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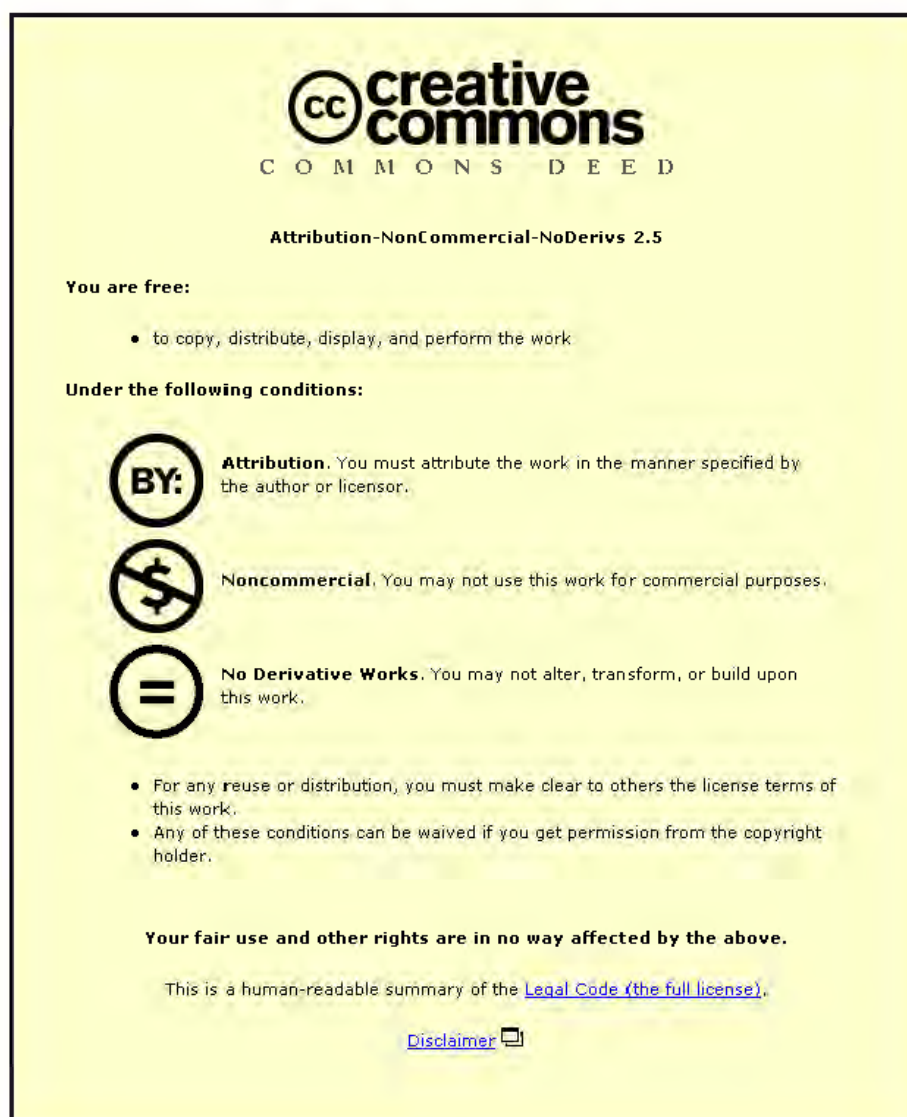
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**SONGS, MEMORIES AND IDENTITIES:
THE BOLERO AND SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION IN
CONTEMPORARY MEXICO.**

by

María del Carmen de la Peza C.

**A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of Ph.D. of Loughborough
University**

September 1997

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KEYWORDS

Mass communication studies
Mexican Popular Music
Music and Identity
Lyrics and Music Reception
Love songs and Collective Memory
Music Ethnographies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Even though intellectual work and research require individual effort and solitary reflection, such work is above all and in many ways a collective task. This thesis is no exception. What is being published today, is as a result of dialogue with countless interlocutors all of whom have been very important throughout the process of my intellectual development, and to all of whom I hope this piece of work will be a just tribute.

However, I must recognise expressly and personally, the generous and direct contribution made by some people, to the development and culmination of this project.

I particularly wish to thank my thesis supervisor, Mr Graham Murdock. He has encouraged and orientated me throughout the development of this piece of research, with his confidence in, and respect for, my work. His ideas, comments, suggestions and bibliography have always been thoughtful and pertinent. His criticism of my first draft was finely-tuned, relevant and to the point. His reading and painstaking correction of my final manuscript, have given my thesis a more organic structure, and more clearly defined, formulation.

I owe special thanks also to Margarita Zires who, with keen and always supportive eye, patiently read and criticised the innumerable versions through which my work metamorphosed, along the way to taking this more polished form which I present today.

Special thanks also go to Carolina Terán and Raymundo Mier for their support throughout the whole research process, and most particularly

for their dedicated reading of, and critical comments on, the final version. I wish to thank Jennifer Terrett, with whom I have gone over the final details of the version in English.

My research assistants, Claudia Reyes, Yuriria Tabakova, Clara Eguiguren, Guadalupe García and María José Gadsden, also deserve special thanks for generously devoting their time to the task of collecting some of the information; as do Ema Montes de Oca for her logistic support, and Ana Martínez for transcribing the interviews.

And to all my friends, who in one way or another have contributed with their comments, opinions, suggestions and personal support, at different stages in the development of this project, thankyou.

I wish also to mention the fact that this project would not have been possible without the institutional backing of the *Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana*, which awarded me a scholarship for postgraduate studies. This not only meant financial support, but also a temporary release from my duties, which allowed me to work on my research full time. Likewise, I wish to thank the *Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología* for the scholarship to pursue doctoral studies; and the *Seminario de Culturas Populares del Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes*, for the financial support which allowed me to do the field work.

I dedicate my work most especially:

to my daughters, Lorena and Claudia Cándano, who have kept me company every step of the way, and have buoyed me up with their patience, affection and laughter.....

to my parents, my sisters and my brothers, all of whom, in their different ways, have been a support and an obligatory point of reference all my life, but particularly during these last five years...

ABSTRACT

The confluence of singers, composers and audiences within contemporary Mexican culture, produces a "bolero effect" in which the bolero tradition of the popular love song is established as a complex network of relationships between actors and spaces. The relationships between public discourses about romance, courtship and self identities, is produced and secured by the deployment of a variety of codes and languages that together constitute love as a shared memory.

Collective and personal memory are strongly related. The process of interpreting and responding to the bolero is rooted not only in individual biography but also in the life of the community to which a person belongs, and which provides him/her with frames of reference within which to organise memory, a kind of mental map drawn up by language.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the complex and contradictory interplay between the public presentation and proliferation of the bolero, and the intimate, unique, experience of love. The first part of the thesis explores the public culture of the bolero as it travels along trajectories linking live performance to radio, cinema, records and television. The second part explores the experiences and responses of male and female subjects from two contrasting class locations in contemporary Mexico City.

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INTRODUCTION

Why study the bolero at all? This is a question that I have had to answer times without number, from relatives, friends and colleagues. But most of all it is a question I have put to myself. My unease with the bolero stems from an ambivalent relationship I have with it.

The bolero and the cultural practices it supports, such as serenades and dances, were an important part in my own loving socialisation. At the age of twelve I began playing the guitar and singing boleros. Since then, in certain loving encounters and situations where love did not work out, the words of the bolero, like common sayings, spring to mind automatically. Even now, despite the critical distance that I, as an intellectual woman, have cultivated, I have to admit that I still like the bolero. Many times I have felt that the bolero interprets and expresses my moods, and takes me back to generally inadmissible basic feelings of love, hate, jealousy and spite, among others. Paradoxically too, I have chosen the bolero as my companion of nearly five years of research, because its pretentiousness makes me laugh, its misogyny is deplorable in my opinion, and I do not like having to face the fact that my own subjectivity is hall-marked by the bolero.

According to Foucault's interpretation of Nietzsche's text, "What Does Knowledge Signify?", the relationship of knowledge between the subject who knows and the object of the knowledge, is one of confrontation and struggle, produced as a result of three passions: laughter, hatred and regret. As Foucault points out, two important ideas come out of Nietzsche's design. Those three impulses, laughter, hatred and regret, are at the root of knowledge and produce knowledge, but they also "have in common a distancing from the object, a desire to move away from it and at the same time to remove it, well, to destroy it" (Foucault 1983:27).

In this sense, what interests me about this research is constructing a critical distance towards the bolero and between my self and the loving culture it supports. Another aim is being able to contribute towards its destruction as an instrument in the submission of women and men to a "deplorable" model of relationships. I am interested in investigating the opportunities the bolero offers to make a different use of it and to recover its "subversive" potential, if in fact it has any.

THE BOLERO AND THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The bolero, as a love song, is a cultural product that was born with the contemporary cultural industries at the end of the last century. Since 1930 the bolero has expanded into the mass market thanks to the record, film and radiophonic industries. National production has even been exported to other countries. Thus the bolero has entered the international market. With the proliferation of groups, bands, trios, mariachis and orchestras that offer their services at private parties, serenades, bars and canteens, the bolero has also spread throughout the circuits of purely personal, informal, non-recorded use, reaching groups that differ in age, gender and class.

At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, after a period of decline, the bolero bounced back with renewed force. Because of the "celebration" of the bolero's one hundredth birthday, special bolero shows began to proliferate throughout Mexico and Latin America, in the theatre, on the radio and on television.

In Mexico different singers and composers have returned to the bolero in search of alternative forms of expression to the more commercial, standardised, romantic ballad. The bolero received a new stimulus, at

the edge of the hegemonic cultural apparatus, thanks to the efforts of some singers of Latin American songs, such as Tania Libertad, Guadalupe Pineda and Eugenia León.

In 1991, the commercial circuit released onto the market a recording of some of the best known boleros, with the title *Romance* (Warner Music 1991). The artist was their most popular singer Luis Miguel, the young singer who has stayed at the top in recent years in popularity and in the sale of records, cassettes and compact discs. Juan Gabriel, one of the most famous singer-songwriters of the moment, has also contributed to the bolero genre with some of his compositions.

Even today there are still radio stations that continue to broadcast "romantic" programmes in which the main music is the bolero. Bolero singers are often interviewed. Their radio-listener fans request their favourite melodies, dedicating them to boyfriends, girlfriends or lovers, and occasionally to mothers or friends. From the studio, the radio presenters re-create the conditions for listening to and using the bolero. Through their discourse, they anticipate and create a possible place for the user. They comment on, interpret and give their own reading of bolero texts. They induce, suggest and orient possible forms of reading for the listeners whom they imagine, or who really are in some place in front of a set turned on and tuned to the radio station's signal.

Nowadays the bolero is also expanding and being disseminated in dance halls, theatres, bars, restaurants and canteens. Some singers and artists have moved from manufacturing jobs to the massive industrial market of the cassette, or by means of competitions on the radio or television. Others have been produced directly as merchandise for the market of mass culture. Likewise, different publications, novels, tales, chronicles, song books and critical essays, have taken the bolero

as an element of context, theme or reason for reflection and analysis. They include the following well known novels: *Ella Cantaba Boleros* (She Sings Boleros) by Cabrera Infante (1996), *Los Cachorros* (The Puppies) by Mario Vargas Llosa (1974), *Arráncame la Vida* (Leave me oh Life) by Angeles Mastretta (1985), *La importancia de llamarse Daniel Santos* (The importance of being called Daniel Santos) by Luis Rafael Sánchez (1989); *La última noche que pasé contigo* (The last night I spent with you) by Mayra Montero (1991), as well as the book of essays *Amor Perdido* (Lost Love) by Carlos Monsivais (1986), and the fictional tales of Alejandro Aura (1990) published under the name of *La hora íntima de Agustín Lara* (Agustín Lara's Intimate Hour), among others.

The cultural phenomenon displayed with the proliferation of the bolero cannot be reduced to the logic of the market, profit and accumulation. The bolero is a cultural, symbolic phenomenon that exceeds and overflows purely economic interpretations, and demands attention in order to make headway in understanding the problems of the current cultures in Latin America.

DIFFERENT STUDIES ON THE BOLERO PHENOMENON

The bolero has also been the subject of academic interest. The majority of these studies narrate its history by relating events and anecdotes from the life of bolero composers and singers. These studies consider the bolero to be a musical phenomenon, and investigate the influence of previous and contemporary musical and literary genres, which have constituted and transformed the bolero with the passage of time. Some research also includes greater or lesser recompilations of the songs (Moreno Rivas 1989; Dueñas 1990; Orovio 1991, 1995; Leal 1992; Abaroa Martínez 1993; Rico Salazar 1988; Madera Ferrón, undated). These pieces of research emphasise the origin and chronological

development of the bolero as a musical and theme-based genre, and propose a linear, evolutionary vision of the bolero's history.

Other investigations into the bolero and tango have improved our understanding of popular music, particularly love songs, as a socio-cultural, political phenomenon. The investigations carried out by Castillo Zapata (1991), Zavala (1991) and Savigliano (1995), should be mentioned in this context.

In his book *Fenomenología del Bolero* (1991) (Phenomenology of The Bolero), Castillo Zapata looks at the songs mainly as written text, and bases his analysis on the confluence of three influential disciplines behind current western thinking: psychoanalysis, structuralism and phenomenology. Inspired by the text "Fragments of a Loving Discourse", written by Barthes (1983a), the author catalogues what he considers are the seven figures the bolero offers a Latin-American in love, as a collective glossary, love themes as macro-structures (Castillo Zapata 1991:20). According to Castillo Zapata, all the basic bolero figures converge into the central figure, "be happy", and, in the last instance, refer to despair and the elaboration of the mourning of love faced with separation (Castillo Zapata 1991:105-134).

Zavala's book *El Bolero Historia de un Amor* (1991) (The Bolero, a Love Story) is, according to its author, a "critical fiction" that moves between academic reflection and literary criticism. It considers the bolero from Foucault's point of view (1979:131-177), that is to say as a discursive formation, and a device of enunciation. In the first part of the book, Zavala recounts the different traditions of western lyrics which have made their mark on the bolero: rhetorical forms of mediaeval love, courteous love, romantic love and modernism (Zavala 1991:11-41). In the second part, She attributes a liberating character to the bolero, as an "anti-oppression machine" (Zavala 1991:17), democratic too because

the bolero can be heard in the private dance halls of the aristocracy as well as in popular dance halls. Similarly, She considers that, thanks to the emergence of female singers and composers, such as María Grever, Consuelo Velázquez, Isolina Carrillo, Tina Polak and María Alma to name but a few, the bolero has contributed to the "feminine liberation of desire" (Zavala 1991:49). In Zavala's view, "the bolero as written by a woman is something else completely" (Zavala 1991:62), and she considers that the participation of female composers has produced a breaking down of the fence imposed on women and that for these composers to have had access into public life, and has subverted the passive position of women in loving relationships.

The works of Zavala and Castillo Zapata have made advances in our understanding of the bolero as a "collective glossary" of rhetoric figures of loving, and our view of it as an expression of the culture of Latin-American loving, as a place of national identification (Zavala 1991:67; Castillo Zapata 1991:27). They also highlight the possibilities of creativity, resistance and transgression offered by the bolero. As Zavala points out, many bolero texts "allow the "you" to be either man or woman, and the discourse to be either heterosexual or homosexual" (Zavala 1991:76).

Zavala's and Castillo Zapata's works are part of a mythifying vision of the bolero, in that they consider it an "authentic" expression of popular Mexican and Latin-American culture. They idealise the bolero by the "argumentative", "democratic" character they attribute to it. To accomplish this, they overlook the domineering part in bolero codes, as well as the repressive patriarchal ideology that run through them. Nor have those works taken into account the bolero as a place of struggle, a point of collision between the imposition of social behaviours, and the possibility of subverting these behaviours, in accordance with the multiple contradictions of class, race and gender that run through it.

In this respect it is interesting to mention the contribution of research into the tango carried out by Savigliano (1995), which coincides with some relevant aspects in this present research project. In her book "The Tango and the Political Economy of Passion", Savigliano focuses her analysis of the songs on the contradictory, uneven power relationships between the sexes, classes, ethnic groups and nations, that run through the tango.

The discursive universe opened up by the tango, in her opinion, is a recounting of the multiple practices of submission and subversion that characterise the dynamic of power. According to Savigliano, the popularity of the tango is rooted in its description of the interminable conflict between oppressor and oppressed: men and women, rich and poor; black and white; civilised and barbarians, as a complex process of the construction of identities and differences in which "Argentinian-ness" is debated as a national identity (Savigliano 1995:167).

Zavala's, Castillo Zapata's and Savigliano's works, each from its own viewpoint, analyse the love song -be it bolero or tango- as a live performance made up of texts and choreography. These authors also analyse the possible audiences of the songs, in a very general way, but do not come anywhere near the real consumers.

To avoid some of the problems and limitations in these works, this present research project aims to approach the bolero in its many dimensions from the angle of the "bolero effect". Firstly, the bolero will be considered, not only as music to dance to and as a love song, but also as a polymorphic cultural phenomenon, a complex made up of songs, practices and rituals, that circulate through different singers and audiences, in different social spaces and different communication media. The bolero phenomenon, in its different dimensions, is part of

public culture. Secondly, consideration will be given to the fact that the meaning of the different songs, practices and rituals that make up the bolero phenomenon, when transmitted in different public spaces, are transformed and spread according to the contexts and moments in time in which the different subjects interpret, appropriate and make use of them, in their private, intimate spaces.

It should be noted that, in this present work, a distinction is made between the notions of interpretation, use and appropriation. Interpretation is understood as the attribution of meanings to the songs. The notion of use refers to the way in which the bolero is employed, enjoyed and serves some specific purpose, for example, the bolero can be sung, danced to, recorded, or played for the simple pleasure of doing so, or as part of a courting ritual. Finally, the notion of appropriation refers to the idea of incorporating the bolero, its contents and practices into a person's own life. These three levels refer to the practices of understanding and knowing what the bolero means, knowing how to apply the bolero in certain concrete situations, and incorporating the bolero into a person's own system of values.

In summary, it can be said that the interaction between the subjects, bolero discourses and practices within the different spaces in which the bolero moves, produce a "bolero effect", as a dissemination of different interpretations, forms of use and appropriation that different subjects and social groups make of the bolero.

THE BOLERO AND THE INTER-RELATION BETWEEN PUBLIC CULTURE AND PRIVATE LIFE

The general aim of this project is, therefore to analyse the complex, contradictory game produced within the bolero in its multiple dimensions, as part of the culture of love that is transmitted and

circulated in public spaces and in the loving, intimate, singular experience of the subjects studied.

The first part of this thesis analyses the multiple trajectories described by the bolero, and the transformations the bolero undergoes on its way through the cultural industries: records, the radio, cinema and television, passing through different forms of live performance in places of face to face communication. In order to carry out this analysis, a broad base of empirical data was collected. As a first step, the availability of boleros in Mexico City was studied, and a large corpus of boleros, both in written form and recorded audio-visually, was put together.

As regards the availability of boleros in public places of face to face communication, participatory observations were made in different bars, theatres and dance halls in Mexico City. As regards boleros broadcast on the different media, an analysis was made of the words of the songs compiled in two song books. An analysis was also made of the transformations the songs undergo in the different audio-visual media, according to the different languages, contexts and interpretation styles in which the songs were broadcast. To study the bolero in its oral and auditory dimensions, the catalogues of two record companies were studied, as well as a corpus of radio programmes. As to the audio-visual media, various films were studied, in which a bolero was the musical theme, as well as a corpus of television programmes.

The second part of this thesis deals with the role of the bolero in the private, intimate life of the subjects. Bolero culture was explored with a group of forty subjects, both men and women, from two contrasted class locations in contemporary Mexico City. In order to detail these subjects' encounters with bolero in different media, a cultural consumption questionnaire was given to all the members of the group.

To analyse their, differentiated forms of interpretation, use and appropriation, four group interviews were held. By means of the narratives about the "love of their life", that these subjects produced within the framework of the group interviews, the role of the bolero was studied, as a rhetoric code of loving in sentimental education.

THE LOVE SONG AND THE SOCIAL FORMATION OF MEMORY

Historically in different societies, the love song has been a mechanism for the transmission and storage of culture about love and the relationships of a couple. In the first chapter of this thesis, the ideas of Connerton, Zumthor and Barthes are taken up, principally in order to reflect theoretically on the role love songs have as part of the rhetoric code of loving in the shaping of collective memory.

The chapter is particularly interested in describing the different devices and mechanisms through which cultural codes are transmitted and spread, and the form in which the tradition, about love and the relationships of a couple within a community, is reproduced or transformed. Likewise it is important to describe why the love song has a privileged position in this process. Among the many discursive and non-discursive practices that shape loving rhetoric, the chapter particularly mentions: myths, songs and stories about love, courtship and seduction rituals, as well as other rituals of daily life and commemorative ceremonies, among others.

THE BOLERO LOVE SONG AS LYRICS AND ORAL POETRY

The second chapter presents a concrete analysis of a large corpus of songs. The intention is to demonstrate that the love song, particularly the bolero, is a mechanism for the shaping of collective memory on two levels. In the first place the bolero is analysed as a collection of

enunciation that allow the storage of social definitions of love and loving relationships. In the second place the bolero is studied as an enunciation device, that offers roles and stereotyped positions to be taken up by different subjects, men and women, in loving relationships.

The songs were analysed not as separate units, but in relation to each other, like an inter-text, a framework of voices, quotes and references, which are interwoven and speak to one another, which coincide with or contradict each other, and which as a collection form a rhetoric code of loving that is complex and full of contradictions.

THE LOVE SONG AND THE MULTIPLICITY OF CODES AND LANGUAGES THAT SHAPE IT

The majority of studies dealing with the oral, written and audio-visual messages of the communication media during recent decades, have focused on an analysis of the written word, and have left to one side the particularity of the oral and audio-visual languages in which the communication is made.

Against such partial perspectives, this investigation proposes to study the contemporary love song, in all its multiple character, as a phenomenon of both face-to-face and indirect communication, that involves different combinations of oral, written and audio-visual languages. The third chapter analyses the bolero as a live performance in theatres, bars, restaurants and dance halls. Chapter four approaches the bolero in its sound dimension, as a means of communication operating through the record and radio industries. Finally chapter five studies the transformations that the bolero undergoes in the audio-visual media of the cinema and television.

The interest in the chapters mentioned here lies in the analysis of the variations in the bolero's meaning, according to the diversity of spaces, times, ritual forms and the languages in which the bolero materialises.

RE-THINKING RECEPTION

A range of different social disciplines, from literary criticism, semiology, the sociology of culture to communication studies, have theorised the relationship between culture disseminated in public places and its impact on the private life of the subjects. These different perspectives oscillate between those that consider that cultural institutions exercise absolute power over their subjects, and those that idealise the creative power of subjects.

Chapter six starts with a criticism of those perspectives, then proposes an alternative approach to the problems of interpretation, use and appropriation on the part of subjects. In contrast to perspectives of subjects as the origin of meaning, or as passive receivers of the messages, or regard the media as isolated institutions broadcasting messages which are received one-way only. This thesis considers the interplay between subjects and texts to be a relationship of dialogue, inter-textual, dialectic and multi-directional, determined by the concrete circumstances in which it is produced.

Thus it is understood that subjects and discourses inter-relate dialectically, in converging and diverging manners. These relationships are produced between subjects who are crossed by multiple texts, facing open discourses that in their turn refer to other previous and contemporary discourses. In summary, this thesis argues that signification is produced by the complex interaction between subjects and texts that circulate around different social spaces and communication media, in historically determined conditions.

THE BOLERO AND PRIVATE LIFE

The final objective of this study was to consider the impact the bolero has had, as part of a rhetoric code of romance, in the shaping of loving subjects in Mexico. Chapter seven provides a description of the field-work and a critical exposition of the methods used for this exploration.

Chapter eight offers a socio-cultural characterisation of the groups studied, and situates them within the context of the city, and chapter nine describes the different ways in which the men and women of two social classes use the bolero. This chapter looks in particular, at the way in which subjects incorporate into their own life, the love behaviour patterns proposed by the bolero, as a part of a process of memory. This may be accomplished by means of a variety of everyday practices and rituals, such as listening to, singing or dancing to boleros. This chapter analyses the way in which the subjects incorporated into tales of their own love life, the themes and stereotypes, both female and male, proposed by the bolero. This incorporation it is argued, is accomplished by means of the mechanisms of semantic memory.

Chapter ten analyses the mechanisms through which individual memories and collective memory are inter-related. Analysing the discourse of the participants in the discussion groups allows this relationship to be examined in detail. On the one hand this chapter studies the ways in which the subjects give form, interpret and select the separate events of their life according to the bolero's rhetoric code of loving. On the other hand, it also looks at the way that subjects, beginning with their own unique experience, put together a dialogue or confrontation, with the multiple voices of tradition and of the "should be", as part of collective memory.

PART I:
BOLERO IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

CHAPTER I

THE LOVE SONG; THE RHETORIC OF LOVING, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

As Havelock argues, the fundamental mechanism through which tradition is stored and transmitted as cultural information, is spoken language operating as "a language that is memorised and transmissible from one generation to the next" (Havelock 1995:41). And in all societies, the love song is one of the central means for transmitting profound cultural traditions in the form of collective memory.

The aim, then, of this chapter is to examine the love song as an integral part of the games society plays to remember and forget, and its operation as one of the integration devices collective memory uses, through which different societies throughout history have stored and transmitted cultural knowledge about love and relationships between couples. Of particular interest are the multiple forms the love song uses, in contemporary societies, to incorporate knowledge within itself, and thence to take advantage of the disparate mechanisms of semantic and habitual memory.

To study the social formation of memory by means of the love song involves considering language, and all the other means of verbal transmission that make common recollection possible. These range from myths and the oral tradition of love poetry, to the rituals of everyday life and commemorative ceremonies. Such cultural practices can be thought of as large pools storing cultural information (Connerton 1989:76-82).

THE LOVE SONG AS PART OF THE SUBJECT'S MEMORY

Collective memory as an instrument of power operates by means of a combination of tactics and techniques for remembering and forgetting, tactics and techniques that are socially determined. The love song expressed in verbal language, is the memory incorporated within a subject (Connerton 1989:79). It is the living word, always changing, fleeting, that joins with other words in provisional compositions. The song that is sung is dynamic and its meaning is revealed gradually through the performance. Because of this, its meaning is elusive, it cannot be forced to follow any particular path, it is always rambling (Zumthor 1991:43).

In every community there are songs that are very evocative, they are known and sung by everybody, although nobody any longer knows the composer. The love song is a living tradition that is generally learned without recourse to written language, and is sung from memory, though at times it may be incomplete. Perhaps the full text is not known by any one subject, but when people are gathered in groups, the whole song can often be reconstructed from the fragments. The song serves as a collective meeting point and a common identification. The words and feeling in a love song are part of a community's knowledge, with which the singer nourishes him/herself at each performance. Each member of the group has his/her own subject repertoire, taken from the treasury of the community's memory (Zumthor 1991:236).

Owing to the selective and random character of memory, there is a constant, gradual moving away from, and transformation of, the song's original meaning. Memory is unstable, ambiguous, ephemeral and inaccurate. The lifetime of a song is determined by the subjects' capacity to remember it. Only what is constantly in use remains.

(Zumthor 1991:35). Memory is a way of recording the past within a subject. There are two distinguishable storage mechanisms in the memory for love songs: on the one hand the mnemotechnical device of habitual memory, and on the other the logical-rational devices of semantic memory (Connerton 1989:23-28). These two types of memory imply different processes for the storage, retrieval and updating of information, all of which will be discussed below.

