous and future projects (which ones? when? objectives? themes?).
5.6. Evaluation of the activist / artivist trajectory (strong and weak points).
5.7. Spaces (struggles, negotiations, needs).

6. Patterns of political participation

6.1. Determine individual level values activism, whether it is 'duty-based' citizenship (obedience, technocratic discourse and 'the way democracy works') or engaged citizenship (equality, autonomy, freedom and mistrust of government).
6.2. Determine contextual level structure activism, whether it is individual level activism or collective engagement.
6.3. Exploration of individual level activisms / artivisms repertoires (communicative repertoires by voice- political strategies (i.e., contacting the media and individualized repertoires by exit- political strategy (i.e., signing petitions).
6.4. Exploration of collective engagement activisms / artivisms repertoires (emphasis in the relation with underground music scenes (youth conviviality, artistic production, mainstream defiance, ritual performance) and DIY ethos (strong weight on autonomy, community, creativity, equality, freedom).

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Chilean Plebiscite 2020: Vote for a Constitutional Convention Results

Option	Votes	Percentage	Selection
1. Approve (Apruebo)	5.899.683	78,31%	**Approve**
2. Reject (Rechazo)	1.634.506	21,69%	
Valid Ballots	**7.534.189**	**99,48%**	
Invalid Ballots	**27.381**	**0,36%**	
Blank Ballots	**12.344**	**0,16%**	
Total Ballots	**7.573.914**	**100,00%**	

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from: https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=10

Appendix 2: Chilean Plebiscite 2020: Vote for Constitutional Convention Election Process Results

Option	Votes	Percentage	Selection
1. Mixed Constitutional Convention	1.492.260	20,82%	
2. Constitutional Convention	5.673.793	79,18%	**Constitutional Convention**
Valid Ballots	**7.166.053**	**94,62%**	
Null Ballots	**283.794**	**3,75%**	
Blank Ballots	**123.277**	**1,63%**	
Total Ballots	**7.573.124**	**100,00%**	

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=222

Appendix 3: Chilean 2021 Presidential Primaries Results

Coallitions and candidates	Party	Votes	Percentage	Nominees
A. CHILE VAMOS		1.340.472	100,00%	
1. LAVIN INFANTE JOAQUIN	UDI	416.604	31,08%	
2. BRIONES ROJAS IGNACIO	EVOPOLI	131.996	9,85%	
3. SICHEL RAMIREZ SEBASTIAN	IND	660.250	49,26%	**Nominated**
4. DESBORDES JIMENEZ MARIO	RN	131.622	9,82%	
B. APRUEBO DIGNIDAD		1.752.922	100,00%	
5. BORIC FONT GABRIEL	CONVERGENCIA	1.059.060	60,42%	**Nominated**
6. JADUE JADUE DANIEL	PCCH	693.862	39,58%	

Valid Ballots	**3.093.394**	**98,47%**	
Null Ballots	**41.930**	**1,33%**	
Blank Ballots	**6.080**	**0,19%**	
Total Ballots	**3.141.404**	**100,00%**	

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=231

Appendix 4: Chilean 2021 Presidential 1st Round Elections Results

Candidates	Votes	Percentage	Office
1. BORIC FONT GABRIEL	1.815.024	25,82%	**Selected for Second Round Election Process**
2. KAST RIST JOSE ANTONIO	1.961.779	27,91%	**Selected for Second Round Election Process**
3. PARISI FERNANDEZ FRANCO ALDO	900.064	12,81%	
4. SICHEL RAMIREZ SEBASTIAN	898.635	12,79%	
5. PROVOSTE CAMPILLAY YASNA	815.563	11,60%	
6. ENRIQUEZ-OMINAMI GUMUCIO MARCO	534.383	7,60%	
7. ARTES BRICHETTI EDUARDO	102.897	1,46%	
Valid Ballots	**7.028.345**	**98,79%**	
Null Ballots	**55.480**	**0,78%**	
Blank Ballots	**30.493**	**0,43%**	
Total Ballots	**7.114.318**	**100,00%**	

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=232

Appendix 5: Chilean 2021 Presidential 2nd Round Elections Results

Candidates	Votes	Percentage	Office
1. BORIC FONT GABRIEL	4.621.231	55,87%	**President**
2. KAST RIST JOSE ANTONIO	3.650.662	44,13%	

Valid Ballots	**8.271.893**	**98,89%**	
Null Ballots	**68.616**	**0,82%**	
Blank Ballots	**23.972**	**0,29%**	
Total Ballots	**8.364.481**	**100,00%**	

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=236

Appendix 6: Chilean 2022 Plesbicite: Vote for the New Charter Document Results

Option	Votes	Percentage	Selection
1. Approve (Apruebo)	4.860.093	38,14%	
2. Reject (Rechazo)	7.882.958	61,86%	**Reject**

Valid Ballots	**12.743.051**	**97,86%**	
Null Ballots	**200.722**	**1,54%**	
Blank Ballots	**77.290**	**0,59%**	
Total Ballots	**13.021.063**	**100,00%**	

38.754 tables counted out of a total of 38.757, corresponding to 99,99%. Preliminary results according to article 185, Law 18.700, are merely informative and do not constitute scrutiny for legal effect.

Source: Servel – Servicio Electoral de Chile. Accesed on September 7, 2022, retrieved from https://preliminares.serveleleccciones.cl/#/votacion/elecciones_constitucion/global/19001