Art against Dictatorship: Making and Exporting Arpilleras under Pinochet by Jacqueline Adams

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What does a patchwork picture stitched in cloth in Chile in 1979 have to do with an iPhone photo tweeted from an Iranian protest in 2009? For that matter, what does needle art backed with burlap sacking have in common with a plastic capsule of individually portioned fair trade coffee sold in 2014?

Jacqueline Adams’s *Art against Dictatorship* makes a powerful argument that movement scholars should learn more about the *arpilleras* made in shantytowns in Augusto Pinochet’s Chile and exported around the world as this form of “solidarity art” was both radically successful—and successfully radicalizing—long before contemporary research probed the vexed intersection of art, commerce, and transnational movements as it does today. Adams mentions the parallels between solidarity art and fair trade in chapter 1, but her main focus is a detailed, impressively researched, multimethod, qualitative study of the “art community” that surrounded the 100,000 arpilleras made under the dictatorship in Santiago, from production to distribution to consumption. The book traces the history of arpilleras’ haphazard beginnings as one of many survival strategies to their development in women’s groups, which fostered more politicized depictions of women’s everyday struggles and their extraordinary protests for the disappeared. Later, she traces the arpilleras’ depoliticization as the Catholic vicariate responsible for their export demanded less “strong” themes.

It would be easy to romanticize the arpilleras and the story that they represent of women’s empowerment under the very harshest conditions, but Adams is a less sentimental observer than others who have written on the arpilleras and has a much broader interest in the impact of their export on others, particularly exile communities. As she complicates taken-for-granted narratives about the meaning of the arpilleras’ construction and the roles of different groups in their making, she contributes to a number of research areas beyond the obvious audiences of Latin Americanists and scholars of repressive regimes.

To wit, for scholars interested in the process of mobilization through participation in gendered groups, she tells a compelling story of obstacles to politicization in traditional gender roles and a gradual development of collective consciousness. There are intriguing parallels here to work by Ziad Munson on the pro-life movement and the relevance of motherhood to mobilization (*The Making of Pro-life Activists* [University of Chicago Press, 2009]). For scholars passionate about the expressive potential of art in activism, the arpilleras suggest complicated relationships between artistic content, form, and commercial appeal. Far from the homespun, colorfully haphazard and emotionally raw impression they invoked in their
purchasers, the process of arpillera making was largely standardized in size, themes, colors, and styles by the intermediary buyers of the vicariate, even though Adams points out that arpillera makers came from diverse backgrounds and had different political claims with respect to poverty and violence. Arpilleras that did not follow conventions for “mountains and sun,” contained too much blood or violence in the images, or had sloppy stitching were rejected—and poor women with families to raise worked into the night to produce their quota.

Nevertheless, buying arpilleras inspired a powerful narrative for those consumers who were exiles, enabling a sense of solidarity and continued resistance even when exiles felt powerless and isolated. For scholars of visual sociology, these pictures are, like the smartphone images of struggle captured today, invaluable in connecting far-flung communities in a perceived shared experience, even as the role of transnational organizations and, now, corporations in their distribution is complicated. Adams even interviewed Pinochet’s wife, who led a women’s organization in proregime arpillera making—demonstrating the ongoing challenges of authenticity and cooptation that are the flip side of commercial potential and expressive power.

Because of the rich images and compelling subject matter, the study seems ripe for a wider audience, and Adams has produced a book and companion website on shantytown women’s experiences for undergraduates called *Surviving Dictatorship: A Work of Visual Sociology* (Routledge, 2012). As a result, *Art against Dictatorship* is likely to serve a smaller, more specialized academic audience, and I wish that Adams had strengthened the theoretical development of the argument accordingly. There are some frustrating repetitions of quotes, but these minor flaws should not deter those readers interested in understanding better the tangled, fraught role of visual art in activism.


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*Hell's Kitchen and the Battle for Urban Space,* Joseph J. Varga’s study of the social production of the Middle West Side in Progressive-Era New York City, is an extended explication of one of the major arguments in urban studies: that urbanites make their own city but not under conditions of their choosing. The book is also a thoroughly researched application of contemporary urban theory to historical material. Intricately combing through newspaper stories, government analyses, social workers’ reports, planning proposals, photographic collections, and other archival sources, Varga exhumes the multiple discourses, practices, and institutions that