Habitual memory is what permits the unthinking reproduction of a behaviour (Connerton 1989:23). This is how a subject memorises and subsequently recalls the words of a song, in their entirety or in parts, without necessarily considering the meaning. The formulaic and rhythmic structure of the text are retained, and the discourse is stored phonetically. The language of the song is used to store information in the memory. The song must be rhythmic and describe actions or passions rather than principles or concepts, for it to pass into the memory (Havelock 1995:42).

Because of the rhythmic and repetitive structure of the song's verses, a subject learns the melody before the meaning of the words. Rhyme and rhythm produce motor reflexes that are ordered serially and are triggered automatically, helping in the effort of recollection (Connerton 1989:76). A love song is learnt by repetition, and is sung without making value judgements, it is more an unconscious following of socially learnt formulae, rather than a conscious application of a rule (Connerton 1989:30). Habitual memory permits the songs to be evoked and reproduced mechanically.

The love song as part of a community's habitual memory, exists mainly as an oral, widely dispersed, collective form of communication, popular discourse, or background noise, that remains in a "latent state" in a subject's memory, to be evoked only in certain situations. The love

song physically incorporated within a person, is a particularly effective means of legitimising standards. In love songs, the music has as much of a performative character as the words. They are actions which are internalised through collective practices and rituals, without there being any need for either to be conceptualised. Therefore, as Connerton states, "Every group, then, will entrust to bodily automatism the values and categories which they are most anxious to conserve. They will know how well the past can be kept in mind by habitual memory sedimented in the body". (Connerton 1989:102).

Everyday knowledge of love relationships is transmitted from one generation to the other, through the pre-conscious learning of songs. These are converted into social standards, without needing to be formulated or codified into a religious, judicial or moral law. The song conveys "a knowledge of habitual behaviour, that may be learnt by the action itself... as if it were a part to be played" (Jauss 1989:255).

Logical-rational memory emphasises the semantic or content level. The subject, rather than learning the song textually as a whole, retains fragments, pieces, figures, that he/she assimilates and transforms into concepts and tales. Semantic memory is a complex process of elaboration through which the subject breaks information down into bits, orders, classifies and files it, establishing links between the new information and that previously stored (Van Dijk 1983:178). Thus, the subject uses the song as a framework for making interpretations and a pattern for behaviour when facing new situations.

By means of semantic memory mechanisms, the song is transformed into a catalogue of affective behaviours. When listening to a certain song, the subject evokes with it the applications and feelings socially linked to such a formulation, relating them to his/her own experience. The love song associates an event with a feeling. Emotions and

behaviours unavoidably become related: a love triangle produces jealousy; separation produces nostalgia and pain. When linking an emotion to a deed, it not only anticipates and creates the deed, it also brings the deed about. With the back and forth movement in the music, the subject identifies him/herself with the song, and this in turn gives expression and form to his/her experience.

The love song as part of the discursive field of loving, together with many other discourses and rituals, make up collective memory. Collective memory is not homogeneous. It is made up, in a contradictory and complex way, of the universal knowledge of science, morality or religion, and the personal knowledge of common people, knowledge which is heterogeneous and fragmentary (Foucault 1992:194-95).

Below follows an analysis of some of the main social mechanisms and devices that people use to aid memory, such as love myths and the everyday rituals that form the rhetoric of loving, and which operate as part of semantic memory and habitual memory, respectively. Both mechanisms contribute to the shaping of the subject's and the community's memory.

THE LOVE SONG AND THE RHETORIC OF LOVING

The language of love, rather than mimicry, a reflection of reality, is a symbol, an instrument of representation and mediation among people, a social institution. The language of love is a rhetorical code that includes a selection of "love topics", and certain forms in which discourse must be organised either as ritual, mythical story or love song. By means of the logical-rational process of memory, a love song is transformed into a catalogue of topics or themes. For example, within

the global theme of love, there are many sub-themes, such as uncertainty, reciprocal love, non- reciprocal love, absence of love, etc.

Habitual memory transforms the song into ritual behaviours that contain a series of "frames of reference" or "typical situations, arrays of stereotyped relationships, conventionally structured and defined" (Van Dijk 1983:44). By means of such primary frames, subjects organise their love experience within the framework of social life (Goffman 1986:13). For example, some characteristic "frames" of love relationships that the love song includes could be: the encounter, separation, rendezvous, proposal, waiting, absence, etc. A framework establishes a ritual order including implicitly the participants' categories, the roles they play, rules of interaction and strategies. Knowledge of the frame of reference enables great economy of discourse, when the song refers to any particular element, the listener-speaker calls to mind the combination of elements that make up that frame (Van Dijk 1983:44-45).

Semantic memory and habitual memory enable the subject to make different combinations, in different situations, of the frames and figures offered by a song, in order to interpret the new situations he/she faces and to help him/her decide his/her actions. This process of elaborating information and matching it up to memory, is not individual but social. The social group provides subjects with the frames of reference in which to organise their memories, a kind of mental map drawn up by the language, and thus, the subject's memory is also always social and collective.

Oral language, the basic code of love songs, is part of habitual memory and a tool of semantic memory. As such, the subject applies it automatically in an appropriate way to different situations, without being conscious of doing so (Connerton 1989:28). Likewise no collective

memory can exist without reference to a socially specific spatial framework. A subject's recollections of songs, narratives, or personal experiences are localised within a mental map, and a material space, provided by that subject's social group as a way of organising collective memory (Connerton 1989:37).

In the rhetoric of love, common knowledge about love, "what is commonly accepted by everybody" becomes experience and a criterion of verification. What is plausible becomes probable, credible, its measure of truth based on the fact that the majority considers it to be true (Aristotle 1990:131; Barthes 1990:95; Kristeva 1972:67). In mass culture, songs and love stories have been adapted to the standard of the average audience. Common meanings, and, therefore, stereotypes and plausibility are decided by what the audience, the majority, considers possible, desirable, beautiful or pleasant. The love song has been institutionalised in a network of common places in the form of a repertoire of stereotypes (Barthes 1990:95).

The rhetoric of loving, of which the love song is a part, includes a range of topics actually related to love and also a series of myths about the different identities of men and women, and the roles they play in a love relationship. In addition, they comprise a series of rules of behaviour regarding the physical practice of love, that constitute a ritual that lovers can use as a socially accepted guide.

THE LOVE SONG, LOVE MYTHS AND MARRIAGE

As has been seen so far, the love song, when assimilated into memory is transformed and mingles with historical or fictional love stories and other scientific, ethical or legal discourses becoming part of the rhetoric of loving and with it, the mental frames of reference that subjects use to construct and interpret their own "experience of love".

Love stories, both in history and fiction, to a certain extent reconstruct reality, and assign it new meanings or symbols according to different procedures depending on what effects the author aims to produce, be they truthful or plausible. The durability of a love story is determined by how closely the subject in love identifies with it. The love story is not the event in itself, but rather the creative task of a plot construction, an imaginary and therefore mythical reconstruction of the past. The narrative plot produces a synthesis of the heterogeneous, it "draws together and integrates into a whole, complex story a series of diverse events" (Ricoeur 1995:32).

The myths that make up the narrative memory of a community or a culture, are regimes of statements that build up a network of meanings that enable a community to recognise itself, formulate and assume the rules of social behaviour acceptable in different spheres of community life. The great love myths create possible worlds that upset the established order or make us view our practices according to a scheme converted by common consent into a tradition (Ricoeur 1995:156; Bruner 1994:76).

For example, the mythical love stories of "Tristan and Isolde", *"Don Juan Tenorio"*, "Romeo and Juliet", and many others, constitute a logic that generates sentiments within the general framework of which the subject's lovelife may be narrated and recognised as having meaning. Subjects identify themselves mythically with the love models offered to them by the songs and stories in novels and films. When such models become typical and recurrent in the structure of subject lives, it is because they are significant, they reveal a behaviour pattern consecrated by the community as a model to honour. By the repetition of such models, the subject makes his/her life an incarnation of tradition, he/she brings to the present behaviours of the past.

To sum up, it can be said that collective memory, made up of the rhetoric of loving, gives form to a subject's mental map, according to which people interpret, produce and give meaning to their own sentimental love stories. The historical, mythical or fictional narration not only has a signal social function, as a representation and producer of sentiment, it also has a pragmatic character, an efficiency, a value as an illocutory act that impinges upon reality and transforms it (Faye 1974:19; Bruner 1994:53), as will be seen below.

THE LOVE SONG AND RITUALS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

The speech act that a subject realises when he/she sings, is a singular event that cannot be repeated. This necessarily, establishes a mutual connection between the text of the song and the context in which it is sung. Thus, the singing of the song acquires a meaning peculiar in itself. The song only exists in and because of the singing, and each rendition is always different. Variants in the use of the song are not accidental but deliberate, are not external but inherent in the song, and these variants form the implicit assumptions that define the song (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:90).¹

The love song changes its meaning at each performance, depending on the ritual order of which it is a part. It is not the same hearing a song on the radio, in a film or on T.V., as to sing it or dance to it alone, in private with one's partner, or in public at a party. In each type of encounter in which the love song plays a part, different interaction patterns occur.

In our urban secular world, the subject has acquired a kind of sacred character demonstrated and confirmed by the symbolic acts that he/she

performs in everyday life places and situations, in some of which the love song has a central part to play, such as: serenading the loved one, listening to music, attending a show, going dancing, singing or playing an instrument (Goffman 1970:48). Such ceremonial activities performed by subjects, have a ritual character to the extent that, as informal or secular as they might seem, they demand conduct that is respectful towards the object of the subject's affections. In a concert hall or cinema, people must remain silent as a sign of respect during the show. At the same time, people expect others to behave in the same way (Goffman 1970:56-76).

In particular, the love song, as a collective statement device, embodies a ritual code that includes a series of implicit and presupposed rules that constitute the legal and psychological framework regulating the debate among interlocutors (Ducrot 1982:10). The love song, as a vehicle of the ritual code of love, is an inheritance of collective memory, and as such it offers to subjects a repertoire of social behaviours, and a set of everyday knowledge standards in the "love" field. These are socially defined spaces that imply specific behaviour rules for each particular situation (Ducrot 1982:10).

The ritual order of a love encounter that the love song prescribes, is a system of moral rules that are imposed on subjects from outside as though they were part of human nature (Goffman 1970:46). The moral love code is a "set of values and rules of behaviour proposed to subjects and groups" (Foucault 1986:26). Such a code, apart from being formulated in the explicit teaching of rigid, formal institutions such as the family, and medical, educational or church institutions, is also transmitted in a different way by means of love songs, as a prescriptive framework.

¹ This characteristic will be fully analysed in the following chapters.

The subject learns, with the love song, a way of looking at him or herself as a masculine or feminine being, and a particular way of looking at the world around him/her, as well as a set of behaviour patterns corresponding to the place he or she has in society (Pearson et al. 1993:118). The subject is taught, among others, behaviours that constitute feminine or masculine identity, to have pride, honour and dignity, to the extent that as a person moulds him or herself into such an identity, the person becomes a construct of society (Goffman 1970:46).

In love relationships prescribed by the love song's ethical code, interlocutors are expected to show a certain attitude of deference and to act in certain ways. According to Goffman (1970:56), deference is the symbolic way by which the singer transmits to the other person the esteem in which the singer holds that person, or whatever that person represents for the singer. For example, through a love song, the subject in love may declares his love to the loved one, praises her beauty, and exalts her virtues.

The act of proceeding refers us to the singer's behaviour. It is the element in the ceremonial conduct which demonstrates whether a given singer is a desirable person or not. For example, in accordance with the code of the love song, a "nice" girl is circumspect, does not take the initiative, should be sweet and gentle, among other qualities. By their behaviour, the person projects an image of themselves (Goffman 1970:74). The analytical relationship between deference and action is a complementary one. An act of deference in front of others is an instrument that demonstrates simultaneously whether a person behaves well or badly (Goffman 1970:77).

By virtue of the issues discussed above, it is clear now that expressing one's thoughts through a love song is neither a free nor a gratuitous behaviour. Each individual must use the song in a certain way, respect certain conditions in order to have the right to use different places either as the subject of a linguistic statement or the speaker. For example "the bolero", as will be seen later in this dissertation, defines who is qualified to speak and who must remain silent. There is a standard framework imposed by the love song that can be used by the singer to express his/her love explicitly or implicitly. To use it in any other way would be an act of transgression.

The love song not only indicates clearly what the subject may or may not do according to the position he/she has in the communicative exchange, it also forbids certain forms of behaviour. Here, Goffman distinguishes two different types of rituals of deference, those of introduction and avoidance. Introduction rituals are ceremonial forms of greeting, inviting, praising or small services by which the subject indicates to the receiver that he/she is interested, attentive and committed to him/her (Goffman 1970:68-70). Avoidance rituals refer to forms of deference that lead the person concerned to maintain an appropriate distance from the receiver, and not to violate that person's personal space (Goffman 1970:61).

Among the forms of introduction, such as what should be said and done, and those of avoidance, such as the things that should not be said or done, there is a balance of opposing and inherently conflictive pressures (Goffman 1970:73). In the courtship and seduction rituals that a love song describes, there is a set of tensions between familiarity and respect, in a constant dialectic between introduction and avoidance rituals.

Love rituals are not only codified in words but also and especially in body language, such as postures, gestures and other movements. The ritual order established by the love song is characterised mainly by its performative nature. The song itself is a dramatic structure, and offers a collection of social roles for subjects to perform when they sing. Singing a song is, at the same time, both an individual act and a collective practice. The actual act of singing is, on the one hand, a physical sensorial phenomenon which is felt by the body. As Frith puts it: "we absorb songs into our own lives and rhythm into our own bodies" (Frith 1996:121). On the other hand, the taste for music does not originate within the subject, "somebody else has set up the conventions; they are clearly social and clearly apart from us" (Frith 1996:121).

Love rituals as socially determined practices, apart from bearing a symbolic meaning, are speech acts that express and celebrate the love link, and thus contribute to the solidarity and integration of the community that accepts them (Goffman 1970:48).

The love song as a ritual code is a tool, an instrument of communication that is used not only to represent reality, but also to construct it. In declarations of love, for example, the linguistic act, the proposal, influences reality producing a metamorphosis; subjects and their relationships as interlocutors undergo a transformation (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:92). The friendship changes to a "courtship". That change of form brought about by the words permits material changes. The speech act transforms reality by describing, defining, ordering and classifying it in a particular way. As Faye says about narration "it enunciates and brings about the action at the same time" (Faye 1974:23).

According to the above, the ritual code of love, as a prescribed regime of statements, not only defines but also permits and/or forbids certain types of relationships between nature and society according to different value systems, depending on the standard framework in which they are drawn up. Each regime of signals refers to the actions that are linked to statements by a social obligation, for example, in a love or sexual regime, the necessary link between a certain combination of people and statements is established (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:94). The speech acts define the character of the links between subjects as legitimate or illegitimate according to their sex, social class, race, age, etc. The discursiveness of love establishes "mandatory, necessary or permitted combinations of people". In such a discourse regime, words are tools and as such they "only exist in relationship to the combinations they make possible" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:93-94).

As has already been seen, the love song, as an institution, describes a field of opposing forces, permits certain things and censors others. It makes some things difficult or impossible to say. The love song, as a legitimate language of love, "naturalises" the dominant forms of the behaviour it institutes, hiding its historical character. To sum up, the love song, as part of the ritual code of love, is a legitimate institution that characterises itself by being a dominant practice which is not explicitly recognised as such, but is tacitly imposed and accepted by everybody (Bourdieu 1990:132-33).

Nevertheless, as Foucault comments, moral standards "far from being a systematic set, constitute a complex play of elements that compensate, correct, and annul each other in certain issues, thus permitting both commitments and "ways of escape" (Foucault 1986:26). Hence, the definition of subjects by means of the love song is a contradictory and complex process.

The love song is, therefore, also a space in which power "is revealed" in a double sense. It is revealed because it "lets itself be seen": that is to say the mechanisms for the exercise of power are made manifest in all their bare despotism. In another sense, it is revealed, as vulnerable, because "it is at stake": in the love song, power can be attacked, subverted, and altered. In the song, prescribed moral behaviours are translated into "possible" language acts, i.e., they have a subjunctive, hypothetical character. The prescribed actions are only realised when they are used and appropriated by specific subjects in a particular set of circumstances. When the song is actually sung, the prescribed meaning can be subverted, parodied, and ridiculed, according to the multiple contexts in which the song functions.

THE LOVE SONG AND THE PLURALITY OF VOICES THAT RUN THROUGH IT

The love song does not refer to a single subject of the utterance. Multiple voices are expressed in it. There are the composer's and the singer's voices. But the song, once it leaves its original author, exists as a set of impersonal statements, produced using the language code and as such belongs to no one in particular. Apart from such impersonal voices, the love song embodies several cultural codes, multiple voices that come from different spheres of knowledge such as science, religion and morality, and with regard to each of which every subject adopts an attitude of acceptance or rejection.

In the love song and the love narrative, there is a confrontation between the words of another subject and one's own words. These are contradictory voices from different origins and with opposing meanings which express power relationships between subjects (Bajtin/Voloshinov 1991:155; Ducrot 1986:175-78).

The love song exists also as the words of the subject who makes it his/her at the very moment of singing it. However, even in that case, the love song is another's utterance. It is a fragment of the global social discourse. It is a set of whispering voices from which the subject extracts what he/she wants to say. Multiple voices are joined into only one voice: that of the subject actually singing (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:89).

The love song, as a singular event performed by a particular subject, is not an individual statement (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:83-85). Rather than a new word, it is the transmission of another subject's word. It is a paraphrase. It is the transmission of another speaker's speech. It goes from a second to a third receiver. The song becomes a power mechanism that "consolidates the influence of the organised social forces upon the discursive perception" (Bajtin/Voloshinov 1991:158).

THE LOVE SONG AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SUBJECT IN LOVE

The love song, sung in the first person, always reserves a place for the "subject in love" who sings to or addresses a "you", and creates and re-creates a space for the demonstration of the feelings of the one in love. As Barthes puts it, the love song, as opposed to the love story, uncovers the feeling of love itself. The love song reveals the subject in love in all his/her nakedness (Barthes 1983:293).

Personal pronouns in the love song create the necessary sites to be occupied by different subjects. To the extent to which the word "I" does not have a concrete meaning, it is not a sign of reference, rather it is offered as an empty form that each speaker fills upon pronouncing his/her own discourse. "The word 'I' is an empty sign, defined not referentially, but by its function in the situation of enunciation and

susceptible of redefinition with each new speech act" (Benveniste 1971:175).

The love song as "empty places, or functions ...insofar as they (the places) can be filled by virtually any subject when he/she formulates the statement; and insofar as one and the same individual may occupy, in turn, and in the same series of statements, different positions, and assume the role of different subjects" (Foucault 1979:156). This does not refer to the subject him/herself, but to subjects as sites and positions within a discourse. Such instances refer to the person's grammar definitions, whether feminine, masculine or neuter; to the prescribed or forbidden actions for the different players and the adjectives attributable to them. They also refer to the structural and interdependent positions of the subjects, whether active or passive in relation to the action described by the verb. By means of personal pronouns, verbs and adjectives, it is possible to recognise the archetypal subject that the different set of statements describe.

An analysis of the songs leads to the determination of the different types of subjects in love, their variants and non-variants in the set of statements that make up the universal discourse of the love song. The major concern in this kind of approach is to determine the place from which the love song permits the singer to speak and act. In the final analysis, it is the text that speaks, or more precisely, the voices heard in the text.

THE LOVE SONG AS WORDS, LYRICAL POETRY

The love song as pheno-song (Barthes 1986:265) is a text bearing meaning: a means of communication. The love song expresses the different emotive states of the subject in love according to the different moments of the love relationship. There are songs that express the

uncertainty faced by the enamoured subject who does not know the loved one's feelings; a state of bliss when his/her love is returned or, on the other hand, jealousy, a desire for revenge, resentment, dejection or nostalgia when his/her love is not returned. There are also declarations of love and expressions of irrepressible passion towards the loved one, among the many love themes and feelings.

Nevertheless, the love song is not only the transmission of information, of a "love" message. It has several functions that carry meaning. As Jakobson comments, in all communication acts, there are performed six different functions simultaneously: the referential function refers to the contents of what is said; the emotive function refers to the speaker's attitude faced with the discourse target; in the conative function the speaker searches for an answer from the receiver; in the poetical function, the speaker gives form to his/her discourse, gives inherent value to the material structure of the message; in the metalinguistic function the producer includes a reference to the code in the statement itself; in the phatic function, the producer intends to keep open the channel of communication and maintain contact with the interlocutor (Jakobson 1981:352-62).

In the love song as in any oral poetry, the emphasis is on the form of the message, the function of the predominant language is a poetic function. The specifics of the song are the relationship between sound and meaning. The sound equivalence unavoidably includes a semantic equivalence. Sound and rhythm are the vehicles of meaning and have a sensory substratum that continues throughout time and lodges in the body, particularly in the ear, and in the sense of touch, and in the muscles.

The special characteristic of poetic language is the principle of repetition. Poetry creates an equation and establishes a interplay with

stressed and non-stressed words, verbal limits, and the absence of limits, pauses, and continuity. Thus, the verse measurement units are syllables, pauses, and stressed syllables. Measurement is established according to criteria of both equality and gradation resulting in rhythm and rhyme (Jakobson 1981:360).

Consequently, a verse can be defined as a repetitive phonic figure. The verse is a syllable-ordered unit that goes beyond itself to form a stanza (group of verses), and as Kayser says, an isolated verse awakens a rhythmic memory in us, but it lacks the continuity of movement, the repetition, to be considered a real verse (Kayser 1976:113).

These characteristics of poetic language make it similar to music. In the words of Jakobson, "only in poetry, with its regular repetition of equivalent units, the type of linguistic fluency is experienced as it occurs -quoting another semiotic model- with the musical tempo" (Jakobson 1981:361). This likeliness produced the historical union of poetry and music in the traditional folk song and the modern popular romantic song. Though the language of the different types of music has a poetic characteristic, melodies and rhythms vary. Whereas in a march the rhythm dominates the melody and it is a musical form appropriate to civic-nationalistic songs or for physical work songs, the rhythm of love song is gentler and the melody dominates.

Moreover, the love song is a statement in the first person singular. A love song is an expression of the enamoured subject's feelings, here and now, in the present tense. It is presented as the expression of an "I", and in that sense the singer is emphasised. Besides the poetic function characteristic of any song, the expressive or emotive function particularly characterises the love song as a lyrical expression which is mainly subjective. The religious or nationalistic song evokes the first

person plural, it is always related to the collectively, formulated "we", who have a dialogue with a divinity or the nation.

The love song is different from other kinds of song due to the topics and modes of expression peculiar to love that it uses. Differing from other kinds of song that take part in rituals of a public nature, be they religious, civil, war or work related, and which call for group integration and collective action, the love song evokes the private space in which the intimate dialogue of the couple's relationships occurs.

The love song shares with lullabies a private character, intimate, even loving, but it is different from them in its purpose. Lullabies are sung by the mother, or someone else, caring for the child to whom the song is addressed. There exists a wide range of children's songs that tell stories, that accompany exercises of fine or gross motor function, or that accompany children's games in different forms.

There is another kind of song that is distinguished from the love song in its public and collective character, the purpose of which goes beyond the integration of the couple; it is the preservation of the social group. In this classification one can find religious and war songs. War songs can be divided into different kinds: songs that incite people to combat, that praise heroes, and songs designed to sustain action during battle (Zumthor 1991:97-101). A contemporary mode of this kind of song is the Latin-American "protest" song of the 70's (Zumthor 1991:285-291).

To sum up, the love song distinguishes itself from other kinds of song due to its overt treatment of love as a topic, its purpose as a tool in the couple's relationship rituals and its modes of delivery. The love song is generally a personalised discourse between an "I" and a "You", or is structured as an impersonal narrative pretext. It refers to primary motivations of the experience of erotic sexual desire. It combines the

eroticism, social and imaginary as demonstrated in expectation, pleasure or bitterness. The love song does not refer exclusively to passionate love. Marriage also becomes one of its main topics, either as a desirable goal or as an obstacle to the realisation of love.

There are several kinds of love songs that we could classify according to its enunciation modalities, into three large generic groups according to whether they combine the poetic and emotive functions with the other functions:

- a) The lyrical song is the lyrical manifestation as a "self-expression of the state of being or the soul's interior" (Kayser 1976:446). The singer is emphasised. This statement mode is expressed in discourse as rejoicing in the face of love or lamenting in the face of separation. The action is performed in the first person and the present tense.
- b) Lyrical apostrophe. In this case a dialogue between an "I" and a "You" is produced. The receiver who is asked to supply an answer is emphasised; it is an emotive-conative function. The lyrical manifestation is shown in the reciprocal flow between "I" and "You". The typical discourse forms are accusation, challenge, cursing, begging, urging, etc. The predominant verb tense is the future (Kayser 1976:446).
- c) Lyric statement (anthem). In this mode, emphasis in the communication is given to the narrator, it is an emotive-referential function. The "I" finds him/herself faced with an objective, captures it and expresses it (Kayser 1976:446). The discourse forms in this case are narration, eulogy, praise, pronouncing sentence, proclamation, exorcism, prophecy, confession, etc. The predominant verb tense is the simple past. Whereas in the love song the first two modes predominate, in religious or civic-political songs the last is more predominant.

THE LOVE SONG: ITS INSTITUTIONALISATION THROUGH WRITING, AND FORMS OF RECORD-KEEPING BEYOND THOSE OF THE SUBJECT

The love song, according to its materiality and different technological developments, is the object of several forms of preservation or filing beyond the scope of the subject such as song books, records, cassettes, or audio-visual registries such as films or electronic recordings. Writing, films or audio-visual recordings, amongst others, are forms of fixing the information onto a material object independent of the subject, and these recordings are considered objective evidence, a true testimony of the events that occurred in the past (Zumthor 1991:249-254).

Storing information helps communities to acquire a sense of the past and a historical perspective. The written song has a durability and insurance that the orally-transmitted song does not. The possibility of preserving the song in documents, beyond the subject's fragile memory, allows a distancing from such documents, making them objective and then enabling a comparative and critical analysis of the discrepancies between the different texts (Shepherd 1991:39).

Writing separates history from myth (Shepherd 1991:25). Writing makes possible the indefinite repetition of the message, it defeats time, without modifying its terms. The written registration allows the manipulation of the text as a whole. It is possible to turn back a page and read it again or synthesise it (Zumthor 1991:42). Writing as a practice of registration means to separate thought from action. The written text turns into the past, into dead words, taken out of everyday use.

The love song registered in the song books is transformed into written text. There are museum song books, or monument song books, whose function is historical or philological. They are academic documents whose aim is to rescue and preserve the oral tradition of certain endangered communities or cultures. Other song books publish the commonly sung songs in a community. They are utterances that are transmitted by writing as a means of support for the different forms of singing and oral transmission. Such song books include the lyrics of the songs and the notes for guitar accompaniment. Through them, readers learn the songs. They are books addressed to people who like playing popular music, analogous to books or magazines about mechanics, sports, philately, etc. In this case, the song books propagate and support the oral transmission of the love song.

Because of writing, the love song becomes part of institutionalised memory. In each society the dominant love discourses, either songs or narrations, are the result of the correlation of forces between institutionalised and official discourse, the collective memory and an subject's particular experience at a given moment (Foucault 1992:194-95; Connerton 1989:19).

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITION OF THE BOLERO IN MEXICO

This chapter analyses the specific character of the bolero as compared to other types of popular songs, and analyses the lyrics of a representative sample from the universe of boleros that constitute the culture of the Mexican bolero. This culture has been preserved in the collective memory, thanks to the peoples' individual recollections, supported by the written and musical records available in song books, on records and on cassettes. In addition to an analysis of the lyrics of the songs, at the end of the chapter there is also an analysis of the musical transformations some songs have undergone, representative of different eras and different bolero styles.

THE BOLERO AS MODERN POPULAR LYRIC SONG

The bolero is a contemporary manifestation of the genre of musical lyric poetry and as such, I am interested in placing it within the study of oral poetry, that is to say, as a modality of the popular lyric in Mexico. Bolero as a "modern" song is opposed to folk song (traditional ballads and the *corrido* or epic songs). As a lyric song it has similarities to the love ballad but can be told apart from the *corrido*. In essence, it is an urban expression of the love song and, as such, different from the "ranch style" song.

As urban popular lyric poetry, the bolero keeps certain traits of oral poetry and of the minstrel tradition, but is transformed by the new communications technology. Oral poetry, including ballads, lyric songs and the *corrido*, base themselves on the spoken as opposed to the written word. They are registered in the collective memory and transmitted from generation to generation through forms of direct communication from mouth to mouth "so that what is communicated is registered and kept in the memory through mnemotechnic devices

based on corporal and facial movements in the formulating structure of sentences and in the sequences of rhythmical groups that adapt themselves to natural breathing" (Giménez 1990:41).

In the bolero the characteristics of oral poetry, though attenuated, are still predominant. It is transmitted verbally as sung speech. However, it is also distinguished from pure oral tradition since, although it can be transmitted in person or through cultural industries, there are other ways of keeping records beyond an individual's memory. It is registered through technologies which become more sophisticated every day, and which guarantee a greater faithfulness and duration. Even so, although the texts have been set down in writing in song books and recorded on records and cassettes, users continue to take possession of them in collective ways through voice and hearing.

The bolero stays alive owing to its oral means of transmission and because it is stored in the users' mind as collective memory without the mediation of writing. It emerges as spoken words - musicalised or not - when certain conditions are present. Community members evoke it and interpret it in "appropriate" situations, either to sing it to a particular person or as a song that is performed at family or social celebrations: serenades, birthdays, weddings, or national festivities.

Unlike traditional ballads and the *corrido* which are anonymous, every bolero has an author, who has legally protected ownership rights which allow him/her to profit economically from it. Nevertheless, the author is erased from collective memory, in the very process of the transmission of the ballad. For most of the users, the interpreter is the one to whom the songs are credited, and the one who is recalled most easily.

As regards the formal structure of the bolero compared to traditional styles, it is important to point out the following. The stanzas of traditional oral poetry are basically octosyllabic quartets, since this rhythmic structure, together with other structural features which are also repeated systematically, facilitates memorisation. Frequently, traditional ballads are divided into two parts: the first two lines form a unit and the last two form another one. Often the first two lines are a cliché and the true substance of the stanza is found in the third and fourth lines. However, there are also enumerative quartets in which the four lines form a unit (Frenk 1975:I-XXIV).

Contrary to the isolated verses of lyrical poetry the *corrido* is composed by several interrelated stanzas which keep to a previously established chronological sequence: the greeting, the narration of events, the moral and the farewell. While the lyrical song sends us back basically to the expression of feelings of love uttered in the first person, the *corrido* is a narrative discourse in the third person, recounting events in a temporal sequence. The Mexican *corrido* as revolutionary epic tends to the heroic, to exalt outstanding accomplishments: battles, sieges, assaults etc. The hero serves as a kind of community super-ego. Although the tales are not totally lacking in concrete historical referents, the *corrido* establishes fiction. The story serves as malleable narrative frame establishing a circulation between the historical and the mythical.

The bolero like the *corrido* is a complete song of several stanzas, although its character is not epic-narrative but lyric. It expresses the feelings of the one in love, rendered in the first person. Boleros do not have a uniform metre; at times a short line is used, but long lines of more than ten syllables are more common. Most of the time they take the form: first stanza, second stanza with a variation and chorus. Regarding its poetic figure, there are no fixed rules: octosyllables,

hendecasyllables, etc. can be used, fitted into quartets, tercets, etc. And rhyming proceeds according to the norm the composer him/herself proposes.

Research on oral poetry has identified themes that have been repeated from the court lyrical poetry of the XVIth century down to contemporary love songs like the bolero. Both in the court tradition and in modern popular lyrics, most of the time a man sings to a woman. Generally the former adopts an openly misogynist attitude "above all, out of spite when faced with a woman's disdain" (Baez 1969:30). In other poetical manifestations, disdain for women is hidden behind compliments, praise and idealisation of the female figure seen as an object (Baez 1969:30-31).

Many of the expressions and metaphors used in courtly love poetry, such as fire, prison, battle, and servitude, also recur in contemporary love songs. Today's love songs, as in love songs from that time, frequently feature; women's permanent indecision when faced with masculine daring. A close relationship is established between love, suffering and death; and images of silence and of the figures of the messenger and the confidant. In this poetic tradition is where, unrequited love, the search for true love, non fulfilled desires or rejection predominate, over plenitude or the positive culmination of the love process (Baez 1969:51). As can be seen below, the bolero takes over the long-standing themes of absence, sorrow, pain, reproach, recollection of the loved person and nostalgia as "the contrast between the current life of pain and a happy past which is longed for" (Baez 1969:52).

Finally, the bolero unlike the "ranch style" song and the traditional lyric, is an expression of nostalgia for the burgeoning modern city and

its ways of speaking of love². In the XXth Century the "romantic" Mexican song of the 'forties and 'fifties, produced by and for the contemporary cultural industries, was comprised of two main genres: the "ranch style" song and the bolero. Both take the love themes of traditional ballads but introduce different styles with regard to the modalities of lyric expression and referential spacing.

The "ranch style" song expresses nostalgia for life in the fields, the hacienda, colonial-feudal Mexico, "the bunch" and Revolutionary Mexico, barbaric and violent in which "life is worth nothing", where conflicts are solved with gunshots and women are not seduced but stolen. Its objects are: the horse and the carbine; its characters: the singing *charro* and his *china poblana*, the revolutionary and his woman. Its modalities for talking about love are set in a rough, savage and aggressive style in which men kill each another for the love of a woman, and treason is punished with death or disdain. In this style there is no place for melancholy or sadness as in the bolero. Here, aggression is directed outside, and homicide is favoured over suicide as an escape from the pain produced by abandon.

STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOLERO

What mainly distinguishes the bolero from other forms of popular song is what we could call "style": musically this operates in terms of rhythm, melody, harmony and pitch³ and at a literary level it mobilises a particular way of approaching "loving", at different syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels.

As lyrical poetry each bolero has a syntagmatical unity, in which the different levels of codification are articulated according to the bolero's

² As we shall see in detail later in this chapter.

³ This aspect will be dealt with in the next chapter.

metric structure, its rhythm, the forms and figures of the language used, its syntactic and semantic structures and the way in which all these levels are organised to produce different meanings. The following is an example.

JURAME

María Grever

*To-dos di-cen que es men-ti-ra que te quie-ro,
por-que nun-ca me ha-bí -an vis-to e-na-mo-
ra-do, yo te ju-ro que yo mis-mo no com-pren-
do, el por-que tu mi-rar me ha fa-ci-na-do.*

*Cu-an-do es-toy cer-ca de tí es-toy con-ten-to,
no qui-sie-ra que de na-die te a-cor-da-ras,
ten-go ce-los has-ta del pen-sa-miento, que
pue-da re-cor-dar-te a o-tra per-so-na a-ma-
da.*

*Jú-ra-me, que aun-que pa-se mu-cho tiem-po,
pen-sa-rás en el mo-men-to en que yo te co-no-
cí, jú-ra-me, que no hay na-da más pro-fun-do,
ni más gran-de en es-te mun-do que el ca-ri-ño
que te dí.*

*Bé-sa-me, con un be-so e-na-mo-ra-do, co-mo
na-die me ha be-sa-do des-de el dí a que nací,
quié-re-me, quié-re-me hasta la locura y así
sa-brás la a-mar-gu-ra que es-toy su-friendo
por tí.*

*(Everyone says it's a lie that I love you,
because they have never seen me in love, I
swear to you that even I don't understand,
why your look has fascinated me*

*When I am near you I am happy. I don't want
you to be thinking of anyone else I am jealous
even of the thought, that might remind you of
another you have loved*

*Swear to me that, even though a long time
passes, you will think about the moment I met
you, Swear to me that there is nothing deeper
nor bigger in this world than the love I gave
you*

*Kiss me, with a lover's kiss, like no-one has
kissed me since the day I was born, Love me,
love me to madness thus you will know the
bitterness I am suffering for you.)*

María Grever's song is divided into four stanzas of four verses each, they are long verses (abundant) of between 11 and 17 syllables. Although written by a woman, it was made to be sung by a man, although the masculine endings could easily be changed to feminine.

The first two stanzas have a rhythmic, symbolic and functional structure, similar to each other and different from the last two which in turn are similar.

In the first stanza the referential function predominates, the "I" narrates, informs, describes other peoples' "incredulity" towards his feelings of love for the "you", as well as his own surprise at falling in love. Love then, is something extraordinary, unlikely.

The second stanza, is referential and emotive. In it the "I" describes its identified sentiments of joy and of jealousy. The one in love expresses the happiness of feeling loved and the insecurity of the constant threat of ceasing to be loved.

The last two stanzas go from the desiderative as expression of desire "I would like" (emotive function), to the imperative: "Swear to me," "Kiss me," "Love me" (conative function). The one in love demands, seeks a response to the passionate love he offers to his loved one.

As for rhythm, as a fundamental expressive factor the first two strophes are paused with weak accentuation and the rhyme falls on the

homogeneous endings in '-o' in the first verses of the first strophe and in the 1st and 3rd verses of the second.

In the third and fourth strophes the rhythm is more intensely marked because of the accent on the antepenultimate syllable of the imperative verbs (*Júrame, Bésame, Quiéreme*) in verses 1 and 3 of each strophe and by the accentuated endings in "í" in verses 2 and 4 (*te dí, nací, por tí*).

Besides, the endings of the first verse also rhyme with the hemstitch of the second verse (*tiem-po/ moment-o and profund-o/ mund-o*) and the same is true for the 3rd and 4th verses (*enamor-ado/bes-ado and loc-ura/amarg-ura*).

The rhythm imposed by accentuation marks the intensity of the demand that the "I" makes to the "you" (conative function) which coincides in turn with the expressive climax of the song in the third verse of the last strophe, lowering its intensity progressively in the last verse, a longer and more abundant verse in which the emotive function is retaken: "*Y así sabrás la amargura que estoy sufriendo por tí*" ("And thus you shall know the bitterness I feel because of you").

SELECTION OF THE CORPUS OF SONGS FOR ANALYSIS

In order to assemble a corpus of bolero songs in order to analyse their lyrics, two printed collections of the genre were used. One is Mexican, and the other Latin-American. The first book, *Un Siglo de Bolero* (A Century of the Bolero), published by Edusa (undated), set out to collate the most significant examples of the genre, as "one more tribute to (the bolero's) first hundred years of life". This edition was compiled by two experts in popular Mexican music: Héctor Madera Ferrón and Dr.

Pablo Dueñas of *La Asociación Mexicana de Estudios Fonográficos A.C.* (The Mexican Association of Phonographic Studies). This song book contains a total of 213 songs. The second song book used in the study, *Cien Años de Bolero* (A Hundred Years of the Bolero), was compiled by Jaime Rico Salazar (1988), who is an expert musicologist at the *Centro Editorial de Estudios Musicales* (Editorial Centre of Musical Studies) in Colombia. This second volume reprinted a total of 513 songs. The two books together contain 726 songs, 91 of which are to be found in both. Thus the corpus of songs for analysis consists of a total of 635 songs. All the songs were coded and analysed in accordance with the parameters described in the next section of this chapter (see also appendix 1).

The song books mentioned were chosen because they constitute a representative sample of the principle boleros produced during the hundred-year period (1887-1987). These printed collections contain only the best known boleros of all time, in other words, the songs broadcast on the radio or found in the record market, songs that continue to be current. These boleros are still sung and listened to today, and live on in the memory of the general public. The originally recorded versions continue to be re-released for sale to the general public in the main record shops. In the two chosen song books will be found quoted, the principle authors, singer-songwriters and singers who have contributed to the production and dissemination of the collective patrimony that is Mexican popular romantic music.

GUIDELINES FOR ANALYSING THE BOLERO

After several readings, the material was classified and ordered in accordance with two criteria: the first considered the bolero from the point of view of the theme of the song, and the second considered the bolero in terms of the modalities of enunciation and speech acts that

the song allowed. At the level of the song itself, the texts were approached not so much as isolated units, but rather as open units in dialogue with a wider universe of texts that have "loving" as their common axis.

Those phrases that best condensed the theme of the song, were taken from each bolero. The fragments or *lexias* (Barthes 1980:9) selected, are multiple voices that converse with each other, argue, contradict from one song to another, and sometimes converge to form jointly a heterogeneous discourse on loving. This chapter sets out to explore some of the convergent and divergent paths of the multiple directions contained in different boleros, as possible - but not the only - starting-points for dealing with the texts of the songs. These path-ways in no way exhaust the possibilities for interpreting the meanings of the texts.

In order to produce its meanings, the bolero - as a song - uses all the grammatical, syntactical and semantic resources available within the language, as well as rhetoric and figurative language. All of these elements were analysed in each case. During the course of this chapter, reference will be made to the codes alluded to in the text. Particular attention is paid to those *lexias* that are repeated fairly regularly, whether they are used in the same, or opposing, senses between different songs.

In the second part of the chapter, the boleros are analysed as modalities of enunciation that prescribe positions to be taken up by different subjects, feminine or masculine, and delineate an area of struggle between the two. On occasion the bolero allows a certain ambiguity, and the position declared does not have a defined gender.

The corpus of 635 songs is divided into two groups: the first consists of boleros that refer to the love of a couple, and the second group to other themes. The latter group however only amounted to 10 songs. The 625 songs about the love of a couple were classified according to the position allotted by the song to the subject of the enunciation.

The first thematic category was made up of boleros that establish a definition of the characteristics of positions taken up by female and male sides of a loving relationship. The four themes in the paragraph below were derived from possible replies to a hypothetical question that the "I" in the song formulates towards the object of his/her love: "Do I love her/him, and/or does she/he love me?" This question was characterised moments in the loving relationship.

TABLE 2.1 : CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ACTORS AND MOMENTS IN THE LOVING RELATIONSHIPS

Characteristics of the actors	56
Moments in the loving relationship	569
N =	625

The category that arises out of a doubtful reply to the above question: "I don't know whether she/he loves me, or whether I love her/him", was labelled "UNCERTAINTY". The category made up of a positive reply: "she/he loves me and/or I love her/him", was called "RETURNED LOVE". The category made up of a negative reply: "I don't love her/him and/or she/he doesn't love me", was called "UNREQUITED LOVE". The category made up of the negative reply: "she/he doesn't love me and I don't love her/him", was called "BURNT-OUT LOVE". These replies constituted basic "figures" that expressed diverse emotive states, from among which arose many sub-divisions.

In addition to a thematic analysis, a pragmatic point of view was introduced, examining the boleros according to the modalities of enunciation as speech acts. With regard to the type of lyrical poetry as an expression of the "I" in the song, an eminently poetic-emotive discourse, three sub-categories were developed, according to whether the emphasis is on the speaker (in the song), on the person addressed, or on the context. These formulations mentioned necessarily generate three different types of speech acts.

The first type of speech act was called **EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"**, and illustrates an eminently subjective state of the "I". This type of speech act is expressed through the verbs: feel, cry, scream, cry out; and with the nouns fear, anguish, pain, sadness, joy, happiness, love, hate, anger, etc. The second type of speech act was called **FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"**. This sub-category contains expressions of an inter-subjective character, which imply dialogue or struggle between the "I" and the "You", and is expressed in speech acts such as implore, ask, demand, order, threaten, etc. Finally, the third sub-category of speech act was called **NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS**. In this sub-category the subject producing the enunciation adopted a more objective, distant posture with regard to the subject and object in the statement, expressed in discursive behaviours such as relate, describe or narrate.

Out of the intersection of the two first levels: the thematic and pragmatic, comes a matrix of double entry. As can be seen in the table 2.2 groups of multiple behaviour patterns are generated from the intersection between the thematic and pragmatic axes.

TABLE 2.2 THEMES & MODALITIES OF ENUNCIATION OF THE BOLERO

MODALITIES/ THEMES	EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"		FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"		NARRATIVES & DESCRIPTIONS		N
RETURNED LOVE	HAPPINESS	6	DEMAND	6	LIGHT, REMEDY, BALSAM	24	
					DESTINY & GOD	13	
					NIGHT, BEACH,SEA	6	
					ETERNAL LOVE	18	
	DESIRE	4	SERENADE	7	FLEETING LOVE	12	
					PASSIONATE LOVE	14	
					MATRIMONIAL LOVE	6	
	N	10	N	13	N	93	116
UNCERTANTY	FEAR	6	DEMAND	32	DOUBT, DISTURB, JEALOUSY	40	
	DESIRE, DECLARATION	19					
	DEPENDENCE	18					
	N	43	N	32		40	115
UNREQUITED LOVE	LAMENT	13	EXHORTATIONA ND SUPLICATION	32	DEGRADATION	4	
	WAITING	8	THE THREAT	18	NOSTALGIA	20	
	WEeping	6	ACCUSATION	16	ENVIRONMENT AS CONFIDANT	13	
	RECOLECTION & FORGGETTING	19			DEATH & SUICIDE	14	
	RESIGNATION, REBELION PREYER	41			OBSTACLES THE OTHER ONE , SOCIETY	37	
					DESTINY	14	
		87		66	N	102	255
BURNT OUT LOVE	AMBIVALENCE	5	FAREWELLS	20	CAUSES OF UNLOVE	17	
	ANGER	11	VENGANCE	5	DISAPPOINMEN T	10	
			TOO LATE	10	PERISHABLE LOVE	5	
	N	16	N	35	N	32	83
							569

In accordance with the methodological elements laid out above, the chapter continues with a more detailed analysis of the collections of songs that make up the corpus, according to the different themes and modalities of enunciation mentioned. At the end of the chapter we also present some examples that illustrate the transformations the songs undergo due to the different interpretations to which they are subjected.

THE BOLERO, SONG OF LOVE, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND MAIN THEMES

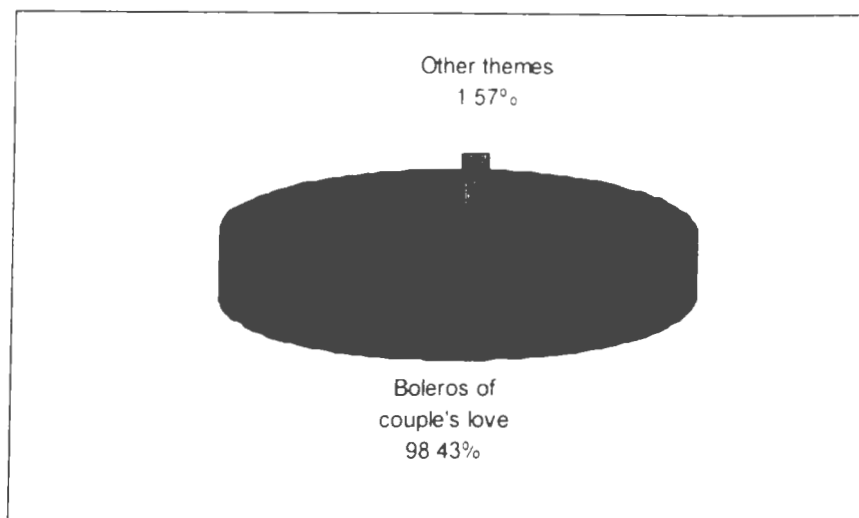
Thematically, the bolero is predominantly a love song. More particularly it deals with the erotic sexual relationship between a man and a woman.

Boleros about couple's "in love", represent 98.43% of the total sample and in all of the cases they take the monogamous and heterosexual couple as a model. Only 1.57% of boleros talk about other themes such as the homeland: "no land is as beautiful as my own"⁴, "Veracruz, piece of nation"⁵ or the mother, race, the moon, etc.

⁴ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Quisqueaya*. (a) Rico Salazar J. Cien años de bolero. Bogotá, Colombia. 1988 p.380

⁵ LARA, Agustín. *Veracruz*. (b) Madera Ferrón. Un siglo de bolero. Ed. Edusa. México. (undated) p.7

Figure 2.1 Themes of the bolero.



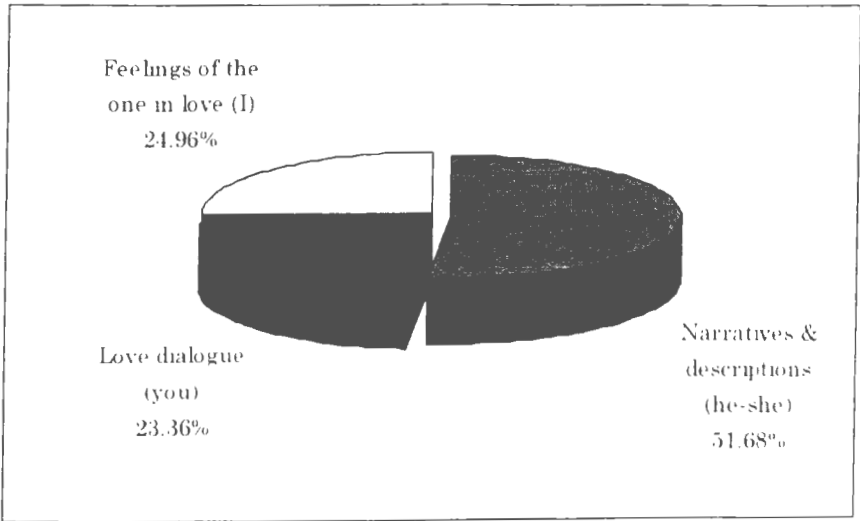
N=635

The bolero then, is a form of love discourse, rendered always in the first person from the point of view of the one in love, who goes through the varied states and sentiments: of jealousy, insecurity, passion, spite, joy, sadness, etc. The addressee is generally the loved one.

Because of this trait, which we could call PERFORMATIVE, the bolero summons subjects to project themselves forcefully onto it, in the name of the experience lived by each one in the past or in the very moment of enunciation or of listening. The bolero, in this particular circumstance, acts as mirror in which the subject in love is projected and identified. It works as a metaphor of different love relationships. The bolero is not an epic narration like the *corrido*, which always referred to a third person whose feats are narrated. The bolero, being an enunciation in the first person, always leaves room for the "subject in love" who sings to or makes reference to a "you", and creates and recreates a space for the subject and of the feeling of love.

Although the bolero cannot be properly called a tale , as an act of eminently lyrical utterance it adopts a certain narrative nature. In the bolero three modalities of enunciation can be made out according to the emphasis in the addresser, in the addressee or the referent. These mark the degree of distance or nearness of the subject in love from the object of this love.

Figure 2.2 The Bolero's modalities of enunciation.



N=625

At the far end of the spectrum, the one in love speaks in the third person, describes and values the loved one, or tells the story of his/her love as an event that happened in the past. In this modality of enunciation, the "I" speaks of something or of someone (he or she) in the third person. The subject who speaks establishes a greater emotive distance in relation to the object and undergoes a process of objectification. A little over half of the boleros about couple's "in love" (51.68%), adopt this structure.

At the halfway mark between the eminently subjective point of view and the objective relationship, there is a modality of enunciation in

which the one in love has an actual or virtual dialogue with the loved one through different means of appeal: he/she calls, asks, implores, demands, requests, or accuses and condemns. In these cases, the subject seeks a reply from the other one and thus projects the relationship towards the future. In this modality of enunciation the emphasis falls on the addressee (you), and presupposes the speaker's right to appeal to the "you". In this case the relationships of power between the speakers, man and woman, come clearly into play according to the bolero's general prescription. This modality of enunciation is found in 23.36% of the love songs about couples.

Finally, the lyrical expression may refer to the feelings of the "I" par excellence. The one in love expresses his/her feelings of happiness, desire, suffering, fear, resignation, rebellion or anger, at the moment he/she speaks up by means of the bolero, in the here and now. In this case the emphasis is placed on the one who addresses (I), it is an eminently subjective utterance and takes the form of a monologue or an interior dialogue. In this case the "you" is always present as a virtual interlocutor. This modality of enunciation represents 24.96% of the corpus of boleros about couple's "in love".

THE BOLERO AND THE RHETORIC OF LOVE

The bolero as part of the rhetorical code of love is offered to its users as a collection of places to be occupied by the subjects of the love relationship and a catalogue of behaviours, a range of possible forms of interaction between the participants in different situations.

The main actors in the love relationship are the one in love, the loved one and "the others". These can be abstract entities such as destiny or God, society, parents or any subject or institution interfering in the

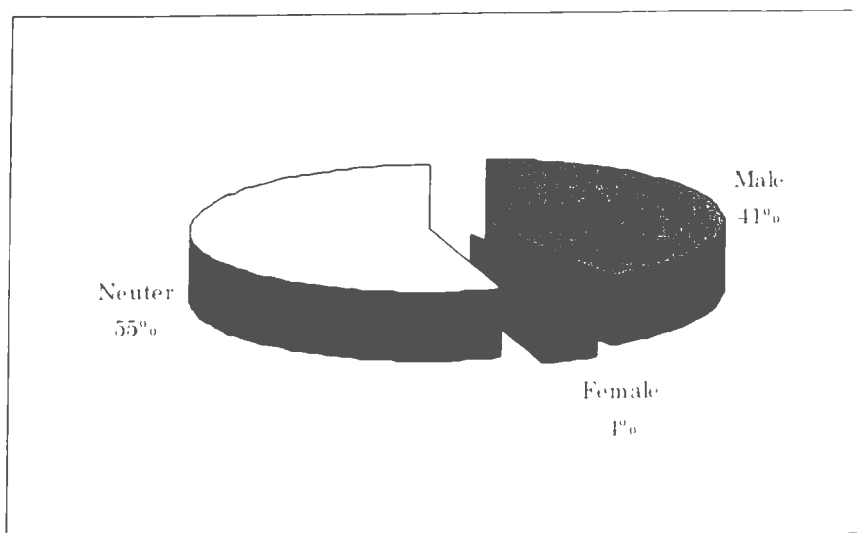
relationship either as opponents, hindering it, or as helpers, collaborating in the couple's cohesion.

Love relationships unfold inside the frame granted to them by the social structure as a context for action. The relationships established by the subjects amongst themselves can be of co-operation leading to cohesion or of competition leading to conflict. The love relationships within the frame of the social system's structure are dynamic, they are modified according to changing patterns of cohesion and conflict. These love relationships are always threatened by separation as a result of conflicts, between the couple or between them and "the others" who interfere.

THE BOLERO AND MALE AND FEMALE SITES

The bolero's fundamental pragmatic axis is specifically constituted on the distinction established, during the very act of enunciation, between the actors in the love relationship as female and male archetypes.

Figure 2.3 The actors of the bolero.



N=625

The generic distinction of sexes, spans the totality of boleros, and thereby serves as backdrop and basis upon which love relationships are built. The bolero promotes a privilege form of love play among characters of different sexes, excluding and censoring relationships among players of the same sex. However, this prescription can be subverted in practice by the usage concrete subjects make of the bolero at the moment of enunciation (Zavala 1991:63-64).

In the bolero the active subject, the one who desires, is overwhelmingly male and the desired object female. The protagonist of the enunciation appears to be male in 41% of the total of boleros analysed. In contrast, only 4% of cases feature a female protagonist.

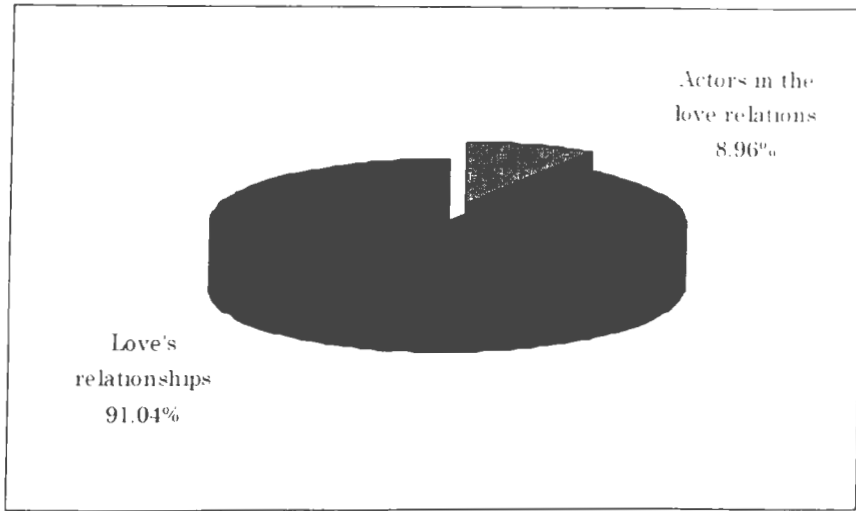
At the same time the bolero also allows a high degree of ambiguity. In many songs a "neuter" enunciation comes through, without an identifying trace of gender. In the corpus analysed, in 55% of cases the "I" that speaks can be either a woman or a man. In other cases the rhyme allows for adaptability and the song can be easily altered from male to female. Thus many possible combinations are opened (Zavala 1991:33).

Even when the gender is determined, according to the way the bolero discourse is uttered, the protagonist can subvert the sense, producing a new meaning. A woman for example, may adopt an active posture and take either a man or a woman as the object of desire, just as the man may adopt a passive position or even take another man as the object of desire.

As Derrida (1982:330) points out: contexts cannot be saturated. However, what seems more difficult to modify is the relationship itself so that it is no longer a subject/object relationship but something else: a relationship of dialogue between equals. There is a collection of

boleros which characterise and distinguish amorous subjects at a semantic level. The form of utterance of this kind of bolero is referential. In these, the object of love, or in a given situation what is rejected or hated, is described or qualified.

Figure 2.4 Themes of the bolero as song of love.



N=625

From court lyric poetry onwards, the love song "seems to come mainly from men's mouths" (Baez 1969:30). In 87.5% of the boleros analysed which describe the object of love, the subject was a man and the object of love/hate was a woman and in only 12.5% of cases was the protagonist's position adopted by a woman with man as the love object.

THE CHARACTERISATION OF MASCULINITY

In the bolero it is the man who is predominantly active, the one who desires. In 96% of the cases analysed the speaker may be a man, and of these, 41% of cases must be a man. The man is the subject of the verb's action, he sings, declares, describes, judges. He is the one who speaks, who names the woman and at the same time, who must not be mentioned. As in the Bible, the unmentionable is Jehovah, God. So in

the bolero, the man generally holds power over the privileged use of words.

The few times when boleros talk explicitly to a man, as subject of a statement or as object, they never talk about his body. When men are mentioned from a woman's point of view, 4% of all the analysed boleros are qualified in the following terms: "It is so easy for men to forget... After making fun of love/like every man you plead again"⁶, "Infamous, you have no soul, no feelings"⁷, "Don't be such a coward, respect my pain"⁸.

The man, stands before a woman as possible redeemer. Only he is able to rescue women from the mud. The man with his love and his gratitude gives women back their lost dignity. "If you are the stray woman I care about / if my love turns her stigma into happiness"⁹. "Never mind that they call you loose / I will give your life the truth of my love"¹⁰.

THE CHARACTERISATION OF FEMININITY

THE FEMALE BODY

The woman, becomes the object of male desire. She is what the bolero talks about. She takes the passive roles of obeying, decorating, caring, and replying. Women have been reduced to silence, and are thereby subject to the non verbal strategies of seduction which are always imprecise, deceitful, ambiguous. In the bolero misogynist attitudes towards women are expressed frequently, as will be seen in the following sections.

⁶ SANCRISTOBAL/HERNANDEZ. *Como todas*. Op. cit. (a) p.233

⁷ GROSS/LAWRENCE. *Infame*. Op. cit. (a) p.441

⁸ GALVAN, Marcela. *Respeta mi dolor*. Op. cit. (b) p.66

⁹ CRESPO, Carlos. *Callejera*. Op. cit. (a) p.232

¹⁰ NAVARRO, Chucho. *Perdida*. Op. cit. (b) p.61

Contrary to the man who is not mentioned or of whom little is said, she has a body, a "crazy mouth"¹¹, "black hair"¹², "hair of gold"¹³, "earl teeth"¹⁴, "ivory hands"¹⁵, "scarlet mouth"¹⁶, "heart of stone"¹⁷. A man's body is not mentioned (except for his eyes);. In the same way that male nudity was taboo in photography and in plastic arts for years, so it was also in song. The man talks about what he likes in a woman, "your forehead, your hair, and your rhythmical stride"¹⁸. "Her mouth, her face, her body/are tempting"¹⁹.

Since traditional romance certain metaphors have been used to speak of feminine beauty. A woman is a treasure to be compared to different jewels and precious stones, "pearl teeth"²⁰, "ruby lips"²¹, "emerald eyes"²², "coral mouth"²³. She also bears a likeness to heavenly bodies, "your eyes are two stars"²⁴, "big eyes that look like suns"²⁵, "little ray or moonlight"²⁶. A woman can also be compared to flowers: "gentle rose"²⁷, "carnal flower"²⁸ "gardenias' perfume"²⁹, "flower of dawn"³⁰, "rosebud"³¹. Her body is "proud and gentle"³², "a copy of the Venus of Citeres"³³, has

¹¹ Anonymous. *Boca Loca*. (c) Cancionero Mexicano. Editores Unidos Mexicanos, S.A. Tomo I y II. México, 1992. p.155

¹² LARA, Agustín. *Cabellera negra*. Op. cit. (b) p.6

¹³ FABREGAT/MOLINA MONTES. *Jacaranda*. Op. cit. (a) p.328

¹⁴ CARDENAS, Guty. *Pasión*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

¹⁵ GREVER, María. *Muñequita Linda*. Op. cit. (c) p.155

¹⁶ ESPARZA OTEO, Alfonso. *Colegiala*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

¹⁷ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Traicionera*. Op. cit. (a) p.232

¹⁸ ESTEVEZ, Cuco. *Todo me gusta de ti*. Op. cit. (a) p.211

¹⁹ SALAS, Adolfo. *Es mi reina*. Op. cit. (b) p.73

²⁰ GRENET, Eliseo. *Las perlas de tu boca*. Op. cit. (a) p.203

²¹ GREVER, María. *Muñequita Linda*. Op. cit. (c) p.773

²² LARA, Agustín. *Palmeras*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

²³ LARA, Agustín. *Palmeras*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

²⁴ MARTINEZ GIL, Jesús. *Mi Magdalena*. Op. cit. (a) p.310

²⁵ MARTINEZ GIL, Jesús. *Mi Magdalena*. Op. cit. (a) p.310

²⁶ NAVARRO, Chucho. *Rayito de Luna*. Op. cit. (a) p.308

²⁷ LECUONA, Ernesto. *Como arrullo de palmas*. Op. cit. (a) p.238

²⁸ LECUONA, Ernesto. *Como arrullo de palmas*. Op. cit. (a) p.238.

²⁹ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Perfume de Gardenias*. Op. cit. (a) p.355.

³⁰ SIMONS, Moisés. *Marta*. Op. cit. (a) p.219

³¹ SIMONS, Moisés. *Marta*. Op. cit. (a) p.219

³² GALINDO, Pedro. *Suriana*. Op. cit. (b) p.63

³³ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Perfume de Gardenias*. Op. cit. (a) p.355

a "rhythmic" and "tempting" stride, with a "harmonious sway"³⁴, has "hands soft as silk"³⁵, "satin skin"³⁶, "a complexion like an apple"³⁷, "a silky brunette face"³⁸.

Through qualification of the beautiful woman and the intensive use of metaphors, a group of cultural representations of "the feminine" is built. Femininity is basically formed by: frailty and refinement (like flowers), sweetness (like honey), sensuality, softness, (like silk and satin), fragrance and pureness (like the perfume of flowers). The woman is also an object, "things like you were not meant to be loved"³⁹, a treasure (a precious stone), a coveted object that must be taken care of since it can be stolen or lost. A woman must be inaccessible like the gods or the stars, "virginal"⁴⁰, "with a mystical candour"⁴¹, "an angel"⁴², or "a queen"⁴³.

FEMININE BEHAVIOUR

Aside from physical attributes, other kinds of qualities are attributed to women in boleros, almost always "negative", which have to do with the "ethical", "moral" behaviour. Behind a beautiful, tempting appearance, an "evil" being is concealed. In that sense women are "loose", "have a spell of looseness"⁴⁴, they are "witches", "you are bewitching me"⁴⁵; they're "temptations"⁴⁶ of the devil, they seduce men "you are an insatiable fire /that consumes my senses"⁴⁷.

³⁴ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Perfume de Gardenias*. Op. cit. (a) p.355

³⁵ MANZANERO, Armando. *Adoro*. Op. cit. (b) p.54

³⁶ ESPARZA OTEO, Alfonso. *Colegiala*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

³⁷ ESPARZA OTEO, Alfonso. *Colegiala*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

³⁸ GALINDO, Pedro. *Suriana*. Op. cit. (b) p.63

³⁹ HOFFMAN L., Ernesto. *Cosas como tú*. Op. cit. (a) p.181

⁴⁰ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Perfume de Gardenias*. Op. cit. (a) p.355

⁴¹ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Perfume de Gardenias*. Op. cit. (a) p.355

⁴² FLORES, Pedro. *Irresistible*. Op. cit. (a) p.414

⁴³ SALAS, Adolfo. *Es mi Reina*. Op. cit. (b) p.73

⁴⁴ LARA, Agustín. *Mujer*. Op. cit. (a) p.435

⁴⁵ BALTODAMO, Napoleón. *Embrujo*. Op. cit. (a) p.321

⁴⁶ SALAS, Adolfo. *Es mi reina*. Op. cit. (b) p.73

⁴⁷ BRUNI A./CORTAZAR E. *Ansiedad*. Op. cit. (a) p.412

From a male point of view, it is women in general who have an inexorable power, almost always evil, over them. They seduce men and transform them: "Every pretty woman... turns a brave man into a coward"⁴⁸. She is also responsible for men's sins and ruin, transforming them through deceit, into a "puppet with no will"⁴⁹. As in the Biblical tradition where there are many examples such as Eve being Adam's downfall, or Delilah being Samson's; or in the Greek or Roman traditions, where Helen of Troy was the cause of Paris's ruin or Cleopatra of Mark Anthony's, they are myths that have been retaken and broadcast by cultural institutions, especially by Hollywood's films.

But women are also "Hypocrite....evil/you made a fool out of me"⁵⁰; a woman is the "nest of a hyena"⁵¹, "evil and treacherous/with a heart of stone"⁵², "one who steals kisses"⁵³, "whimsical", "fatal"⁵⁴, "mysterious"⁵⁵, "ungrateful"⁵⁶ etc.

Some boleros not only speak of the particular experiences of an "I" (male) facing a "you" (female), but emit judgements where a voice with a moral emerges. It "is said" how women should be: "A woman should be/dreamy, coquettish and ardent,/she should give in to love with mad ardour/to be a woman"⁵⁷ as well as the way women really are: cutting-"a woman's word can only deceive"⁵⁸, treacherous "every beautiful woman/is treacherous"⁵⁹. In brief, the moral warns: "Give your love to a

⁴⁸ JIMENEZ, Nico. *Nobleza*. Op. cit. (b) p.74

⁴⁹ PRADO, Miguel. *Mi juventud*. Op. cit. (b) p.45

⁵⁰ CRESPO, Carlos. *Hipócrita*. Op. cit. (a) p.230

⁵¹ PARDAVE, Joaquín. *Falsa*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

⁵² CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Traicionera*. Op. cit. (a) p.232

⁵³ INCLAN, Ramón. *Ladrona de besos*. Op. cit. (b) p.57

⁵⁴ DON FABIAN. *Infortunio*. Op. cit. (a) p.337

⁵⁵ ALCANTARA, Raúl. *Recordándote*. Op. cit. (b) p.62

⁵⁶ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Inconsolable*. Op. cit. (a) p.220

⁵⁷ MISRAKI, Paul. *Una mujer*. Op. cit. (a) p.208

⁵⁸ ESPARZA OTEO, Alfonso. *Mentirosa*. Op. cit. (b) p.43

⁵⁹ JIMENEZ, Nico. *Nobleza*. Op. cit. (b) p.74

woman and you will see how she pays you back/ either she'll fool you or smother you/and find another lover"⁶⁰.

Women describe themselves as tolerant regarding the permanent whims of men "as all women I forgive you again"⁶¹, but in general men are masters of the word of bolero and the ones who rate and prescribe female behaviour.

THE PROSTITUTE

The bolero presents the prostitute as an expression of romantic love or of bohemian life. The prostitute is made mythical "Saint... the star that illuminates my sky"⁶², is victim of her destiny: "Azalea flower... which life drags in its avalanche"⁶³, "Loose"⁶⁴, "Stray"⁶⁵, "Sinner... why did destiny make you become a sinner if you don't now how to sell your heart"⁶⁶; "Adventuress"⁶⁷, "If you had a real love you would probably be different"⁶⁸. The mythical rendering of the prostitute is a mechanism through which a man finds the opportunity to show his power, while at the same time, showing himself to be understanding and benign. By the same token, women are found guilty for being abandoned or abused, because, as the popular saying goes, "a man will go as far as a woman lets him".

However, at times a woman is accused of being "a whore", in order to attack her, to discredit her. "I know ... that you trade your kisses for

⁶⁰ CORTAZAR/ARCARAZ. *El que pierde una mujer*. Op. cit. (a) p.197

⁶¹ SANCRISTOBAL/HERNANDEZ. *Como todas*. Op. cit. (a) p.233

⁶² LARA, Agustín. *Santa*. Op. cit. (a) p.179

⁶³ GOMEZ URQUIZA/ESPERON, M. *Flor de azalea*. Op. cit. (a) p.311

⁶⁴ NAVARRO, Chucho. *Perdida*. Op. cit. (b) p.61

⁶⁵ CRESPO, Carlos. *Callejera*. Op. cit. (a) p.232

⁶⁶ LARA, Agustín. *Pecadora*. Op. cit. (a) p.435

⁶⁷ LARA, Agustín. *Aventurera*. Op. cit. (b) p.6

⁶⁸ LARA, Agustín. *Aventurera*. Op. cit. (b) p.6

money"⁶⁹; "So you sell yourself, don't you...I hope you will become cheaper..."⁷⁰, "you sold your kisses and your caresses"⁷¹.

A woman is good or bad; virgin, saint or whore; loyal, fragile, sweet and tender and /or perverse and deceitful. Female archetypes are those of the victim or a female scourge such as the Lady of the Camellias or Mata hari. However, in all cases she is always the object, grammatically speaking; she is the one of whom something is said or who receives the verb's action.

AMOROUS RELATIONSHIPS

Amorous relationships are marked by the dynamic tension between moments of cohesion and situations of conflict. The different behaviours towards the object of love derive from the possible answers to a double question that the "I" asks him/herself about his/her object of love, do I love her /him?, does she/he love me?, the paradigmatic attitude of the one in love which has traditionally been symbolised as taking petals from a daisy.

Based on the positive, negative or ambiguous answer the lover obtains, different relationships are established with the object of his/her love, and the love relationship goes through different moments. These moments do not necessarily follow a pre-established progressive order. The loving subject goes through them in a discontinuous way, as "fits". As an expression of the sentiment of love as opposed to the story of love, the bolero does not have a plot, a chronological sequence, therefore it cannot be aligned, be ordered, or progress based on an aim. All of the figures deriving from the central question remain at a same

⁶⁹ LARA, Agustín. *Imposible*. Op. cit. (a) p. 282

⁷⁰ MARTINEZ GIL, HNOS. *Falsaria*. Op. cit. (a) p.303

⁷¹ MARQUETI, Luis. *Amor de cobre*. Op. cit. (a) p.348

level as an affective encyclopaedia emerging as a singular event, as it is uttered.

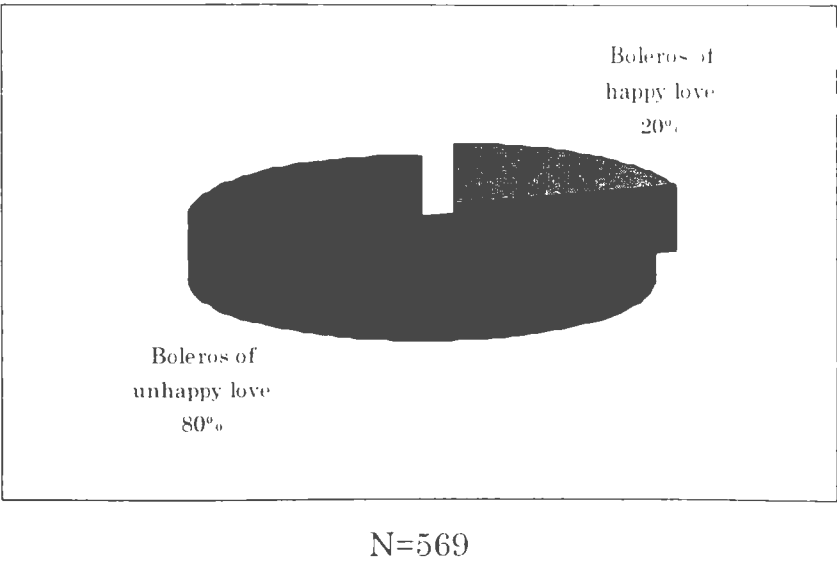
The bolero as a rhetorical code of loving, offers a multiplicity of figures as a catalogue of expressions symbolising possible behaviours. Ways of expressing themes and feelings of love, have been fixed in bunches of multiple behaviours. These behaviours are figures and the figure "is the one in love performing his/her task" (Barthes 1983a:14). The figure is based on the "acknowledgement" of the scene as likely. Hence we assume that a bolero can express our different feelings of love, jealousy, uncertainty, doubt, in a variety of circumstances. In a double movement the bolero prescribes or proscribes a feeling, creates it and expresses it.

In brief, the rhetoric of the love code is made up of figures and according to Barthes, figures are the morphemes of passion. In this sense "we can get to know the classic taxonomy of passions, and especially amorous passion, through figures." (Barthes 1990:157). All of these figures form a sort of stereographic topography which shows us a cultural mosaic of "loving", contradictory and complex, which I will now try to elucidate.

RHETORICAL FIGURES OF THE LOVE CODE

Boleros as songs of love, whether they describe relationships of cohesion or conflict, can be classified into two major categories; as boleros of happy love and boleros of unhappy love. Because in boleros, love as a passion is paradoxically associated with happiness, pleasures and delights which are partially inaccessible, it is also associated with sorrow, suffering and pain.

Figure 2.5 Boleros of Happy and Unhappy Love.



The love song has traditionally been an expression deficiency, of lack of love. The bolero is no exception. The majority of these analysed talk about unhappy love in the forms of uncertainty, unrequited love and burnt-out love which together with the negative qualities of the object of love constitute 80% of the total.

The majority of boleros about unhappy love go back to the conflict that leads to separation. Separation, either accomplished or possible, releases a varied collection of responses from the one who is in love, which move from depressive spells in which the aggression produced is projected to the subject who is abandoned, to anger and aggression directed towards the "you".

Boleros about happy love expressed as happiness, joy and desire for the other, together with some songs sung to a woman's physical beauty, represent barely 20% of the total which talk about couple's love. As we can see, love in bolero is experienced overwhelmingly in need, in absence. As the popular saying goes, "nobody knows what you've got 'till it's gone". There is no tale without conflict: "joyful love, has no

history... what exalts western lyricism is not the pleasure of the senses or a couple's fertile peace. Fulfilled love is less than the passion of love. And passion means suffering" (Rougemont 1986:16).

The culmination of love is the end of the story. It is the happy ending of romantic films and TV soap operas; the culmination of the narration which is found behind all the obstacles and vicissitudes that the couple has had to overcome, such as testing the soundness of their love before the defining encounter. Owing to this, the bolero sings about the vicissitudes of love; it is sung during courting and seduction. The culmination of love is a fleeting and unstable moment, always threatened.

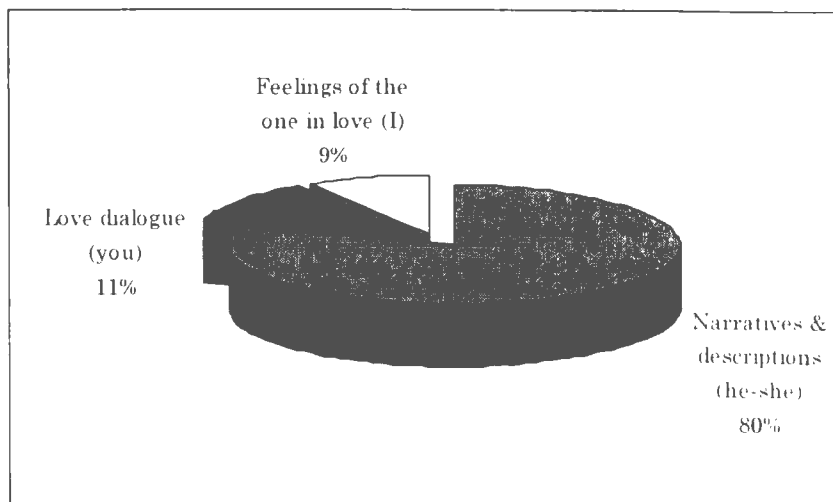
RHETORICAL FIGURES OF HAPPY LOVE

Happy love is always that fleeting moment of certainty, when the loved one feels that his/her love has been returned. In the bolero, it is more a fact of the past, a distant happening in time, generally mythical, which is spoken of in the third person. Returned love as a fact in the present is rarely found. As a subjective manifestation of desire or the happiness of the one in love (9%) or as amorous dialogue between the "I" and the "you" (11%), it adopts the forms of love's demands and the ritual forms of the serenade (see figure 2.6).

The predominant modalities of enunciation in boleros about returned love are brief tales and descriptions (80%). The "I" talks about the kind of love he/she experiences, of its qualities. In some cases it adopts the form of a narration of happenings in a temporal sequence which includes two moments, before and after, and an intermediate action as the process of improvement the lover undergoes because of love; love is remedy, light, balsam. In other cases, the bolero emphasises the agent of transformation, whether it is destiny or God. The bolero is also more

of a description than a narration of the different characteristics that love takes, such as: eternal love, fleeting love, passionate love, matrimonial love. Sometimes the bolero has a style more of manners. It describes the context in which love is produced and characterises the "properly romantic spaces": the night, the beach and the sea.

Figure 2.6 Modalities of Enunciation of Happy Love Boleros .



N=116

EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"

HAPPINESS

The "I", having achieved its purpose, expresses the emotive state of his/her happiness, delight, joy, with the use of exclamatory expressions such as "Finally!" Now I am happy"⁷²; "my heart is rejoicing/I am content, I am happy"⁷³ "Life is so beautiful/when love is found"⁷⁴. Having found love, everything else does not matter: "What should I care if everything comes to an end/if I have you!"⁷⁵. Happiness is a rare

⁷² NAVARRO, Armando. **Por fin**. Op. cit. (a) p.291

⁷³ TERRAZA, Juan Bruno. **Soy feliz**. Op. cit. (b) p.16

⁷⁴ LAMBERTUCI, Roberto. **Corazón**. Op. cit. (a) p.208

⁷⁵ FERNANDEZ PORTA, Mario. **Que me importa**. Op. cit. (a) p.343

commodity, it is always threatened. The lover dreams of finding it through the complete and eternal possession of the loved one.

DESIRE

The "I" expresses his/her desires intensely and with emotion, in an elliptical discourse, with metaphors that indirectly refer to sexuality and to the code of the passion of love. "I want... the intoxicating flame of your kiss which disturbs my senses"⁷⁶. "I have... an infinite thirst to love you... desire to have you... I would like to... kiss you with the madness of my passion"⁷⁷, "strong and mad urge/to hold you in my arms /and desperately bite your mouth"⁷⁸ According to the code of the passion of love, in which lack of moderation is the norm, there is no room for wise, reasonable, measured love.

Therefore this partial, precarious happiness becomes the symbol of the unattainable: absolute pleasure and happiness. Pleasure cannot be circumscribed to certain spaces, as Barthes notes "Love is neither dialectical nor reformist" (Barthes 1983a:60). There is no possible settlement, suffering is always stalking, it is inevitable: "Love is the pain which hides happiness"⁷⁹.

FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"

THE DEMAND

In this case, the "I" goes from desire to demand, and also refers to the intimacy of love. "Hold me like that ... Get close to me"⁸⁰, "Let me satisfy the cravings of my frenzy"⁸¹, "Kiss me passionately"⁸², "Love me

⁷⁶ DE JESUS, Benito. *Besos de fuego*. Op. cit. (a) p.227

⁷⁷ CORTES, Tito. *Deseo*. Op. cit. (a) p.295

⁷⁸ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Este amor salvaje*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

⁷⁹ ZORRILLA/TREVINO. *Albur*. Op. cit. (a) p.436

⁸⁰ CLAVEL, Mario. *Abrázame así*. Op. cit. (a) p.208

⁸¹ DALMAR, Alvaro. *Solo un minuto*. Op. cit. (a) p.223

to madness"⁸³. Intimacy is described in a very general manner as kiss and embrace, and is described as "frenzy" and "madness". In the 'thirties and 'forties these expressions, which made allusion to sexuality, which nowadays seem so "indirect" and "tenuous", were then "strong" and "daring". The expression of emotionality and desire finds a check in the era's repressive morality; hence the enunciation's use of the third person was privileged, distanced from the most narrow and intimate relationship of amorous love.

THE SERENADE

In this case boleros talk about the function they fulfil: "to sing" to the loved woman. Emphasis falls on the channel of communication and on the addressee. The bolero describes and prescribes the serenade's ritual order. "Listen to my song/sweet melody that I come to sing/in your window/my sweet love..."⁸⁴. Its function is on the one hand phatic as it tries to keep an open channel for communication, and on the other conative, with imperative expressions. It is directed towards getting a response from the "you": wake up, listen, sleep. "Wake up/sweet love of my life..."⁸⁵ "Sleep, sleep in peace..."⁸⁶. There are also crystallised formulae of either greeting or of farewell "I now say goodbye..."⁸⁷, "good night my love..."⁸⁸, "until tomorrow love"⁸⁹. These songs bear a ritual character, they are respectively used as the opening and closing of serenades.

⁸² DOMINGUEZ, Alberto. *Frenesí*. Op. cit. (b) p.47

⁸³ GALLI, Carlos. *Oye mi canción*. Op. cit. (b) p.74

⁸⁴ GALLI, Carlos. *Oye mi canción*. Op. cit. (b) p.74

⁸⁵ RUIZ, Gabriel. *Despierta*. Op. cit. (b) p.11

⁸⁶ LUNA DE LA FUENTE/PRADO, M. *Duerme*. Op. cit. (b) p.87

⁸⁷ GALLI, Carlos. *Oye mi canción*. Op. cit. (b) p.74

⁸⁸ RUIZ Gabriel. *Buenas noches mi amor*. Op. cit. (a) p.196

⁸⁹ CASIROLI/VARGAS. *Hasta mañana amor*. Op. cit. (a) p.345

NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS

LOVE AS LIGHT, REMEDY, BALSAM

In other kinds of formulations, the expression of delight is varied, attenuated, by the mention of a previous state of pain or suffering, which love gets to transform. The I is distanced and the emotive phrase goes on to the narration of a brief story. Emphasis falls on the referent which in this case is the love story.

These expressions "narrate" the modification produced in the feelings and in the "I's" mood owing to the love from the "you", which becomes the reason for the attained happiness. "You changed my love into good things"⁹⁰, "You put an end to my fatal hell"⁹¹, "In your love I have found my lost faith"⁹².

In another referential form the "I" describes and qualifies the "you's" love metaphorically as light: "You lighted up the way/in my nights without fortune"⁹³; It is also qualified as balsam, remedy, consolation, sweet relief, for the "I": "With your kisses, your caresses/I will still my suffering"⁹⁴. "You are, my darling/the solution for a wound that another love had left behind"⁹⁵, "I am the solace/ for your aching soul"⁹⁶. In this case, the roles are inverted; it is the "I" that consoles the "you".

ASSISTANTS: DESTINY AND GOD

In these brief stories of love, destiny and God are recurrent personages. They emerge as superior forces which act inexorably, above and beyond

⁹⁰ RUIZ ARMENGOL, M. *Muchachita*. Op. cit. (b) p.16

⁹¹ RODRIGUEZ Chucho. *Besos de Fuego*. Op. cit. (b) p.18

⁹² VALDEMAR Ma. Elena. *Mil besos*. Op. cit. (a) p.297

⁹³ NAVARRO Chucho. *Rayito de Luna*. Op. cit. (b) p.61

⁹⁴ GALLORY, RODRIGUEZ/ROIG. *Quiéreme mucho*. Op. cit. (a) p.190

⁹⁵ LARA, Agustín. *Rosa*. Op. cit. (b) p.5

the lovers' wills. "The day you crossed / my path / I had a premonition of something fatal"⁹⁷. "Even if it is not your or my will / it is God's will"⁹⁸. These forces can act in favour of or against finding love. They can help or hinder love coming about. God emerges as a helper in the love story, "It seems that God wants you and I/ to form our nest/ His blessing consecrates our love"⁹⁹. These manifestations go back to the code of religion.

Destiny and God bear a character which is fatal, determinate, and inevitable -they mask social commands- and are the cause of the lovers' meeting, and they can choose no less than that for which they are predestined. Nevertheless, as we shall see below, destiny, more in accordance with its tragic character according to the code of the Greek tragedy to which it refers, generally becomes an obstacle and acts against love's fulfilment.

THE ROMANTIC CONTEXT: NIGHT, THE BEACH, AND THE SEA

These boleros emphasise the contexts in which love takes place. They describe the setting more than the characters or the actions. The tropical beach and the sea are romantic stereotypes disseminated by tourism and advertising. They emerge as the ideal setting and context for love. According to this code, the sea, the beach, and summer's warmth hint at sensuality and eroticism. The tropic is also where the myth of the 'Latin lover' was born, whose archetype could be Veracruz's Agustín Lara, who wrote to his beloved María Félix: "Remember Acapulco, beautiful María, María of my soul..."¹⁰⁰. In addition to the 'Latin lover', the beach and the sea, the romantic setting par excellence

⁹⁶ PARRA, Alejandro. *Soy*. Op. cit. (b) p.50

⁹⁷ PACHECO, J. *Presentimiento*. Op. cit. (b) p.41

⁹⁸ LARA, Agustín. *Palabras de mujer*. Op. cit. (a) p.209

⁹⁹ GONZALEZ, William. *Bendición celestial*. Op. cit. (a) p.329

¹⁰⁰ LARA, Agustín. *María bonita*. Op. cit. (c) p.697

is completed by the moon, the night and idleness (vacation or honeymoon).

ETERNAL LOVE

In some songs, love is characterised as a force which can overcome any obstacle, especially the intervention of 'others', all those who try to part the lovers. "No one in the world will be able to separate us..."¹⁰¹. The "I" conveys an attitude of conviction, confidence and even defiance towards obstacles and possible separation. "I gave you so much life / that you will forcefully carry / a taste of me"¹⁰². According to the code of tragic love, love is a challenge to society: "there is no barrier in the world / that my deep love / will not break for you..."¹⁰³; and a challenge to the you "you will never be able to forget me"¹⁰⁴.

Even when there is a separation, love's brand is indelible, "like a tattoo"¹⁰⁵. It is a shadow that will be continually cast upon the lovers: "you will always have a taste of me"¹⁰⁶. The sentence with the moral says that "in this life there are lovers / which can never be forgotten..."¹⁰⁷. Total devotion is expressed by vowing eternal love, in which case even death would cease to be an obstacle to love: "We have vowed to love each other until death parts us / and, if the dead are able to love / to love each other even more after death..."¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰¹ DOMINGUEZ, Alberto. *Un momento*. Op. cit. (a) p.331

¹⁰² CARRILLO, Alvaro. *Sabor a mí*. Op. cit. (a) p.317

¹⁰³ FLORES, Pedro. *Obsesión*. Op. cit. (b) p.80

¹⁰⁴ DIPLO Rivera, Ramón. *Donde quiera que tu vayas*. Op. cit. (a) p. 430

¹⁰⁵ RUIZ, G./LUNA DE LA FUENTE, G. *Tatuaje*. Op. cit. (a) p.322

¹⁰⁶ CARRILLO, Alvaro. *Sabor a mí*. Op. cit. (a) p.317

¹⁰⁷ GUTIERREZ, Julio. *Inolvidable*. Op. cit. (a) p.396

¹⁰⁸ DE JESUS, Benito. *Nuestro Juramento*. Op. cit. (b) p.80

FLEETING LOVE

In contrast to eternal love, fleeting love exist simply in the present. The past must be forgotten, as if it had never existed "We must live the moment / what do we care about the past"¹⁰⁹, and the present must be lived intensely as the future "might not exist"¹¹⁰; "let me kiss your mouth /with a mad thrill / in case I never see you again"¹¹¹.

In the modern code of passionate love, continuity is not sought, "one more night / I only ask you for one more"¹¹²; neither is stability, "whatever will come later / doesn't matter anymore / let's live today"¹¹³, nor is faithfulness: "I know that I am / one more affair for you"¹¹⁴; its value lays on the intensity: "Kiss me / as if this night were / the last time"¹¹⁵. Love is earthly and perishable, subject to the vicissitudes of modern life.

PASSIONATE LOVE

Passionate love is described as "deadly poison...burning anxiety...fatal fire"¹¹⁶, "mad passion"¹¹⁷, "savage love"¹¹⁸, "savage fury"¹¹⁹, "kisses of fire, intoxicating flame"¹²⁰, "flame from a volcano"¹²¹. In this kind of song, hyperbolic language is used, with strongly emotional expressions such as "endless need of loving you"¹²², and "strong and mad yearning"¹²³. All these metaphors hint at sexuality, desire and surrender.

¹⁰⁹ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Hay que vivir el momento*. Op. cit. (a) p.427

¹¹⁰ DIAZ RIVERO. *Vive esta noche*. Op. cit. (a) p.401

¹¹¹ GREVER, María. *Por si no te vuelvo a ver*. Op. cit. (a) p.221

¹¹² VALADEZ, Fernando. *Una noche más*. Op. cit. (a) p.429

¹¹³ FARGO. *Vivamos hoy*. Op. cit. (a) p.399

¹¹⁴ KINLEINER, Oscar. *Una aventura más*. Op. cit. (a) p.401

¹¹⁵ VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Bésame mucho*. Op. cit. (b) p.14

¹¹⁶ BRUNI, A./CORTAZAR, E. *Ansiedad*. Op. cit. (a) p.412

¹¹⁷ VIDAL, Alex. *No podré olvidarte*. Op. cit. (a) p.186

¹¹⁸ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Este amor salvaje*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

¹¹⁹ CORTES, Tito. *Deseo*. Op. cit. (a) p.295

¹²⁰ DE JESUS, Mario/Villoldo, Angel. *Besos de fuego*. Op. cit. (a) p.227

¹²¹ VILLOLDO, Angel/DE JESUS, M. *Besos de fuego*. Op. cit. (a) p.227

¹²² CORTES, Tito. *Deseo*. Op. cit. (a) p.295

¹²³ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Este Amor Salvaje*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

The one in love seeks the impossible, to be joined with his/her lover in a way in which "two become one", an inexorable experience that takes hold of the subject and drives him/her mad. It is from here that the intrinsic relationship between love and death comes. The one in loves loses his/her senses, his/her freedom and may also lose his/her life in the name of love "You are killing me with passion"¹²⁴. "That dying of love is, in the end, the very object of that yearning called love-passion" (Trías 1991:25).

The metaphor of burning and consuming love refers to the code of mystical love. In the Spanish literature of mystics like San Juan de la Cruz or Santa Teresa, the love encounter with divinity as the model for human love is represented by fire, just as the Holy Ghost is shown as flames in the New Testament, and as God manifests himself in the Old Testament as a burning bush.

The metaphor of jail and the words "sentence" and "slavery", refer to the code of courtly love, " the courtesan love which is based on vassalage" (Barthes 1983a:92) where the gentleman is a faithful servant to his lady: "I know well that my sentence will be to go on loving you"¹²⁵.

In turn, expressions such as "deadly poison"¹²⁶ refer to the code of passionate love like Tristán and Isolda's who fell in love because of a potion which was prepared by the queen mother. Passion is the result of the ingestion of the "love filter" which turns them into slaves, victims to the love-god "which has them in his/her hands with absolute surrender of their will...as puppets with a superior strength which

¹²⁴ JIMENEZ, Nico. *Espinita*. Op. cit. (a) p.296

¹²⁵ HERNANDEZ Rafael. *Yo contigo me voy*. Op. cit. (a) p.342

¹²⁶ BRUNI, A./CORTAZAR, E. *Ansiedad*. Op. cit. (a) p.412

surpasses rational control and self restraint from each of the two" (Trías 1991:21).

Passionate love is substantially linked with suffering, "To love is to admit that you have to suffer"¹²⁷. "Love is the pain / which hides happiness"¹²⁸. In passionate love, "the inexorable implication of joy and misfortune in the loving and passionate subject..." is what is stressed ... "this gives place to paradoxical expressions which require dialectic language" (Trías 1991:23) and they find a way of expression in the oxymoron "divine torture"¹²⁹, "kisses that kill and bring back to life"¹³⁰, "is my life and my pain"¹³¹, "is tenderness and courage"¹³², through the strong contrast, exaggeration and euphoria are expressed, and they also have a magnifying effect on the feeling.

MATRIMONIAL LOVE

Matrimonial love is opposite of the passionate love that talks about madness, death, instability, frailty, and feebleness. Although it only represents 1% of the total of analysed songs, this kind of love is represented more frequently in films, which we will analyse later, and above all, in the narrations of the interviewed subjects.

These boleros have a narrative form, they talk about the context in which matrimonial love takes place: the house, the children and everyday life together, more than the feelings of the "I" or its relationship with the "you". This is a legitimate love whose aim is to build a family, love blessed by God and, of course, by society through

¹²⁷ VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Corazón*. Op. cit. (a) p.325

¹²⁸ ZORRILLA/TREVIÑO. *Albur*. Op. cit. (a) p.436

¹²⁹ FUENTES/CERVANTES. *Tormento*. Op. cit. (a) p.267

¹³⁰ DE JESUS, Mario/Villoldo, Angel. *Besos de fuego*. Op. cit. (a) p.227

¹³¹ GARRIDO, Juan. *Mi cariño*. Op. cit. (a) p.340

¹³² VALLADARES, Miguel. *Este amor salvaje*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

public ceremony: "I will sing with joy / taking you down the aisle"¹³³. Marriage as a social and legal institution has solid grounds and its own setting in the home: "I already have the little house / I promised you so many times..."¹³⁴ "Our white house / nest of happiness / will always be"¹³⁵.

Matrimonial love is not a pursuit of pleasure for its own sake. It is productive love. Its aim is procreation, to finally build a family. "To round up our happiness... one little thing is missing...a beautiful little doll who will make our home happier..."¹³⁶ Children turn lovers into a family.

Matrimonial love is for ever. Love becomes peaceful, companionship, a lifetime commitment in any circumstance: "Partners in good and evil / not even the years will be heavy on us"¹³⁷. "And that is why, sweet darling, I want the years to go by and become old / to love each other more..."¹³⁸; "I am so happy...for having lived next to you for so many years"¹³⁹. According to medicine and psychology, matrimonial love is founded on the psychic need for security and continuity of the subject, as permanently opposed to the need for risk and change.

These boleros clearly refer to the words of the Christian ceremony of marriage, which say: "I promise to be faithful in prosperity and adversity, in health and in sickness, and to love you and respect you every day of my life..." (Missal p. 30), to the moral code and to the social and legal norm, which seeks continuity in marriage. The family

¹³³ GUERRERO/CASTELLANOS. *Novia mía*. Op. cit. (a) p.327

¹³⁴ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Ahora seremos felices*. Op. cit. (a) p.198

¹³⁵ BERA/COLEMAN. *Tendrás un altar*. Op. cit. (a) p.247

¹³⁶ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Ahora seremos felices*. Op. cit. (a) p.198

¹³⁷ ESPERON Manuel. *Amorcito Corazón*. Op. cit. (b) p.17

¹³⁸ FROMETA Brillo. *Cuando estemos viejos*. Op. cit. (a) p.380

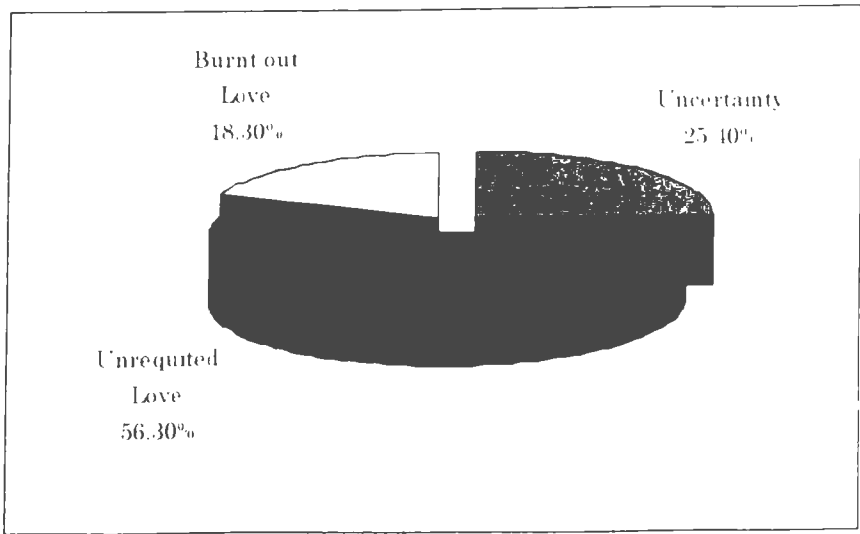
¹³⁹ MANZANERO A. *Parece que fue ayer*. Op. cit. (a) p.333

becomes the mechanism for the organisation and control of sexual behaviour, especially for women.

FIGURES OF UNHAPPY LOVE

Love relationships in conflict are branded by the risk of separation that hangs as a threat over the couple. The conflict can be produced within the couple, or between the couple and the world around them. In a quarter of cases, 25.4%, the lover experiences the conflict as UNCERTAINTY, when he/she doesn't know the reaction of the loved one, or when he/she has ambivalent attitudes. In over a half of cases, 56.3%, conflict springs from UNREQUITED LOVE. In this scenario, one of the actors is in love and wants to keep the relationship and faces rejection and other obstacles set by the environment. Finally, in the third form, BURNT-OUT LOVE, (18.3%), love is considered to be impossible by both sides due to causes that can be found either in the couple or in external determinations (see figure 2.7).

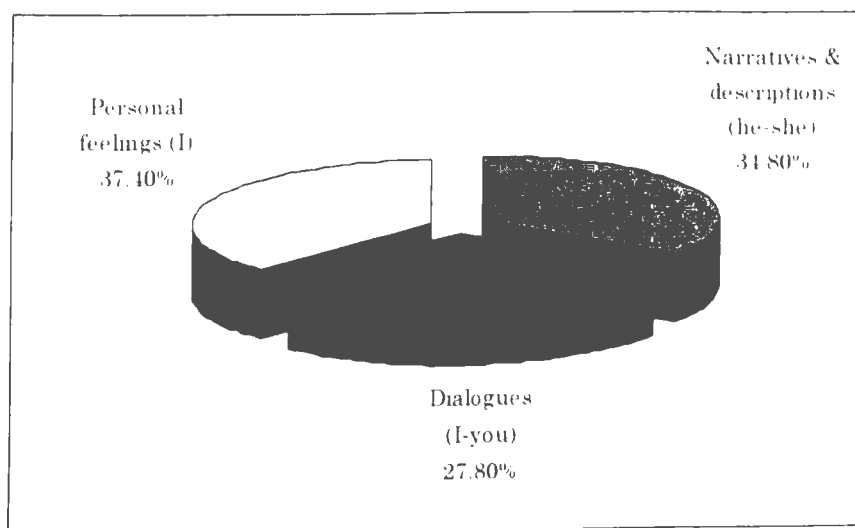
Figure 2.7 Themes of the Unhappy Love Boleros.



UNCERTAINTY

Uncertainty is a recurring theme in bolero. In the chosen corpus, it represented 25.4% of the total of songs of unfortunate love. This emotional state stems from the subject's recognition of his/her new status as a lover, faced with ambiguity and lack of knowledge of the other's feelings. Uncertainty focuses on "the wait": "I will know how to wait as the devoted man waits"¹⁰⁰, as the time that goes by between a declaration and a response.

Figure 2.8 Modalities of Enunciation in Boleros of Uncertainty.



N=115

Of boleros with uncertainty as a central theme 37.4% express the feelings of the one in love: fear, desire-declaration, dependence: I can't live without you; 27.8% are built around a dialogue of demand with the loved one; and 34.8% are organised around narratives and descriptions of doubt, mistrust and jealousy (see figure 2.8).

¹⁰⁰ GUEVARA, Walfredo. *Sabr   esperar*. Op. cit. (a) p. 294

EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"

FEAR

Fear according to the dictionary definition, is the "feeling of restlessness produced by a real or imaginary danger. Fright or fear precedes the execution of a difficult task, in the face of danger or under the threat of failure" (Larousse 1981).

Fear in the bolero is experienced before possible rejection "I am so afraid of hugging her"¹⁴¹; "and I would even give my life if I could get over the fear of kissing you..."¹⁴² or when faced with pain, suffering, anguish and despair about not knowing the other's feelings. "I don't know how much you love me, if you miss me or cheat on me..."¹⁴³.

In the analysed boleros, the "I" states its internal state of "uncertainty" as a lament. At the level of connotation as Barthes says, "The amorous subject, at the mercy of this or that contingency, is assaulted by the fear of danger, of a wound, of being abandoned, or of moving -these feelings are expressed as anguish" (Barthes 1983a:37). Fear of love is fear of pain, of the lack of possibility, and of suffering; and in the code of passionate, love is inevitably related to all of these.

DESIRE-DECLARATION

In the "declaration" the genre requires that the place of the subject who enunciates "I" is taken by a man. He enters into conflict firstly with himself, in his struggle to acknowledge himself as the one in love in front of the "you" (feminine), object of his love. "If I live for you, why should I deny it....."¹⁴⁴; "why deny that I am in love with you"¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴¹ VALDESPI, Armando. *Miedo*. Op. cit (a) p. 375

¹⁴² ZORRILLA/ RUIZ G. *Usted*. Op. cit (a) p. 320

¹⁴³ MANZANERO, Armando. *La otra tarde vi llover*. Op. cit. (a) p.333

¹⁴⁴ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Enamorado de ti*. Op. cit. (a) p.197

¹⁴⁵ MENDEZ, José Antonio. *La gloria eres tú*. Op. cit. (b) p.78

According to the everyday wisdom displayed in some boleros, the man is in charge of taking the first step. He has the power of speech and of taking the initiative and he imposes the obligation of responding to his demands on the woman.

Once the man has decided to declare his love to the woman, with formulations like "I love you as I love no one else"¹⁴⁶, "I adore you", "how I like you"¹⁴⁷, a relationship of seduction and courting is established. At the same time, the space of waiting is opened. The subject expresses desire as well as the lack of the desired object. This lack generates a state of anguish.

From the expression of the feelings that derive from this, the "I" goes on to explicitly express his/her desire in one or two forms, either as a desiderative sentence in the indicative, expressed clearly and directly "I want to have you in my arms"¹⁴⁸ or in a softer way using the subjunctive, "I would like to be the number one reason for your existence"¹⁴⁹. Even after having obtained the love of the desired woman or man, feelings of doubt, distrust and uncertainty permanently assault the one in love "Oh, how cruel is uncertainty..."¹⁵⁰.

DEPENDENCE: I CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT YOU

The "I" in love, faced with the threat of possible separation, tells the you "I cannot live without you". This basic rhetorical structure assumes particular forms and hues in each song, from soft emotive expressions like "nothing satisfies me anymore"¹⁵¹, "I am dying of

¹⁴⁶ LARA, Agustín. *Te quiero*. Op. cit. (a) p.434

¹⁴⁷ FARRES, Oswaldo. *Tres palabras*. Op. cit. (a) p.424

¹⁴⁸ ULLOA, Héctor. *Cinco centavitos*. Op. cit. (a) p.269

¹⁴⁹ CLAVEL, Mario. *Quisiera ser*. Op. cit. (b) p.81

¹⁵⁰ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Incertidumbre*. Op. cit. (a) p.407

¹⁵¹ PORTILLO DE LA LUZ, César. *Contigo a la distancia*. Op. cit. (b) p.79

sorrow"¹⁵², "living is horrible"¹⁵³, to stronger expressions, such as "I cannot live"¹⁵⁴, "I am going crazy"¹⁵⁵ or if you leave me, life would be "a disaster of madness...a cataclysm for both of us"¹⁵⁶. As Barthes says: "In the fear of love I fear my own destruction" (Barthes 1983a:215), since love turns the subject into a frail, vulnerable, contingent being, exposed to suffering.

These expressions refer to a code of romantic love, a melancholic love, a dependent attitude, a frail subject, weak and insecure. The expression "I cannot live without you" is also a warning or a veiled threat, an instance of emotional blackmail.

FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"

DEMAND

Expressions of desire are progressively transformed into demands. "From desire, it is easy to go on to exhortation, implore, and command, expressed through sentences called exhortative." (Gili Gaya 1961:54). There is a transition from an emotive function of expressing the desire and feelings of the "I" towards a demand for a response on the part of the addressee (you). The chain is transformed in the following way: I love you, I want you to or I would like you to, love me.

The expressions mobilised range from supplication and exhortation to an order in an imperative tone: "come to appease this anguish"¹⁵⁷, tell me, "tell me yes, that you love me"¹⁵⁸, "write to me, don't forget me"¹⁵⁹,

¹⁵² ROBLES. *Mi vidita*. Op. cit. (a) p.188

¹⁵³ DALMAR, Alvaro. *Tan lejos*. Op.cit. (a) p.287

¹⁵⁴ INCLAN, Ramón. *No dejes de quererme*. Op. cit. (b) p.57

¹⁵⁵ MARTINEZ SERRANO, Luis. *Si no estás conmigo*. Op cit. (a) p.314

¹⁵⁶ TARONJI, Esteban. *Cataclismo*. Op. cit. (a) p.416

¹⁵⁷ SEDANO, Saulo. *Reina mía*. Op. cit. (a) p.324

¹⁵⁸ FERRER, Claudio. *Azabache*. Op. cit. (a) p.269

¹⁵⁹ DE ROSAS, Felipe /RESTREPO DUQUE, Hernán. *Escribeme*. Op. cit. (a) p.387

take me " "love me, because I believe I deserve you"¹⁶⁰, "understand me...encourage me... forgive me"¹⁶¹, "talk to me"¹⁶². In Spanish, all these verbs end in '-me', denoting an action from the you that falls on the "I". These expressions refer us to the everyday wisdom about love relationships in which the tacit, socially learned norm says that while the man has the power of initiative, the right to ask, demand, and almost even order as the formulations in the imperative show, the woman is, on one hand as, the object of an imposition, forced to answer, but, on the other hand, possesses the power of response. The feminine and masculine powers are therefore in tension. The male power of speech as the power of declaration and demand is counterpoised against the woman's space of response. She can accept or reject, answer immediately or play with the uncertainty of the other.

However, even if they receive 'yes' for an answer, uncertainty never leaves the one in love. Faced with the least indication, "I see you different / in your pupils I can see a trace of disgust"¹⁶³, he/she is assaulted by doubts. In the same way, when faced with murmurs from others, which hang over the couple as threats from the outside, doubts, distrust and once again uncertainty are rekindled. These feelings are transformed into demands for clarification "say that it is not true / what they murmur about us"¹⁶⁴, "say that everything is a lie/ that you still love me"¹⁶⁵. The first yes "is gnawed by doubt, the romantic value constantly threatened with being disdained: it is the moment for the sad passion, the rise of resentment and oblation" (Barthes 1983a:32).

¹⁶⁰ CISNEROS, Güicho. *Tres regalos*. Op. cit. (b) p.51

¹⁶¹ VALADEZ, Fernando. *Asómate a mi alma*. Op. cit. (b) p.67

¹⁶² MICHEL, Paco. *Háblame*. Op. cit. (b) p.71

¹⁶³ LANGO, Pablo. *Indiferente*. Op. cit. (a) p.377

¹⁶⁴ DOMINGUEZ, Alberto. *Di que no es verdad*. Op. cit. (a) p.310

¹⁶⁵ LANGO, Pablo. *Indiferente*. Op. cit. (a) p.377

NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS

DOUBT, DISTRUST, JEALOUSY

A recurrent rhetorical form in boleros is the use of "if". As Ducrot says (1982:47-66), the conjunction 'if', used in many ways, indicates a relationship of dependence between the main sentence and the subordinate sentence, basically. Here, what the speaker asks from the listener is to place him/herself in a hypothetical situation, which will serve as the background for the dialogue.

Through the 'if', the subject in the main sentence anticipates the other's possible answer, and he/she formulates it as a hypothesis. The 'if' is a double expression: of desire, on the one hand, and of the uncertainty stemming from lack of knowledge of the answer on the other hand.

The derivative is understood in relation to the main sentence. In it the speaker exhorts, offers, promises anything, "If you wanted to, I would give you that which is never given"¹⁶⁶, or in a negative construction "If I wouldn't get to hug you... I would die of sorrow"¹⁶⁷. In this last formula, a veiled threat is used as a resource to convince. It tries to unleash guilt for the "possible" suffering or for "figurative" death, in order to keep the "you" from giving a negative answer.

The 'if' as hypothesis expresses doubt. For instance, the doubt that constantly assaults the one in love regarding the authenticity of the obtained response "if your kisses come from love / or are just meant to deceive"¹⁶⁸. This discourse is articulated according to the opposition true/false. True love is opposed to the facsimile or pretence of love as

¹⁶⁶ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Si tu quisieras*. Op. cit. (b) p.9

¹⁶⁷ JIMENEZ, Manuel. *Miedo a hablarte*. Op. cit. (a) p.217

¹⁶⁸ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Incertidumbre*. Op. cit. (a) p.407

something which is similar to, but without being love. These expressions refer to an ethical code of love that includes faithfulness and truthfulness in the rules for the couple's behaviour. "When you no longer love me, don't pretend that you are fond of me"¹⁶⁹, "if you no longer love me / at least don't lie / don't stain your life"¹⁷⁰. Doubt becomes a demand for clarification, and in the end, a legitimate order in a moral sentence: "Thou shall not lie" (Borobio 1983:328).

By the same token, uncertainty and distrust become jealousy "as an elf I follow your steps /to see if you are only mine / or if you deliver your love in pieces..."¹⁷¹, "don't leave me full of jealousy and doubt"¹⁷². "I love you so much that I feel jealous, even of what could have been..."¹⁷³.

Uncertainty also becomes impatience towards the other's expression of ambivalence. "Whenever I ask you when, how and where..."¹⁷⁴ expression which refers us to masculine pragmatism, her answer instead, "maybe, maybe, maybe"¹⁷⁵ refers us to female hysteria as an archetypal female behaviour: "Every time I tell you how I feel / you always answer me this way / let's see... let's see..."¹⁷⁶.

Faced with hysteria as a means of seduction, the code of femininity, voices the moral and social rules: "the woman must make herself wanted, make the man beg" expressed in the double discourse with constructions such as "maybe", "let's see". Men's "unromantic" "pragmatism" expresses a code of masculinity through terms such as:

¹⁶⁹ CASTILLA, Hnos., *Cuando ya no me quieras*. Op. cit. (b) p.18

¹⁷⁰ CARRILLO, Alvaro. *Eso*. Op. cit. (b) p.49

¹⁷¹ CISNEROS, Luis "Güicho". *Como duende*. Op. cit. (a) p.293

¹⁷² LEIVA, Cruz. *¿Por qué te vas?* Op. cit. (a) p.299

¹⁷³ GARRIDO, Vicente. *No me platiques más*. Op. cit. (b) p.58

¹⁷⁴ FARRES, Osvaldo. *Quizás, Quizás, Quizás*. Op. cit. (c) p.953

¹⁷⁵ FARRES, Osvaldo. *Quizás, Quizás, Quizás*. Op. cit. (c) p.953

¹⁷⁶ MARQUETI, Luis. *Plazos traicioneros*. Op. cit. (a) p.184

"What did we decide then / do you or don't you love me / why such pretence / if in the end, no one dies of love "¹⁷⁷.

This last sentence comes from a popular saying. It expresses a moral which is opposed to other recurring voices in the bolero which say I can't live without you or I die without you. As we will see, multiple and contradictory voices coexist in the bolero

UNREQUITED LOVE

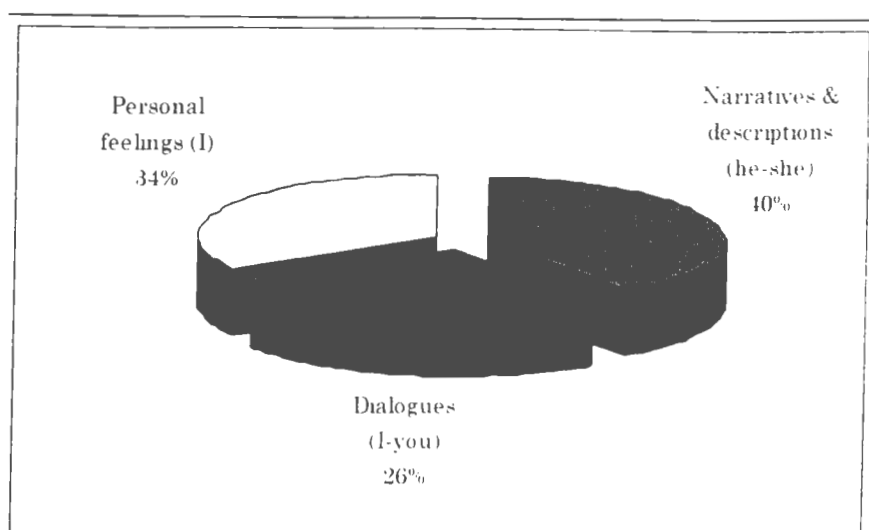
Boleros of unrequited love represented 56.3% of the boleros of unhappy love, of which 40% took the form of brief tales or descriptions. The main topics in this category were:

- the narration of the subject's process of debasement, going from a state of happiness because of love to a state of unhappiness,
- the narration of love as a past event: nostalgia for lost love,
- the narration of romantic disgrace to a third person:
- the environment as confident, witness or messenger;
- death and suicide as a solution for the suffering produced by the burnt-out love,
- the attribution of responsibility for the separation to external agents such as the other, society or destiny.

Just over a third (34%), of boleros of unfortunate love expressed the feelings of the one in love such as lamentation, waiting, weeping, memory, resignation, rebellion and pleading. Just over a quarter (26%), were bared around forms of dialogue with the loved one such as supplication, threat and accusation.

¹⁷⁷ BAENA, Federico. *En qué quedamos*. Op. cit. (a) p.214

Figure 2.9 Modalities of Enunciation in Boleros of Unrequited Love.



N=255

EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"

LAMENT

Faced with separation, the subject expresses his/her feelings of emptiness, loneliness, sadness, and suffering by way of lament (emotive function), with either elliptical expressions "Empty... Oh! so empty..."¹⁷⁵ or in a more straightforward way "I am alone... utterly alone..."¹⁷⁹

Love "is felt", "is experienced" precisely through lack, of desire not satisfied, "I need you"¹⁸⁰, as the popular saying goes "no one knows what he/she has until he/she sees it lost". Once desire is satisfied the need disappears. The object of desire loses its character as such and its effect is neutralised.

¹⁷⁵ MORALES, José de Jesús, *Vacío*, Op. cit. (a) p. 442

¹⁷⁹ MUÑOZ, Avelino, *Irremediamente solo*, Op. cit. (a) p. 215

¹⁸⁰ ECHAVARRIA, Jaime, *Me estás haciendo falta*, Op. cit. (a) p. 228

The "I" "in love and badly corresponded"¹⁸¹ expresses his/her mood according to different levels of intensity ranging from expressions such as "How bitter is my sorrow"¹⁸², "I cry... because your heart isn't mine"¹⁸³, "Thus, in the midst of a waste of moon and sea, I suffer, I suffer"¹⁸⁴, "my heart aches"¹⁸⁵, and "Anguish for not having you"¹⁸⁶, to the expression of anguish as a catastrophe for the I "I no longer know how I live / having my poor heart / in a thousand pieces"¹⁸⁷.

WAITING

Waiting in popular culture is constructed as a feminine activity. Drawing in the Biblical figure of the wife awaiting her husband's return. "The woman is faithful (she waits), the man is a wanderer (he sails, spans)" (Barthes 1983:46). Waiting is one of the cultural manifestations of femininity, the woman "keeps" the home while the man goes out to get food or goes to war. To the extent that waiting characterises the man in love therefore, it also symbolises his femininity.

The subject waits, "Awaiting your return / thinking of your kisses / I spend many hours"¹⁸⁸. Waiting in the bolero is more a manifestation of his/her desire than of actual waiting. The other has gone and leaving no clue as to when he/she will be back: "I waited another night / another night without you increased my pain / cigarette to cigarette and with smoke in my heart"¹⁸⁹. However, there is a "useless hope"¹⁹⁰,

¹⁸¹ CERVANTES, Alberto. *Mal correspondido*. Op. cit. (a) p.267

¹⁸² MARIA ALMA. *Brindemos por amor* Op. cit. (a) p.232

¹⁸³ LLANO GONZALEZ, Jaime. *Si te vuelvo a Besar*. Op. cit. (a) p.200

¹⁸⁴ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Noche de luna*. Op. cit. (b) p.8

¹⁸⁵ KALATT, Luis. *Amor sin Esperanza*. Op. cit. (b) p.79

¹⁸⁶ BRITO Orlando. *Angustia*. Op. cit. (a) p.262

¹⁸⁷ Cervantes, Alberto. *Mal correspondido*. Op. cit. (a) p.267

¹⁸⁸ GOYCO, Felipe R. *Desde que te fuiste*. Op. cit. (a) p.375

¹⁸⁹ GARCIA JIMENEZ/ BONFA. *De cigarro en cigarro*. Op. cit.(a) p.393

¹⁹⁰ FLORES, Pedro. *Esperanza inútil*. Op. cit. (a) p.415

deceit "if you see that I fool myself..."¹⁹¹ that keeps the one in love waiting like Penelope, without sleep. "I wait for you, even if I spend the hours of the night without sleep"¹⁹²; waiting reiterates the pain of abandon. "I swear that I almost can't sleep, my life is an endless torture"¹⁹³ "I become desperate because of your absence, dreaming with the light of your presence at every moment"¹⁹⁴.

In this case "the wait" is not a delay but rather a definite or indefinite absence. It is open to the infinite, the permanent, a state of existential emptiness made rhetorical. The wait speaks of anguish. Waiting is being alert. It implies a continuous start every time that some indication recalls the songs which announced the arrival of the other during the relationship. "I hope to hear your voice... every rumour that comes to me makes me dream you are here"¹⁹⁵.

WEEPING

Weeping is a rhetorical expression of pain, of suffering, of sadness, of the loss due to separation. The man in love "weeps", but the culture prescribes that "men do not cry", and in general, neither do adults. Therefore, it is necessary to conceal it. In a macho culture, crying is a typically feminine behaviour that should be hidden. "Silver star don't tell anybody / that you have seen me crying"¹⁹⁶. It is also necessary to hide love out of pride, out of dignity. The other one should not know about this weakness. The paramour's voice indicates that you must suffer, cry and love in secret, in silence. "I will quietly hide my love"¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹¹ FLORES, Pedro. *Esperanza inútil*. Op. cit. (a) p.415

¹⁹² VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Te espero*. Op. cit. (a) p.306

¹⁹³ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Desvelo de amor*. Op. cit. (b) p.64

¹⁹⁴ BAENA, Federico. *¡Ay cariño!* Op. cit. (a) p.357

¹⁹⁵ CONCHA/DE LA FUENTE. *Murió la flor*. Op. cit. (a) p.289

¹⁹⁶ MADURO, Pepito. *Lucerito de plata*. Op. cit. (a) p.439

¹⁹⁷ ESPARZA OTEO, Alfonso. *Silenciosamente*. Op. cit. (a) p.199

Love must be concealed, especially when it is not reciprocated: "I love you in secret"¹⁹⁸.

RECOLLECTION AND FORGETTING

Facing forgetting, which represents the other's symbolic death in the subject, he/she holds fast to memory. The word "forget" generally appears in negative sentences of three kinds: nothing will make me forget you, I have wanted to but I have not been able to forget you, forgetting is impossible.

These three statements bear a different emotive character. The first announces resistance, the will of the "I" not to forget: "nothing and no one will make me forget you"¹⁹⁹. It is the struggle of the "I" against destiny, against the one who seeks and demands oblivion with the imperative expression "forget me", against time, distance and absence, and everything else which tries to impose forgetting as a social order. In the second case, the subject seeks to forget desperately, but cannot. He/she struggles against the memory of the other who tries to impose, "I have not been able to forget you"²⁰⁰, but the struggle goes on, it is still in process, as indicated by the verb in the present perfect. In the last case, "forgetting is impossible"²⁰¹. The other has imposed him/herself as a curse, as a destiny, which cannot be overcome by the subject's will.

Nevertheless, memory in bolero does not always impose itself as tearing. It is not always painful, tormenting. Sometimes it is a pleasant experience, an integral part of the "I", "you are leaving and you are taking my love with you and you are leaving me the pleasure of

¹⁹⁸ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Amargura*. Op. cit. (c) p.75

¹⁹⁹ LARA, Agustín. *Cada noche un amor*. Op. cit. (b) p.6

²⁰⁰ ESTRADA, Claudio. *Todavía no me muero*. Op. cit. (b) p.49

²⁰¹ MARTINEZ SERRANO, Luis. *Con toda el alma*. Op. cit. (a) p.350

having loved you"²⁰² "you left the trace of a kiss... which I will never give you back"²⁰³.

RESIGNATION / REBELLION / PRAYER

Certain expressions refer to popular religious knowledge. When faced with separation God's will must be accepted, one must resign oneself, ask for mercy, repent, ask for forgiveness.

In the bolero, the one in love finds different formulations to express the states of resignation of a depressed, defeated I: "I am a Slough of life"²⁰⁴, "I am condemned for my evil"²⁰⁵; "I don't expect anything, because I am worth nothing"²⁰⁶. Prayer is another form taken by romantic lament: "Take pity, Lord, of this mortal!"²⁰⁷ "My soul seeks clemency, it seeks pardon/ Poor me! Poor me! so much bitterness and pain"²⁰⁸.

Another recurrent resource are rhetorical questions that do not seek an answer, but rather serve as exclamations: "Why did I meet you?"²⁰⁹ "What will become of me?"²¹⁰, "How can I live like this?"²¹¹. These expressions, as opposed to the previous ones, state a certain rebellion towards separation. The one in love, denies the other's rejection: "I know that you still love me / even if you swear that everything is

²⁰² MONGE, Chucho. *Dolor*. Op. cit. (b) p.45

²⁰³ LARA, Agustín. *Tu último beso*. Op. cit. (a) p.189

²⁰⁴ GONZALEZ GIRALT. *Corazón sin puerto*. Op. cit. (a) p.377

²⁰⁵ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Lamento Bohemio*. Op. cit. (a) p.343

²⁰⁶ DALMAR, Alvaro. *Nada espero*. Op. cit. (a) p.223

²⁰⁷ HUERTA, Miguel. *La cruz de mi dolor*. Op. cit. (a) p.441

²⁰⁸ ANONIMO. *Plegaria*. Op. cit. (a) p.367

²⁰⁹ SILVA, Elida. *Si no eras para mí*. Op. cit. (a) p.423

²¹⁰ CLAVEL, Mario. *Que será de mí*. Op. cit. (a) p.337

²¹¹ GUTIERREZ, Julio. *Llanto de Luna*. Op. cit. (a) p.335

over"²¹². "You lie / you haven't forgotten me"²¹³ "It is a lie that you are going away / it isn't true that you are leaving"²¹⁴.

In certain boleros the subject in love expresses his/her inability to break away, in spite of the damage that the you has caused him/her, "once again I come back to you, although you have paid me so badly"²¹⁵. "I hate myself for being such a coward... because I love you even when I should hate you"²¹⁶, "Because I love you / I forgive you one more time"²¹⁷. But the counterpart is also present, the I wonders: "I don't know whether when I come back... you will not love me anymore"²¹⁸ or he/she is sorry for having returned too late "for my own evil, I have remembered you again... and now that I suffer, you have forgotten me"²¹⁹. "Today I am sorry for having left you so lonely and without me"²²⁰.

FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"

EXHORTATION AND SUPPLICATION

After having been abandoned, the I asks the you to come back. There are many ways of expressing this, of mounting intensity. The one in love asks: "Come because I am waiting for you"²²¹, "Come because I am dying"²²²; he/she exhorts: come back, "let's love each other one more time"²²³; and he/she even argues, offers, tries to convince: "Come back... and you will see how sweetly... I will know how to adore you"²²⁴; but

²¹² CARDENAS, Guty. *A que negar*. Op. cit. (a) p.386

²¹³ FERNANDEZ PORTA, Mario. *Mentiras tuyas*. Op. cit. (a) p.371

²¹⁴ URQUIZA, Gilberto. *Tonterías*. Op. cit. (a) p.421

²¹⁵ DE PAZ, Rafael. *Siete puñales*. Op. cit. (a) p.347

²¹⁶ CANTORAL, Roberto. *Me odio*. Op. cit. (a) p.319

²¹⁷ FARRES, Oswaldo. *Yo te perdono*. Op. cit. (a) p.426

²¹⁸ RANGEL, Salvador. *Amor sincero*. Op. cit. (b) p.56

²¹⁹ LARA, Agustín. *Contraste*. Op. cit. (a) p.201

²²⁰ MATO, Víctor Manuel. *Estoy perdido*. Op. cit. (b) p.68

²²¹ ALVAREZ MACISTE, Manuel. *Un año más sin ti*. Op. cit. (b) p.50

²²² PALOS, Manolo. *Te sigo esperando*. Op. cit. (a) p.278

²²³ MOLAR/MISTRACHI. *Volvamos a querernos*. Op. cit. (a) p.388

²²⁴ DE JESUS, Benito. *Vuelve*. Op. cit. (a) p.439

he/she also asks for forgiveness to get the desired response, "I came to ask for your forgiveness so that you will come back"²²⁵ and in the depths of despair, he/she begs and humiliates him/herself "although begging is shameful, I have come to supplicate you"²²⁶, "I have come to humiliate myself"²²⁷.

In these songs, although the I expresses his/her mood (emotive function), the predominant function is conative. These songs are marked by the use of the imperative, directed towards obtaining a response from the receiver. The subject manifests him/herself as dependent on the will of the you, to whom he/she concedes power over his/her happiness, dependent upon the answer.

THE THREAT

The threat that the I makes to the you, is made up of demanding expressions in which "the time for an action to come is given by the present obligation for it to be carried out" (Gili Gaya 1961:112). In this case, the subject is placed above the you and he/she seeks to use the power that he/she has over him/her, and to impose his/her will and his/her desires.

In order to illustrate these formulations, it is worthwhile mentioning that the imperative verbs in Spanish were formed by the periphrasis of the infinitive verb plus the verb to have in the second person singular (Spanish: "has de"): *llorar* + *has* = *llorarás*: *has de llorar* (you will cry); *sufrir* + *has* = *sufrirás*: *has de sufrir* (you will suffer); *volver* + *has* = *volverás*: *has de volver* (you will come back). "You will cry like no one ever has"²²⁸, you will suffer, "I know that you will suffer"²²⁹, you will

²²⁵ VALDEZ HERNANDEZ, Pablo. *Conozco a los Dos*. Op. cit. (b) p.55

²²⁶ NAVARRO, Chucho. *Sin remedio*. Op. cit. (a) p.309

²²⁷ CERVANTES, Alberto/Fuentes, Rubén. *Te vengo a buscar*. Op. cit. (a) p.265

²²⁸ PILLOT, Alfonso. *Tu tormento*. Op. cit. (a) p.184

come back "You will come back to me because you need me"²³⁰, you will not be able to, "You will never be able to find a better love"²³¹, "You will knock on my door"²³², "You will remember me"²³³.

The periphrasis of the verb have in the second person, plus the verb in the infinitive are used as a substitution for the imperative. The sentence seeks to produce an effect on the receiver, projected towards the future. These expressions serve as curses, invocation of punishments, predestination, sentences - penance to be done for a sin - like the one God imposed on Eve when he threw her out of paradise: "You will feel pain when you give birth"²³⁴. When it is expressed in the negative, it can be considered as the future of an order, punishment or prohibition: "you will never forget". These expressions also refer back to popular religious knowledge. In a way they invoke divine power on which the I bases his/her power, his/her authority, and the legitimacy of his/her demands.

THE ACCUSATION

In the accusation, the subject who utters, the I, becomes the object of the action of the verb, and the you becomes the subject through the use of the reflexive form. The speaker takes the passive role. "You gave me only lies,... tiredness...misery"²³⁵. ""You made me believe all your lies"²³⁶. "You hurt me so much..."²³⁷, "You bewitched me with the light in your eyes, and here I am, a fool because of you"²³⁸.

²²⁹ MARQUETI, Luis. *Deuda*. Op. cit. (a) p.335

²³⁰ BART, Tine-Héctor. *Imprescindiblemente*. Op. cit. (a) p.191

²³¹ ALVAREZ, Mario. *Rumbo perdido*. Op. cit. (b) p.44

²³² PIÑERO, Adolfo/FERGO, Tony. *Llorar eterno*. Op. cit. (a) p.362

²³³ VALDES HERNANDEZ, Pablo. *Sentencia*. Op. cit. (b) p.55

²³⁴ GENESIS 3, 16.

²³⁵ VALLADARES, Miguel. *Miseria*. Op. cit. (b) p.52

²³⁶ ALVARADO, Santiago. *Tu me hiciste quererte*. Op. cit. (a) p.186

²³⁷ JUAN B. LEONARDO. *Vieja deuda*. Op. cit. (a) p.341

²³⁸ FAJARDO, Oscar. *Perdido y sin amor*. Op. cit. (a) p.301

The you is the cause of the problems of the I, the I is the victim of the destructive action of the you. "My dreams and happiness were shattered by your falsehood"²³⁹. These songs convey an evil image of women as, the cause for men's "downfall". The I attempts to counter by mobilising guilt, placing him/herself "ethically" above the you.

NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS

THE PROCESS OF DEGRADATION

Separation reverses the romantic encounter (falling in love). Propelling the subject from a state of happiness into a state of sadness. "Afterwards my song turned sad / I cried when I lost you"²⁴⁰. "Now that you are not here... I will never be happy again"²⁴¹. Once again a brief narration is given. A referential function.

NOSTALGIA FOR LOST LOVE

Nostalgia is "the grief of being deprived of loved people or things or the feeling of grief caused by the memory of a lost good" (Larousse 1981), is a recurrent theme in the bolero. Time plays a central symbolic role: "Hours that will not come back / things that have already died"²⁴². The subject fights the oblivion which comes with the passage of time "Yesterday it was ten years without seeing your face"²⁴³ and holds fast to certain things that give him/her back the presence-absence of the loved one. Physical absence of the subject who is no longer there. Imaginary presence that remains in the memory of the one in love, and in all the objects that serve him/her as anchors. "The little room is just as it was when you left"²⁴⁴.

²³⁹ RODRIGUEZ, Chucho. *Cosas de ayer*. Op. cit. (a) p.395

²⁴⁰ MONGE, Chucho. *Creí*. Op. cit. (b) p.45

²⁴¹ POUS, Miguel. *Hoy que faltas tu*. Op. cit. (b) p.91

²⁴² LARA, Agustín. *Colegiala*. Op. cit. (b) p.1

²⁴³ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Diez Años*. Op. cit. (a) p.371

²⁴⁴ MEDINA, Mundito. *El cuartito*. Op. cit. (a) p.392

A photograph is used symbolically as the basis for memory and nostalgia: "Your picture is hung in the little room / where I kissed you night after night..."²⁴⁵. The one who is photographed remains for the one in love, as a spectacle and a return of the dead. A photograph is a "certificate of presence" (Barthes 1992:151), it talks about someone who was actually there and who no longer is, something that has been and no longer is. The photograph is the image of "something real that can no longer be touched" (Barthes 1992:12).

The passage of time is also represented by the calendar, "looking at the almanac I am consumed by sadness"²⁴⁶, certain days that symbolise the relationship and to which the one in love hangs on to in a story with no future. Places, objects, dates marked by the presence of the absent loved one.

Nostalgia is also expressed as a "dream" "chimera" or "illusion". The one in love recreates his/her desires in his/her imagination. "To dream that you are in my arms"²⁴⁷. "I dreamed that my soul / had finally found love"²⁴⁸. "I feel that you are next to me but it's a lie, it is an illusion Oh!..."²⁴⁹. "I am going to turn off the light / to think of you and thus let my imagination loose"²⁵⁰.

THE ENVIRONMENT AS CONFIDANT, WITNESS OR MESSENGER

As a rhetorical resource, the I tells his/her story to a third person or to a symbolic object such as the night, the snow, the sea, a bridge or the

²⁴⁵ KALATT, Luis. *Amor sin esperanza*. Op. cit. (b) p.79

²⁴⁶ RODRIGUEZ, Julio. *El Almanaque*. Op. cit. (a) p.328

²⁴⁷ HASSAN, Arturo "Chino". *Soñar*. Op. cit. (a) p.263

²⁴⁸ SEDANO, Saulo. *Mentira, mentira*. Op. cit. (a) p.420

²⁴⁹ SABRE MARROQUIN, J. *Nocturnal*. Op. cit. (b) p.14

²⁵⁰ MANZANERO, Armando. *Voy a apagar la luz*. Op. cit. (b) p.54

moon, who become confidants, witnesses or metaphors of their melancholic mood. "Sea... I lost her"²⁵¹; "Night ... my faithful witness"²⁵²; "Tell me, stone bridge / if she has forgotten me"²⁵³.

The moon, destiny, the Virgin -mother of God-, aside from being confidants, become messengers or intermediaries. "Moon...tell her she should come back to my side"²⁵⁴; "Moon beg her to come back / and tell her I love her"²⁵⁵; "I have asked the Virgin for you to come back"²⁵⁶; "Destiny, make her come back to my side"²⁵⁷; "Tropical trail... make her come back to me"²⁵⁸.

DEATH AND SUICIDE

Death is a recurrent theme which adopts different modalities. Faced with the loss produced by separation, the subject declares "I want to die"²⁵⁹. There are other rhetorical formulations, metaphors of death such as "I will die without you"²⁶⁰, "I'd rather lose my life than live without you"²⁶¹ or negative expressions "I can't live without you"²⁶², "Living without you is useless"²⁶³.

In some boleros, the one in love is shown facing a paradox: "I die with you and I die without you"²⁶⁴, "sorrow which doesn't quite kill me / nor lets me live"²⁶⁵. These expressions make the sense of death relative by saturation. There is no way out for the one in love. There is a state that

²⁵¹ RUIZ, Gabriel. *Mar*. Op. cit. (b) p.11

²⁵² HUESCA, Victor. *Nohecita*. Op. cit. (b) p.71

²⁵³ LARREA, Carmelo. *Puente de Piedra*. Op. cit. (a) p.203

²⁵⁴ FERGO, Tony. *Luna lunera*. Op. cit. (a) p.340

²⁵⁵ BERROA, José. *En la orilla del mar*. Op. cit. (a) p.263

²⁵⁶ VALLADARES, M.A. *Frio en el alma*. Op. cit. (b) p.51

²⁵⁷ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Destino*. Op. cit. (b) p.64

²⁵⁸ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Vereda tropical*. Op. cit. (b) p.10

²⁵⁹ CARRION, Rafael. *Amigo organillero*. Op. cit. (b) p.69

²⁶⁰ CRESPO, Carlos. *Carta fatal*. Op. cit. (b) p.53

²⁶¹ TORRES, T. *Mejor perder la vida*. Op. cit. (a) p.187

²⁶² HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Tu no comprendes*. Op. cit. (a) p.431

²⁶³ GUIZAR, Pepe. *Sin ti*. Op. cit. (b) p.48

²⁶⁴ CARBAJO, Roque. *Que voy a hacer sin ti*. Op. cit. (a) p.411

is worse than death, which is a state of calm to which the lover has no access.

But there also are "stronger" and blunter expressions in which the subject considers madness or suicide as solution. The subject turns the aggression he/she feels for the separation, against him/herself. "I am going to kill myself, listen carefully / and you know that I will take it because of your love..."²⁶⁶, "I wish I could slit my veins slowly / pour all my blood at your feet..."²⁶⁷. The idea of suicide is recurrent in romantic discourse, it is a vehicle of blackmail and aggression towards the loved one and which is carried out as self-destruction. The song is a place for projection, a space for expressing a desire which is rarely carried out.

Suicide refers us again to the code of romantic love, where one person's death punishes and confronts the other, while in the code of tragic love, both die, a "duocide" through which they plan to confront the society which pursues them and places obstacles in the way of their love. The story of Romeo and Juliet is perhaps the best known example. By the same token, in the romantic code the subject in love is a melancholic, a depressive, who turns the anger produced by the frustration and the loss of the other, against him/herself.

OBSTACLES: THE OTHER ONE/ SOCIETY

Most of the analysed boleros, as we have seen so far, centre on the dialogue that the lover has either with him/herself or with the loved one. The lover talks about his/her feelings, whether happy or sad, but always in relation to the object of his/her love. The outside world does not exist. However, there are other kinds of boleros which introduce a third person.

²⁶⁵ GUIZAR, Pepe. *Sin ti*. Op. cit. (b) p.48

²⁶⁶ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Desesperación*. Op. cit. (a) p.229

The love triangle is the basic structure of numerous love stories. In these, the enemy who constantly threatens the lover is "the other man" or "the other woman" who is blamed for the separation: "Another lover stole her from me"²⁶⁸, "who stole her from me"²⁶⁹, "that you found another love"²⁷⁰.

At the same time, the moral, social or legal order which determines the legitimacy of the relationship also emerges. Society, the others, interfere in the relationship, either to authorise the union of the lovers, or to condemn it and then to separate them. In the code of passionate love, love is characterised as impossible, unattainable. There is always a new obstacle to fight against. These may be rumours or gossip. "I don't care if they murmur"²⁷¹, "pay no heed to people"²⁷². Or more commonly in the analysed boleros, envy; "how much envy will be aroused"²⁷³ and, of course, the moral order "even if it is a sin"²⁷⁴ or a specific contraindication: "she has another man and I another woman"²⁷⁵ and even death itself.

Clandestinely, secrecy and lawlessness, let the "flame of passion" stay alive. While society seeks to neutralise the subversive effects of love by making it public and legitimate, lovers seek shadows, "you shouldn't say that you love me... because envy is a fatal enemy "²⁷⁶, "deny everything... so that no one will prevent what is to be"²⁷⁷.

²⁶⁷ CONTRUSI, José M. *Sombras nada más*. Op. cit. (a) p.379

²⁶⁸ CASTILLO BUSTAMANTE. *Aquel viejo amor*. Op. cit. (a) p.402

²⁶⁹ AGUILAR, Homero. *Déjenme llorar*. Op. cit. (b) p.55

²⁷⁰ CANTORAL, Roberto/RAMOS, Dino. *Yo lo comprendo*. Op. cit. (b) p.65

²⁷¹ CARDENAS, R./FUENTES, R. *Que murmuren* Op. cit. (a) p.322

²⁷² CARDENAS, R./FUENTES, R. *Escándalo*. Op. cit. (b) P.58

²⁷³ CARRILLO, Alvaro. *Amor mío*. Op. cit. (a) p.245

²⁷⁴ PONTIER/FRANCINI. *Pecado*. Op. cit. (a) p.196

²⁷⁵ LOCKARD, Juan. *Dilema*. Op. cit. (a) p.312

²⁷⁶ LECUONA, Margarita. *Por eso no debes*. Op. cit. (a) p.273

²⁷⁷ ROSALIO, Germán. *Niévalo todo*. Op. cit. (a) p.268

In other songs, the opposite strategy is proposed: confrontation, as a deliberate challenge to social opposition, "let them die of envy and jealousy"²⁷⁸, "I want to shout that I love you"²⁷⁹. "Why shouldn't they know / that I love you, my darling"²⁸⁰, "I want people to find out"²⁸¹.

Love is kept "alive" in the struggle, against destiny, society, or any other foes who try to keep the lovers apart. It appears as an invincible indestructible force. "There will be no barrier in the world / that my deep love / will not break down for you"²⁸², "Although everybody wants to force me/ to get to forget you / I don't want to, I can't / and I shouldn't stop loving you"²⁸³.

Passionate love is also a destructive force against which the one in love must fight, but which is stronger than him/her, "Help me, my God, help me to forget her/him"²⁸⁴, "let's not continue sinning / forget me"²⁸⁵. Love's space is an arena of struggle against the power of a society which tries to normalise subjects, to order and discipline them. This struggle is established in different ways, as the battle the subject has with him/herself, as the conflict between man and woman, or the couple's fight against society. The lovers hesitate about following the moral and social codes, or fulfilling the law of desire. "We are two beings in one / who die loving / to keep the secret / of how much they love each other"²⁸⁶.

Conflict finds its grammatical expression in the adversative or concessive conjunction "although" "Subordinate conceding sentences

²⁷⁸ MARIO DE JESUS. *Que se mueran de envidia*. Op. cit. (a) p.359

²⁷⁹ RUIZ, Gabriel/DE LA FUENTE, G. *Grito prisionero*. Op. cit. (b) p.89

²⁸⁰ VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Amar y Vivir*. Op. cit. (a) p.366

²⁸¹ HASSON, Arturo "Chino". *Mi último Bolero*. Op. cit. (a) p.261

²⁸² FLORES, Pedro. *Obsesión*. Op. cit. (b) p.80

²⁸³ PARRA, Gilberto. *Amor de los dos*. Op. cit. (a) p.201

²⁸⁴ MARIO DE JESUS. *Ayúdame Dios mío*. Op. cit. (a) p.417

²⁸⁵ GARCIA SEGURA, Jesús. *No sigamos pecando*. Op. cit. (a) p.182

²⁸⁶ CLAVEL, Mario. *Somos*. Op. cit. (b) p. 81

express an objection or difficulty towards the fulfilment of what is said in the main sentence; but this obstacle does not prevent its coming about" (Gili Gaya 1961:322). The lovers refuse the dictates of the moral or judicial law. "Although everything denies my right... I hold on to this love"²⁸⁷, "even if everything is adverse... we will go on sinning"²⁸⁸. "Even if I pay with my life.. I love no one the way I love you"²⁸⁹.

Sometimes however the formulation is reversed. The subordinate sentence is the "power of love" which is not enough to prevent what is established as done in the main sentence: "although you desire me ... there is someone else between us"²⁹⁰. In this case the speaker talks about a real fact, the verb to desire is in the indicative.

The subordinate concessive sentence can be in the indicative or the subjunctive. In the first case the effective existence of a difficulty is stated. However if the verb is in the subjunctive, the difficulty is potential rather actual. The subordinate sentences "although it is a sin" rather than "even if it is a sin", before the main sentence, "I love you just as much" carry very different meanings. In most of the cases mentioned here, the subjunctive is used, so the struggle of the lover is virtual, with imaginary foes, ghosts.

OBSTACLES: DESTINY

In one group of boleros there is a cluster of obligatory formulae such as "we must say goodbye"²⁹¹, "we must be separated"²⁹², in which, destiny or God are imposed over and against the lovers' will, as a "cruel"²⁹³

²⁸⁷ PONTIER FRANCINI. *Pecado*. Op. cit. (a) p.231

²⁸⁸ NUÑEZ DE BORBON. *Consentida*. Op. cit. (b) p. 45

²⁸⁹ NUÑEZ DE BORBON. *Consentida*. Op. cit. (b) p. 45

²⁹⁰ SUCHER/BAHR. *Prohibido*. Sucher/Bahr Op. cit. (a) p.198

²⁹¹ SHAW MORENO, Raúl. *Lágrimas de amor* Op. cit. (b) p.82

²⁹² JUNCO, Pedro. *Nosotros*. Op. cit. (b) p.77

²⁹³ ENDER, Jacob. *Lloraste ayer*. Op. cit. (a) p.407

despotic force which "commands" and "orders"²⁹⁴ them to part. Because "The route was established"²⁹⁵ beforehand, destiny's force is inexorable, and the "fatal end / due to bad luck"²⁹⁶ is inevitable. These expressions refer to a tragic love code. Subjects' fall in love or separate because of a force set above them, they can't do anything else but fulfil its designs, "it is not your will or mine, God decided it"²⁹⁷.

Destiny is an entity before which the speaker, I, expresses him/herself to be resigned and impotent. He/she "accepts" its decision, "because destiny means it to be that way"²⁹⁸, "it is better that way"²⁹⁹, "for your own good"³⁰⁰. The voice of God or of destiny conceals the force of the law and the established order, the power which is held over and imposed on the lovers.

Various religious, moral, and legal codes prescribe on one hand, who can become a couple, and on the other, prohibit certain kind of bonds. There are explicit and implicit social rules that set criteria for the selection of the couples according to: family relations, age range, socio-economic conditions, religion, sex, sociocultural characteristics, civil status, etc. These criteria, seek to guarantee orderly social reproduction and a certain continuity.

BURNT-OUT LOVE

Burnt-out love was the focus of 18.3 % of the boleros of unhappy love. They mobilised a range of feelings, ranging from indifference and detachment, to hate and contempt. 19.3 % expressed the feelings of

²⁹⁴ RODRIGUEZ, Chucho. *Esta noche corazón*. Op. cit. (a) p.260

²⁹⁵ MARTINEZ, M./GIL, Alfredo. *Caminemos* Op. cit. (a) p.305

²⁹⁶ GOMEZ BARRERA/VALLADARES. *Nosotros dos*. Op. cit. (a) P.204

²⁹⁷ RUIZ, Gabriel. *Lo quiso Dios*. Op. cit. (a) p.344

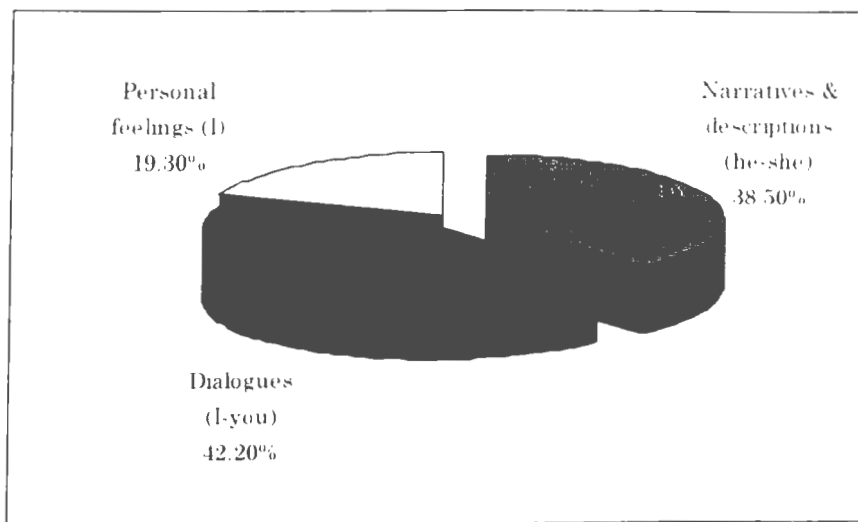
²⁹⁸ VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Será por eso*. Op. cit. (a) p.274

²⁹⁹ ZAIZAR, Juan. *Cruz de olvido*. Op. cit. (b) p.55

³⁰⁰ JUNCO, Pedro. *Nosotros*. Op. cit. (b) p.77

ambivalence and anger of the one in love. 12.2 % took the form of a dialogue between lovers, around the such themes as farewells, revenge, and reproach. The remaining 38.5% were referential formulations, telling of the causes of burnt-out love, of deception and of the perishable character of love (see figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10 Modalities of Enunciation in Boleros about the Burnt-out Love.



N=83

EMOTIVE STATES OF THE "I"

AMBIVALENCE

In some boleros the subject is shown as ambivalent. He/she grapples with contradictory feelings "when I am next to you I hate you... with your absence I begin to suffer"³⁰¹, "I hate you and I love you"³⁰²; "we can't even live apart from each other"³⁰³.

³⁰¹ ROMERO, Elliot. *Extraño sentir*. Op. cit. (a) p.286

³⁰² ALESIO, Enrique. *Te odio y te quiero*. Op. cit. (a) p.249

³⁰³ DON FABIAN. *Dos almas*. Op. cit. (b) p.82

ANGER

In other songs, emotions such as anger, resentment, fury and hate, are expressed in exclamatory phrases such as "Thank God you are gone!"³⁰⁴. The expression of burnt-out love as a loss of love is expressed fundamentally in negative sentences, "I no longer love you"³⁰⁵, and with exclamatory expressions which emphasise the negation without actually being negative sentences. For example, in Spanish the word *jamás* (never) was formed by the paraphrasing of the words *ya* (already) and *más* (more). The three words are used in a reiterative way in this kind of bolero. "Don't come back / you will never have my warmth"³⁰⁶. "The magic is finished"³⁰⁷, "Only leftovers remain"³⁰⁸, "I no longer want to see you"³⁰⁹.

Contempt is also expressed as apparent indifference, "Anyway... if I don't have your kisses / I will not die for it..."³¹⁰ "If I shall not laugh / neither will I cry"³¹¹. And as pride, "You will still have to see me cry"³¹², "I don't know how to forgive, let God forgive you"³¹³. Since, as the song goes, "the one who speaks about a love / that shall not return / must feel disdain"³¹⁴.

³⁰⁴ VALDEZ, Pablo. *Gracias a Dios*. Op. cit. (a) p.343

³⁰⁵ SALADRIGAS, Cristina. *Ojos malvados*. Op. cit. (a) p.225

³⁰⁶ LECUONA, Ernesto. *Ya que te vas*. Op. cit. (a) p.202.

³⁰⁷ BARRIERE, Alain. *Y volveré*. Op. cit. (a) p.289

³⁰⁸ PERDOMO, Ricardo. *Total*. Op. cit. (a) p.252

³⁰⁹ BARROS, José. *No pises mi camino*. Op. cit. (a) p.238

³¹⁰ PERDOMO, Ricardo. *Total*. Op. cit. (a) p.252

³¹¹ GIL, Alfredo. *No trates de mentir*. Op. cit. (a) p.306

³¹² RODRIGUEZ, Julio. *Gotitas de dolor*. Op. cit. (a) p.300

³¹³ MARQUEZ, Raúl. *No pidas más perdón*. Op. cit. (a) p.301

³¹⁴ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Despecho*. Op. cit. (a) p.213

FORMS OF APPEAL TO THE "YOU"

FAREWELLS

In some cases, separation produces resentment. This is expressed through the imperatives as "Go away and don't ever come back"³¹⁵ "Leave me alone"³¹⁶, "Go away... I don't want to see you anymore"³¹⁷. All of these expressions of rejection fall on the addressee, from whom a response is expected: that he/she will in just go away.

From a point of view which sees love as perishable, separation may be expressed as a friendly farewell: "I hope you will be happy"³¹⁸; "I hope you will do well"³¹⁹; "Stay in peace... I am not wounded"³²⁰. In most boleros, the one who sings has been abandoned, but sometimes, the singer is the one who goes away: "Oh my love! Don't love me so much / Oh my love! Forget me..."³²¹ "I am getting out of your way / I am going to leave you alone"³²².

VENGEANCE

Anger is also expressed as desire for revenge, punishment. "May God let you... find the man / who will drive you crazy..."³²³. In some songs, popular sayings are incorporated and work as a prediction, dare, or curse. "In matters of love / the one who laughs last laughs loudest"³²⁴. "The way you look at me now is how I will look at you"³²⁵; "The one who

³¹⁵ AGUEROS, Pepe. *Déjame en Paz*. Op. cit. (b) p. 67

³¹⁶ CANTORAL, Roberto. *Sin perdón*. Op. cit. (a) p.319

³¹⁷ BARROS, José. *No pises mi camino*. Op. cit. (a) p.238

³¹⁸ VELAZQUEZ, Consuelo. *Que seas feliz*. Op. cit. (a) p.359

³¹⁹ BAENA, Federico. *Que te vaya bien*. Op. cit. (a) p.271

³²⁰ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Amor perdido*. Op. cit. (a) p.255

³²¹ HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *No me quieras tanto*. Op. cit. (a) p.311

³²² DALMAR, Alvaro. *Pensándolo bien*. Op. cit. (a) p.223

³²³ MUÑOZ, Avelino. *Maldición Gitana*. Op. cit. (a) p.372

³²⁴ RUIZ RUEDA, Javier. *Cosas de amor*. Op. cit. (b) p.72

³²⁵ FUENTES, R./CERVANTES, A. *Ni por favor*. Op. cit. (a) p.266

does it must pay" ³²⁶. "I pay back love with love / disdain I return as disdain"³²⁷.

REVENGE: TOO LATE

The theme of burnt-out love also revolves around one of the different conjugations of the verb to come back and is recurrent in very large number of boleros. The effectiveness of coming back lies in the relationship between time and opportunity. In the bolero, the verb to come back gradually moves from a plea: please come back; to a threat: "what will happen if you come back... and you find that I've emptied my life of you?"³²⁸ and finally: revenge, you came back too late: "I no longer have a heart / you are too late"³²⁹; "you will only find the ashes of what once was my love"³³⁰; confirming the popular saying, "the one who laughs last laughs loudest".

NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS

CAUSES OF BURNT-OUT LOVE

One group of songs is characterised by the rhetorical question: "What did I do to you?"³³¹, which denotes surprise. The I does not understand the abandonment and separation and he/she considers that the other one "goes away without a reason"³³². At the same time, he/she doesn't acknowledge his/her responsibility. The I blames the you for the lack of love.

In other boleros, the subject seeks the guilty person. He/she rationalises, evaluates the relationship, and blames the separation on

³²⁶ HERNANDEZ, Rafael/SAN CRISTOBAL, Bernardo. *Ya lo verás*. Op. cit. (a) p.346

³²⁷ BARROS, José. *Como tu reías*. Op. cit. (a) p.237

³²⁸ RIVAS, Wello. *Como Golondrinas*. Op. cit. (a) p.370

³²⁹ CERVANTES, Alberto/FUENTES, Rubén. *Llegaste tarde*. Op. cit. (a) p.266

³³⁰ RIVAS, Wello. *Cenizas*. Op. cit. (a) p.368

³³¹ ARRIAGA, Omar. *¿Qué cosas te hice yo?* Op. cit. (a) p.206

different causes, such as selfishness "It was selfishness / both of us are to blame"³³³, pride: "if you don't come back, I will never go"³³⁴, fear: "I was afraid of loving"³³⁵, lack of understanding: "We are different, we don't understand each other"³³⁶, too much love: "because I loved you so much"³³⁷. "My sin was to love you too much"³³⁸. In these expressions, the I can keep a certain distance. He/she seeks an explanation that will, at least apparently, make sense. All these explanations acquire meaning from ethical, moral and even religious, codes which are oriented towards the aim of giving continuity to the love bond, as a stable and lasting relationship.

DISAPPOINTMENT

In another group of songs, the I facing burnt-out love expresses feelings of disappointment. In this case the subject possesses judgement on love in general, based on a particular negative experience, with phrases such as "everything in life is fake"³³⁹, "love is a lie"³⁴⁰, "love and friendship are only lies"³⁴¹; "it's not worth it to suffer for the sake of love"³⁴².

Even if these phrases are general judgements, in the context they express the feelings of disappointment of the speaker. As a popular saying goes, the subject "speaks through his/her wound". The disappointed I states "I will never fall in love again"³⁴³. "I have already lost/ and I swear I will never play again"³⁴⁴. These boleros build their meaning on the opposition between what is true / false. True love lasts

³³² RUIZ, Gabriel. *Sin motivo*. Op. cit. (a) p. 424

³³³ RODRIGUEZ S. ALVARADO. *Todo Acabó*. Op. cit. (a) p.183

³³⁴ JIMENEZ, Manuel. *Temeridad*. Op. cit. (a) p.216

³³⁵ DON FABIAN. *Cobardía*. Op. cit. (a) p.221

³³⁶ LUNA, Pablo/BELTRAN RUIZ, Gabriel. *Somos diferentes*. Op. cit. (a) p.219

³³⁷ MARQUETI, Luis. *Amor que malo eres*. Op. cit. (b) p.78

³³⁸ SAN CRISTOBAL, Bernardo/HERNANDEZ, Rafael. *Canción del dolor*. Op. cit. (a) p.338

³³⁹ LEONARDO, Juan B. *Falsa*. Op. cit. (b) p.54

³⁴⁰ BAENA, Federico. *Vagabundo*. Op. cit. (a) p.231

³⁴¹ BAENA, Federico. *Yo vivo mi vida*. Op. cit. (a) p.341

³⁴² DE LA ROSA, Orlando. *No vale la pena*. Op. cit. (a) p.402

³⁴³ MONGE, Chucho. *No me vuelvo a enamorar*. Op. cit. (a) p.395

for ever, if it comes to an end, then it never existed, and therefore "everything is fake"³⁴⁵ or "love is a lie"³⁴⁶.

PERISHABLE LOVE

Other songs take love as something intrinsically perishable. "Love comes to an end... anything that begins must end"³⁴⁷ "it is the order of life"³⁴⁸. From this point of view, routine kills magic and desire, so it is necessary to go on to something else. "We must go to the point / where the light comes to an end"³⁴⁹. The lovers must separate before resentment builds up. Contrary to the previous songs, the ethical code in this case is that of the "bohemian" which considers that the couple must remain together only while there is interest, desire and passion, and separate when these elements cease to exist. Value lies in pleasure more than in obligation or continuity.

This example offers a good illustration of the general characteristics of bolero we sketched earlier. In the bolero discourse, contradictory ethical codes of love are expressed, with different convergent and divergent voices. The love song is a space of power struggles and resistances, a field of unbalanced and complex forces, in which power is permanently exposed and in play.

THE BOLERO AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS IN ITS PASSAGE THROUGH TIME

Although the basic structures of the bolero outlined here, have showed remarkably resilient, much of the meaning at any particular time is carried in the performance. A brief analysis of the versions of some

³⁴⁴ RODRIGUEZ, Johny. *Fichas negras*. Op. cit. (a) p.397

³⁴⁵ LEONARDO, Juan B. *Falsa*. Op. cit. (b) p.54

³⁴⁶ BAENA, Federico. *Vagabundo*. Op. Cit (b) p. 15

³⁴⁷ CANTORAL, Roberto. *Yo lo comprendo*. Op. cit. (c) p.1171

³⁴⁸ NAVARRO, Chucho. *Una copa más*. Op. cit. (a) p.313

³⁴⁹ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Déjame*. Op. cit. (b) p.9

songs produced at different times by different singers, will allow an appreciation of the bolero's transformations over time. All these versions can currently be bought in the majority of record stores.

Piensa en mí (Think of Me) is an Agustín Lara bolero composed in 1935 and sung and recorded by Hermanas Aguila in the 1930's, Consuelo Vidal and Agustín Lara in the 1950's, and Eugenia León in 1989, and in many other versions that cannot be included here.

The Hermanas Aguila's original version (Peerles, S.A. de C.V. Re-issue 1993), is a game of two female voices: a soprano and a contralto. Accompanied by a piano and a clarinet that keep the melody while the bass and the *palias* (a type of cymbal) mark out a fast, light-hearted rhythm. The excessive manipulations of high notes by the first voice reminds us a little of the singers of *zarzuela* (Spanish-style musical comedy) and gives the interpretation a somewhat anachronistic touch.

Consuelo Vidal (Nostalgia, Orfeón undated) with her clear, clean and well-educated voice, with the range of mezzo-soprano, made a slower version, with a melancholic, intimate tone. A small orchestra accompanies her, a piano, violin, trumpet with "muffler", which play the melody, and bass and bongos to mark the rhythm.

Piensa en mí (Think of Me) is transformed into a different experience again when it is sung by Agustín Lara's male tenor voice (BMG-RCA, 1991) with his sensual, slightly scratchy style. He himself plays the piano in a way that later became established as a recognised, separate style, in a harmonic game with the violin while the *güiro* and *bongos* mark the rhythm.

These three versions of the same song, although different, maintain some elements in common: a small orchestra in which the piano has an

important role, accompanied by the singers who sing the song in low voice. All this evokes the intimate, bohemian, dimly-lit atmosphere of night-clubs.

Eugenia León's version (Polygram 1989) breaks totally with the previous ones. Here, *Piensa en mí* (Think of Me) is modernised and marked by a strong influence from the rock concert. The singer projects all the force of her clear, clean soprano voice accompanied by an orchestra of over 20 musicians that produce a contemporary harmony of electronic instruments. The drums mark a cut, fast rhythm that is imposed on the melody. This version evokes the grandeur of a show with a profusion of lighting on a Music Hall stage.

At the beginning of World War II, in the 1940's, new markets for Mexican music were opened. The new conditions had an influence on music and the bolero was transformed. Agustín Lara's *Solamente una Vez* (Only Once) belongs to that time. Together with other boleros such as Luis Alcaraz's *Prisionero del Mar* (Prisoner of the Sea), Alberto Domínguez's *Perfidia* (Perfidy) and *Frenesí* (Frenzy), María Grever's *Muñequita Linda* (Sweet Little Doll), and Consuelo Velázquez's *Bésame Mucho* (Kiss me, my Darling) they show the clear influence of the United States band style drifting away from the Cuban-style bolero.

An interesting example of this new bolero-beguine style is *Solamente una vez* (Only Once), a song that Moreno Rivas describes as: "having all the characteristics of a standard song, not only appropriate for the internal market, but easily adaptable to all the languages with a melody style that made it attractive to the audiences of several countries" (Moreno Rivas 1989:139). This song was first sung by Hermanas Aguila in 1939 in Río de Janeiro, and by Ana María González on Radio Belgrano in Argentina in 1941. Since then, "this

bolero has been recorded in several languages, and has been sung in quite a lot many places up to now" (Abaroa Martínez 1993:148).

The Hermanas Aguila's original version of *Solamente una Vez* re-released by Peerles in 1993, and Agustín Lara's version (PHAM 1968 re-released by RCA and BMG in 1991), preserve the purest traditional night-club style. The singers are accompanied by a small orchestra where piano and violin lead the first voice and percussion acts as a backdrop.

A very popular version of this bolero is in the Afro-Caribbean style sung by *Los Jefes* (*Compañía Fonográfica Internacional S.A. de C.V. 1993*). The characteristic guttural voices of tropical singers with harmonic games between the first and second voices, with tenors Daniel Santos and Orlando Contreras, one of whom reaches very high notes near the contralto range. The tropical orchestra that accompanies them is made up of instruments such as keyboards, trumpets, and a great variety of percussion such as bongos, *güiro*, cymbals and bass. The sound space is dominated by trumpets and percussion in a "danceable" version of the song which is more rhythmic than melodic.

In contrast to *Los Jefes's* "popular" version, Eugenia León (Polygram 1989), makes a "cultured" version of *Solamente una vez*, that keeps certain characteristics of the traditional "romantic" version but also includes some very new elements. The song starts with only a piano which continues to accompany Eugenia's soprano voice for the whole of the first stanza. The piano evokes the romantic spirit of the turn-of-the-century Mexican composers, such as Manuel M. Ponce. In the second stanza, which is repeated twice, violins, a synthesiser and an acoustic guitar enter making a kind of "*requinto*" in another style. The

slow tempo, the guitar and all the elements of the arrangement, contribute to creating a romantic, melancholic atmosphere.

In general, in the 1950's, the worn-out night club bolero was transformed and received a great boost from the innovations and the romantic style introduced by *Los Panchos*. *Usted* (You) is a bolero written by Gabriel Ruiz in 1951, and is typical of the time. *Los Tres Diamantes's* version (BMG and RCA re-release 1994) is a three-voice arrangement, with a baritone and two tenors, one of whom reaches overhigh notes imitating a contralto female pitch. The piano as the main instrument of the night-club bolero is set aside, and a third guitar and *requinto* are included in the arrangements, as well as the *güiro*, *maracas*, and *bongos* that mark the rhythm.

"The 1960's marked the invasion of Mexico by rock and the birth of a new sensitivity. The production of boleros and songs for trios dropped" (Moreno Rivas 1989:163). Over the space of ten years the *trio* bolero was also worn out. But in the 1960's bolero again received a boost and was modernised by composers such as Vicente Garrido, Armando Manzanero and Alvaro Carrillo.

La Mentira (The Lie) by Alvaro Carrillo (1965) is an example of this new bolero style. This song was translated into English and became internationally famous in Frank Sinatra's version. In Mexico, Pepe Jara "the lonely troubadour" had been Alvaro Carrillo's most important singer. *La Mentira* with Pepe Jara accompanied by a small orchestra made up of piano, drums played softly, bass and trumpet with "muffler", adopted a bohemian, intimate style with a strong jazz influence.

Manzanero, an intuitive connoisseur of three genres: rock, Yucatecan song, and bolero suggested that Luis Miguel made bolero recordings,

and these have been a great success for the younger generation. In 1991, Luis Miguel's first bolero record, under Manzanero's artistic direction, was launched. The Warner Music (1991) record, entitled *Romance*, includes a selection of 1950's and 1960's boleros by several composers such as Gabriel Ruiz, Luis Demetrio, Roberto Cantoral, Vicente Garrido, César Portillo de la Luz, Alvaro Carrillo, Ma. Elena Baldelamar and Armando Manzanero.

In his singing, Luis Miguel keeps certain elements of the traditional style but imposes his personal seal, with the ring of his tenor voice and his special modulations. The modest versions of trio in the case of *Usted*, or the small jazz orchestra of *La Mentira* mentioned above, contrast markedly with the versions of the same songs sung by Luis Miguel, in which a 50- or 60-musician orchestra is included.

Luis Miguel's version is a quantitative more than a qualitative leap. The bolero goes from the small, intimate bar to the big show and modern technology of the Music Hall that demands a strong, clear projection of voice, pronounced movements and gestures that fill big spaces. These massive productions intend to reach larger audiences, including the younger generation. The producer does not take any risks in introducing musical innovations that drift away from the conventional rhythmic and melodic forms, but the bolero is transformed into a huge show product. Their intention is to sell millions of records. *Romance* more than reached this objective.

Other contemporary singers such as Tania Libertad, Guadalupe Pineda and Mijares have recorded the old boleros with an orchestra different from the traditional one. They use violins, violas, cellos, synthesisers, drums, electrical, bass, oboe or clarinet, that is, a small chamber orchestra and some more modern instruments. *Maracas*, *bongo* and *requinto* are used less. Lately, bolero records have been

launched with great commercial success, for example Luis Miguel's *Segundo Romance* (Second Romance) (Warner Music 1994), *La Libertad de Manzanero* (Manzanero's "Liberty") (Sony Music Entertainment 1995), in which Tania Libertad and Armando Manzanero sing together, and another called *Boleros. Por amor y desamor* (Boleros. For Love and Indifference) (Melody), in which the young pop singers such as Lucerito, Cristian and Yuri sing the old boleros.

Thus far the bolero has been analysed in terms of its lyrics, both on a thematic and pragmatic level, and we have briefly touched on the transformations that the songs undergo over time. Before we turn to the transformations and meanings bolero acquires in live performance, we can sketch now a simple time-line table which summarises the main features of the bolero history (see table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3 MAIN FEATURES OF BOLERO HISTORY

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1985-95
STYLES	The <i>Trova Yucateca</i> tradition begun by the <i>Garnica-Asencio Trio</i> (1920) who sang Guty Cárdenas' songs, a tradition which is followed by all <i>trios</i> . This tradition keeps the style of the rambling troubadour, which is more suitable for serenading.	The tradition started by Agustín Lara is entirely city-based. Beginning with Lara, boleros have been composed for piano and orchestra, cabaret music that appears as a show and can be danced to.	In the 1940's, new markets for Mexican music were opened. The bolero shows the clear influence of the United States band style. For example: <i>Solamente una vez</i> by Lara, sung for the first time in 1939 by <i>Las Hermanas Aguila</i> .	The worn-out night club bolero was transformed and received a great boost from the innovations and the romantic style introduced by <i>Los Panchos</i> . One exaple of this style is Gabriel Ruis' <i>Usted</i> issued the first time in 1951 by <i>Los tres diamantes</i> .	Facing the saturation of the market with <i>trios</i> , the mass production of electrical instruments and the appearance of rock.. bolero again received a boost and was modernised by composers such as Vicente Garrido, Armando Manzanero. <i>La mentira</i> by Alvaro Carrillo is typical of this time.	Contemporary singers such as Luis Miguel (<i>Romance</i> ; Warner Music 1991) & Eugenia León (<i>Ven Acá</i> ; Polygram 1989) have recorded the old boleros. These new versions are marked by a strong influence from the rock concert.
THEATRES	In popular review theatres, such as <i>El Lírico</i> and <i>El Politeama</i> , songs by Agustín Lara, Gonzalo Curiel and other bolero composers made their debut.	At the same time the <i>Palacio de Bellas Artes</i> was devoted exclusively to opera, ballet and "classical" music concerts. It was a meeting place for aristocrats, bankers, scholars, entrepreneurs and their families.	IMSS theatre programming is politically nationalistic and cultural... that wants to promote "learned" culture and put it within the reach of the most unprotected social sectors.	The <i>Seguro Social Services</i> (Public Health Services) was part of the modernization policy of the Mexican State. It was a manifestation of the change relations between capital and work and an expression of populist commitment by the governing group.		The bolero enjoyed its triumphant entrance into the spaces where in the past it had been forbidden as <i>El Palacio de Bellas Artes</i> . At the <i>Auditorio Nacional</i> , the bolero is modernised as a multimedia show. When Juan Gabriel and Luis Miguel took the bolero here, they transformed it into a show for the new generation and for the dominant classes.
BAR & DANCE HALLS				With the industrialisation process, the expansion of the record, radio, film, and television industries, the growth of the city and of the new urban middle class, musical review and the new dance rhythms passed from the theatres and night-clubs "of ill repute" to the "legitimate" family spaces and decent "dance halls" as <i>El Riviera</i> and <i>El California</i> . The bolero is still danced in these spaces, along with other rhythms such as <i>danzon</i> , <i>cumbia</i> , <i>salsa</i> and group tropical music.		Nowadays, the bolero circulates in bars, such as <i>La Casa de Paqueta la del Barrio</i> or <i>La Cueva</i> , where one can still hear Amparo Montes sing, even though it is 50 years since she began her career. For its part, <i>El Hábito</i> has played a host to such contemporary singers as Eugenia León, and the <i>Hermanas Aguila</i> who have returned to the stage more than 20 years after their retirement.
RADIO	XEB is the oldest radio station in Mexico City. It began broadcasting in 1923, promoting the great names in bolero.	The bolero baptised the radio. The XEW station, "The Voice of Latin America from Mexico" started broadcasting in 1930 with the bolero programme "Agustín Lara's Intimate Hour". In 1933, the <i>Hermanas Aguila</i> made their debut on XEW.	The Golden Age o of the Bolero in the radio. Most boleros were sung for the first time in the radio. Most of the main singers were well known thanks to the radio. In 1941, Amparo Montes made her debut on XEQ radio station.		The bolero returned to te radio.	The bolero continues to have a significant place on the radio, particularly on stations such as <i>El Fonógrafo</i> , <i>Dimensión 1380</i> and XEB to name but a few.
CINEMA			Between 1940 and 1950, the Golden Age of National Cinema, 30% of the films produced has some bolero or other as their theme music.	1947: First issue of <i>Nosotros los Pobres</i> . 1952: First issue of <i>Amor que malo eres</i> .		Films of the 'forties and 'fifties that had boleros as theme music, are available on video, for rent, and continue to be broadcast frecuently on T.V.
T. V.				When television appeared in the 1950's, radio was overshadowed for some time. Radio singers were hired by television. Radio music programmes such as Agustín Lara's <i>La Hora Intima</i> (Intimate Hour), moved almost intact to television. Beginning in 1955, 80% of the new boleros were sung for the first time on television.		From the end of the During 1992 and 1993, <i>Televisa</i> launched a new programme that harked back to Agustín Lara's old programme <i>La Hora Azul</i> (The Blue Hour). It was a musical review made up of fragments of the old programmes already mentioned. Channel 11 also constituted its own version of the bolero tradition with a musical show named after Alvaro Carrillo's most famous bolero <i>Un poco más</i> (A little more). This programme continues to be broadcast.

CHAPTER III

PERFORMING BOLERO; THEATRES, BARS AND DANCE HALLS

In spite of the geometric growth in the music available on the market today, in the academic field in Mexico, music in general and popular song in particular, have been comparatively little researched. The research that does exist is mainly philological³⁵⁰ and emphasises the written text of the songs and particularly their semantic and ideological content. Such approaches have left to one side the study of the contexts in which a song is sung, the gestures and musical embellishments that accompany it, and which give it particular quality that only exists in the singing, that is to say, in its performance (Laing 1971:327).

This chapter explores the different languages, verbal and non-verbal, that construct the love song at the moment it is presented on stage. To do this, we begin with an analysis of all the means of expression which accompany the uttered words or which substitute for them in a live performance. These include elements of body language and scenery that can be communicated across space and time simultaneously (Kowzan 1992:151).

Secondly, a distinction is established between different types of performance contexts followed by an analysis of the boleros on offer in contemporary Mexico City, based on participant observation in the major public places where face to face communication occurs, theatres, bars and dance halls.

³⁵⁰ I refer to the works of MENENDEZ PIDAL, *El Romancero Hispánico*. Espasa Calpe vol.2 Madrid 1953; FRENK Margerit, *Cancionero folklórico de México* 5 volumes, Colegio de México, México 1976-1985; and GIMENEZ Carolina, *Así cantaban la Revolución*, Grijalvo/CONACULTA, México 1990, among others.

THE LOVE SONG AS ORAL POETRY AND LIVE PERFORMANCE

In order to understand the love song in all its complexity, it is first necessary to emphasise what distinguishes it from the literary text, in other words what makes it oral poetry. The love song as oral poetry, is speech in song that flows, passes by and floats. It materialises simultaneously in the human voice and in music, and is transmitted orally and aurally as sound. The love song performed live is the product of a particular combination of multiple codes and languages.

What follows, is a description of the systems of signals that constitute the love song on stage. The non-discursive codes in play may be classified as aural, such as the voice and music; or visual, such as body language (facial expressions, gestures and other movements), the physical appearance of the singer (make-up, clothing, and hairdo), and the type of scenery. How fans affect the type of stage set will also be discussed.

THE LOVE SONG AND AURAL OR ACOUSTIC LANGUAGES

The love song inasmuch as it is a sound, shares the following characteristics with other kinds of song. It is a multiple and omnipresent phenomenon that surrounds and enfolds us. The aural space is dynamic and spreads out in all directions. It does not have clear-cut boundaries. It does not necessarily stand out from the background. It flows creating its own dimensions from one moment to the next. It only exists in the present, it is fleeting, and only exists to the extent that it is being produced. It is also elusive, it cannot be pronounced with a sibilant sound (Shepherd 1991:20). The subject submerged in that space of sound, lives time only to the extent that time reveals itself through events that are cyclically repeated

(Shepherd 1991:21). The love song marks time by means of rhythm and repetition (Zumthor 1991:175).

This universe of sound is made up of noises of many different origins. In the socialising process, this aural universe is transformed from an amorphous mass of undifferentiated sounds into a combination of indications, signals and signs culturally coded and loaded with information and meaning. The physiological capacity of hearing is transformed by the psychological action of listening: "what was confusing and indifferent becomes distinct and pertinent" (Barthes 1986a:246).

MUSICAL LANGUAGE

Song in general, and the love song in particular, is made up of four elements which are present in any musical work: rhythm, melody, harmony and pitch (Copland 1955:33).

Rhythm is the primary musical element, closely linked to body movement. Music arises from the pronunciation and accentuation given to the language (Copland 1955:34). In vocal music, percussion marks the basic rhythm, maintains movement with syncope, with its beat, provoking and regulating body movement: clapping, dance steps, and a whole range of gestures (Zumthor 1991:177). In musical language, the measurable metric unit is the tempo, which is made up of several stressed or non-stressed beats (Copland 1955:37). Metre and rhythm constitute the poetic language, and more specifically, the song as oral poetry. Oral poetry is therefore constituted by content, combined with pronunciation and accentuation. Its peculiar quality resides in the transmission of sounds and rhythms (Zumthor 1991:173).

Melody is defined as the singable part of a musical composition. It is the theme of the work and implies an introduction, a development and a conclusion. It is the work's guiding thread that leads the listener from beginning to end (Copland 1955:45). Melody in musical language is analogous to narration or description (referential and emotional functions) in literary language.

Harmony is defined as the concordant or discordant relationship between sounds that constitute tunes or sound sequences displayed in parallel. As a relationship of sounds that are repeated systematically in the different strains of a musical phrase (Copland 1955:53-64), it is analogous to the rhyme in a poem. In the same way musical rhythm is analogous to pronunciation and accentuation, to the systematic and reiterative combination and organisation of stressed and unstressed words in a verse.

Pitch is defined as the quality of a sound produced by a given sound agent. Pitch is the colour of the sound. Different pitches allow different musical instruments and voices to integrate harmonically into one melody line (Copland 1955:64). The colour and expressive strength of a song, or any musical work, varies according to whether it is sung by female or male voices, and whether the voices have different bass or high registers.

THE VOICE

The body, by means of the voice, becomes a musical instrument, a body that sings. Barthes argues that in the singing performed by the voice there are two songs, the pheno-song and the geno-song. Pheno-song is "everything in the performance which is in the service of

communication, representation, expression..." (Barthes 1977:182). It includes lyrics, gestures, and expressive modulation of the voice, etc.³⁵¹

Geno-song "is the volume³⁵² of the singing and speaking voice "it forms a signifying play having nothing to do with communication, representation (of feelings), expression. ...it is the diction of the language..." (Barthes 1977:182). It refers to the quality of the voice. The love song as geno-song is one thing, a physical phenomenon, a sonorous object. The material qualities of the voice such as tone, pitch, amplitude, strength and register can all be described (Zumthor 1991:11).

Pitch enables us to tell one voice from another one. As to tone, male voices reach registers that go from very low or low tones (double-bass, bass and baritone) to medium tones (tenor and contralto); while female voices range from medium tone registers (contralto) to high and very high tones (messo soprano and soprano) (Ruis Lugo et al 1993:87). The voice without language is a cry, an expression of the most intense emotions of pleasure or pain, of joy, rage or fear. The voice is a tactile experience, a breath, a respiration, a physical contact with the other person. The voice has a sexual, erotic character, "vocalised sound goes from one interior to another interior, it unites two beings without any other mediation" (Zumthor 1991:15).

The sung word is rhythm and intonation. Manipulation of the voice in song is indispensable for communication of the feelings to be expressed. Intonation creates the most diverse signals, through all kind of variations in the height of sound and pitch. Voice modulations reveal the class or quality of the emotion. Through modulation a question is

³⁵¹ This aspect will be dealt with later in this paper.

³⁵² volume in this case refers by geometric analogy to the physical, bodily dimension of the voice.

distinguished from an order or a threat. Intonation and rhythm show the singer's attitude towards what he/she says and the relationship with his/her real or virtual interlocutors. Voice uncovers the emotion that words try to disguise (Navarro 1993:395).

Moreover, the voice is a symbolic action. It is a faculty. It is both a place and means of articulation. It is the bearer of vocalised language, phonetically performed, different from writing which is a language without voice. It is visual and graphic, separated from its original author (Shepherd 1991:26-27).

In the love song, the words materialised in the voice continue to be linked to a greater or lesser degree to the subject who sings them. That is why it is so difficult to separate what is said from who said it. Spoken languages are iconic. They maintain a motivated relationship with their source (Crisell 1993:47). The aural perception of the "spoken" word implies nearness. The character of immediateness obscures the mediation of language and, in consequence, limits the possibilities of establishing a critical distance. Verbal language becomes natural (Shepherd 1991:25-26).

THE LOVE SONG AND OPTICAL OR VISUAL LANGUAGES

THE BODY

The live performance of a love song is not reduced to the words or the action of the voice. The body as a system of signs also includes facial expressions, looks, gestures and movements. In addition, indications of fashion including make-up, hair styles and clothing, though independent of the body, combine with it to produce meanings.

Body language systems are strongly ritualised conventions that mark and force subjects to behave according to the requirements of the

communication situation, space, time and place they occupy socially. In a live performance, the body sets a mood for the discourse, making feelings explicit. The language of the body interacts with the verbal language, reinforcing or contradicting it (Kowzan 1992:168-90).

THE SCENERY ON STAGE

In a live performance, decoration is reduced to the particular accessories required for that show on the stage. Lighting plays a particularly important role. It creates an atmosphere according to the feelings the music and lyrics are designed to express, which may be happy, sad, soft, passionate or violent. It produces visual effects of volume, depth and movement, highlighting some objects, while others remain in the shadow. It guides the spectator's vision, focusing it on the singer's facial expressions or the movement of the guitarist's or pianist's hands, turning on or off or moving according to the rhythm of the music.

Lighting may also imitate certain effects of audio-visual media, with screens that project different images or the singer's image in different shots, so that he/she can be seen by the spectator from his/her seat (Kowzan 1992:168-90).

THE MEANING OF SINGING UNDER VARIOUS CONDITIONS OF FACE TO FACE COMMUNICATION

In contemporary secular and individualistic societies, and as a product of the cultural industries, the love song predominates above other forms of songs. Religious and civic-political songs are restricted to specialised places such as churches, the army, political party organisations or mass meetings. As Peatman points out "all successful pop songs were about romantic love; all could be classified under one of three headings "the happy in love" song, "the frustrated in love" song

and the "novelty song with sex interest" (Peatman cited by Frith 1988:106).

The love song as music and oral poetry is a singular utterance and cannot be repeated. It only exists in performance. Nevertheless according to Frith: "Songs are more like plays than poems. Song words work as speech and speech acts, bearing meanings not just semantically, but also as structures of sound that are direct signs of emotion and marks of character. Singers use non-verbal as well as verbal devices to make their points emphases, sighs, hesitations, changes of tone; lyrics involve pleas, sneers, and commands as well as statements and messages and stories" (Frith 1988:120). There are many uses and appropriations of the love song. There are moods that range from a subject's simple desire to sing, to the most complex and ritualistic-like forms of theatre, such as opera performed by professional singers. All these forms inflect the love song with different meanings.

The professional singing performed and sanctioned by specialists is distinguished from amateur singing: a personal or local event, more or less improvised. The love song sung by an amateur is ordinary and trivial. It is inconsistent and versatile play (Zumthor 1991:156). Making music or dancing to music are more tactile than aural or visual. They involve the body.

The love song as a practice is a game that has a double purpose. Singing is both an act undertaken simply for the pure pleasure of singing and/or dancing, and a tactic in the ritual order of courtship and seduction. The love song as part of the love dialogue is both a ritual behaviour and a verbal tool. A love song is sung to the loved one when the two are alone together, whispering into the other's ear, or at the top of one's voice from below her window as a solo serenade or as a

group accompanied by friends. As Horton points out "the popular song... provides a conventional language for use in dating. The "dialectic" of love involved in pop songs -the conversational tone, the appeal from one partner to another- was precisely what made them useful for couples negotiating their own path through the stages of relationships" (cited by Frith 1988:123).

The love song is embedded in a range of rituals however. At parties, music is for dancing. It accompanies and harmonises the body movements of the couples that follow the song's melody and rhythm. In private spaces or in public halls, dancing is a highly coded ritual that encourages the encounter of subjects, of different or the same sex according to prescribed rules. It permits the nearness of bodies and the physical contact of couples. It facilitates the establishment of relationships between subjects and avoids risks and excessive commitment.

In amateur singing, either alone or collectively, he/she sings for the sheer pleasure of singing. In party rituals, as opposed to spectacle rituals, the relationship among participants is open, the roles can be exchanged and there is no fixed centre of attention. The subjects move from one position to another, and exchange the positions of singer and spectator. There is no differentiated audience. All the subjects present take part in the performance (Zumthor 1991:241).

According to Barthes, what distinguishes amateur from professional singing is the absence of the spectacle relationship: "The amateur does not fail to define himself/herself because he/she knows less... but because of the following reason: he/she does not put himself/herself on display, he/she does not set out to make his/her voice heard" (Barthes 1986a:234). In amateur singing, the subject participates actively by creating the music or by dancing.

In contrast, in the ritual of a professional performance there are two distinctly different positions: the composer-singer and the listener. Composing the text is very different from reading it aloud, singing it or accompanying it on an instrument. Each activity requires different skills. These activities can be performed by the same person or by several, individually or as a group (Zumthor 1991:219).

The notion of a performance indicates that something is seen, displayed. It is a complex of actions by which a poetical message is transmitted and perceived simultaneously in the same place (Zumthor 1991:33). The live show consists of lyrics performed as a part of an act. The composer or the singer and the audience meet and face each other and under the same circumstances.

The specificity of a performance consists in the fact that there is an audience for which the composer-singer or the singer perform. The singer sings to be noticed. His/her pleasure consists of obtaining the audience's approval (Barthes 1986a:234). In oral poetry, and specifically in popular songs, the composer is generally lost in anonymity not because he/she never existed but because of the public's forgetfulness or ignorance. The audience does not care about the composer of the piece it is listening to. Rather the memory of the song is linked to the memory of the singer(s) who made it famous. Through the contact they established with the audience through hearing, sight, voice and gestures (Zumthor 1991:223).

At the present time, bolero composers tend to write in response to requests from a singer in fashion. Performance combines the skill of "knowing how to sing", which includes musical manipulation of the voice, and "knowing how to act" which requires easy and confident movement around the stage. Voice and body perform simultaneously in

time and space, no matter whether it is a bar or a theatre. The singer is the centre of the show. Attention is focused on his/her voice quality and his/her acting abilities.

The singers may be a soloist accompanying himself/herself on a musical instrument -usually the guitar-, or accompanied by a musician or an orchestra. Or they may be members of a group -duets, trios, quartets or full orchestras- among whom the singing tasks are distributed - among different voices- and the accompaniment is distributed among several musical instruments.

In the professional-public performance, the communicative space as a place for exchanges has been progressively enclosed, all possibility of reversing positions now being lost. The audience participate in the show only by listening to it. The spectacle format consists then of a large number of people gathered in one space all paying attention to a single, cognitive visual focus (Goffman 1991:183). The peculiar nature of the performance -in which all visual arts play a part- resides in the separation between the subject who is looking and the object seen. The spectator is in front of a stage with a frame around it. He/she is placed in position from which everything that happens on the stage can be seen. The subject directs his/her vision to a horizon and on that horizon he/she cuts out the base of a triangle whose vertex is in his/her eye (Barthes 1986a:94).

Listening to music in a live or broadcast performance is a passive, receiving and appropriating relation to the love song: "the music... is not played any longer; the musical activity is no longer manual, muscular, modelling..." (Barthes 1986a:258). The love song in a concert, a bar, a festival, a record, the radio, films or T.V., implies a differentiated visual and/or aural appropriation.

Space is a determining factor in both the way the audience participates and the meaning the song acquires. Shows can be broadly classified according to the space in which they are performed, as either private or public. Space conditioning seems to be stronger and more constant than time conditioning. In big cities, and according to the government's population control requirements, street life has been repressed or regulated, and buskers have slowly disappeared. New specialised public places have been opened to control the "disorder" and avoid external conflicts (Foucault 1991:9-26; Zumthor 1991:163).

Shows are therefore performed in demarcated places: theatres, marquees etc., and/or cafés, bars, dance halls, and night-clubs. These places have the following characteristics: the show is performed on a stage, the spectators pay a fee to enter, or a cover charge, and for the consumption of drinks and food while they listen to the singer and/or dance. They are places designed to attract different groups: men and/or women, young people and/or adults, gays and/or heterosexuals. The attendants are classified and selected by means of several mechanisms. The show lasts a certain length of time, and is developed according to pre-established schedules, suited to the general population's leisure time.

Topologically speaking, there are several kinds of live performances, according to the audience's and singer's relative location and how much movement there is within the defined space. In a bar or a café, for example where singers move between the tables, the performance continues as background music. It is mixed in with the conversation and takes place without demanding the audience's total attention. In this situation, participation is permitted, and a temporary exchange of roles may occur between the singer and members of the audience. In

other cases, moments of conversation alternate with moments of performance that demand silence and the attention of the audience.

In the show being performed on stage, either at a theatre or concert hall, the singer-composers or singers are clearly separated, physically, from the audience, and the audience attends with the sole purpose of listening to the performance. In this case, the spectator must remain silent, in an attentive and respectful listening attitude. The participation of the audience is regulated by the rhythm marked out by the pre-established intervals of the programme. The audiences express their approval or disapproval by applauding, booing or whistling.

Singing forms may be classified initially according to the social time segments in which they occur: leisure time or work time. The time when a subject sings or listens to music is also socially pre-established according to the stages in the person's or community's chronology that result in family celebrations -private parties for "saint's days", birthdays, baptisms, weddings, fifteenth birthday parties- or community celebrations, such as national holidays and religious festivals.

As an oral form of communication, the cognitive and phatic functions are particularly emphasised in a live performance (Jakobson 1981:352-62). It is a real or virtual dialogue that is established thanks to the presence of the interlocutors in the same space. The singer or presenter demands from the audience attention and evaluative response through different signs that show that the channel of communication is open. Different types of performance enable different degrees of interaction between singer and audience. The performance is full of the acoustic sounds, applause, booing, yelling, approval or rejection interjections, typical of oral communication. The singer's ability is demonstrated by how much he/she manages to incorporate such interjections, by way of

rhythm or mimicry into the show (Zumthor 1991:165). The performance is a flexible discourse that the singer adapts and transforms according to the effects he/she produces in the spectator. Due to its spontaneous character, it cannot be either erased or amended.

THE BOLERO, MUSIC FOR DANCING AND LIVE PERFORMANCE

The bolero, tropical music, is the result of a combination of European dance and counterdance and Afro-West Indian Caribbean music from Cuba. The bolero has a binary rhythm. It is executed in four time, it is semi-slow, and cadenced. Beginning with Agustín Lara, it also came to have a melody and rhythm structure made up of thirty two beats, half of them played in a major key and the other half in a minor key (Rico Salazar 1988; Castillo Zapata 1991:42). The melodies of the bolero are simple, sweet and catchy. However, there are excellent musical constructions within that simplicity.

The bolero is very rich harmonically. In general, certain specific harmonies are used: major chords with intervals of seven beats, minor chords with intervals of seven beats, reduced intervals of seven beats and chords with intervals of six beats, which are not so common in the popular music of other countries. The bolero can be classified into different musical schemes. There are many boleros that integrate a scheme within the first degree of the major seventh, the second minor with seventh, third minor with seventh, that move chromatically and lead into the dominant, with some steps to the fourth degree in its major and minor modes. Another scheme would be: the first minor degree, fourth minor degree, and dominant. One of the most famous schemes of the bolero are sets of harmonies such as DOH: doh, minor, re minor and soh seven as dominant.

There are several types of boleros. The *Trova Yucateca* tradition begun by the *Garnica-Asencio Trio* (1920) who sang Guty Cárdenas' songs, a tradition which is followed by all *trios*. This tradition keeps the style of the rambling troubadour, which is more suitable for serenading, and maintains a certain country flavour. This type achieved its greatest popularity with *Los Panchos* between the end of the 1940's and the 1960's when its decline began. The bolero *ranchero* (ranch-style bolero) derived from this root, music which is accompanied by *mariachis*.

The basic instruments in a trio bolero are the *requinto* (smaller) or *tercerola* (standard) guitar and an accompanying guitar. An outstanding musical characteristic of the bolero *trio* is the guitar players' speed and gracefulness and the colour of some soloists' voices. It is usual for the guitar players to be excellent *requinto* players, fast and clean. In general, when the melodic base does not come from the voices, it comes from the *requinto* guitar. The trio bolero is usually sung by men and sung in three tones: tenor, baritone and bass. There are also very famous trios in which a very high-pitched voice is made much of. The soloist will always be some sort of minimum range of tenor. Sometimes they are counter-tenors, that is a tenor who is near the range of a contralto.

The tradition started by Agustín Lara is entirely city-based. Beginning with Lara, boleros have been composed for piano and orchestra, cabaret music that appears as a show and can be danced to. It was also used as background music for silent films. This kind of song is basically accompanied by piano, violin or the tropical orchestra that includes bass and *pailas* or *timbales* (types of cymbals). Moreover, in more rhythmic, tropical boleros percussion, such as maracas and bongos, is added. The bolero does not have an aggressive or strident rhythm however.

The night-club bolero is sung by female singers with a bass voice range, singers such as Toña la Negra and Amparo Montes, and by male voices. Some singers such as Juan Arvizu, Alfonso Ortíz Tirado or Pedro Vargas and others trained in opera, have strong voices of great quality. Others have a more personal, warm, bohemian style, but with less quality and dexterity in the manipulation of the voice, for instance the composers Agustín Lara and Armando Manzanero.

The participation of women has been more in the form of soloists, such as Lupita Palomera, Lupe Silva, María Luisa Landín, with some duets or *trios* who sing in two or three voices, such as the Hermanas Aguila, the *Tres Conchitas*, the *Hermanas Hernández*, among many others, with the musical support of a pianist, an orchestra or a guitar trio. However, whereas some singers may be female, the musicians have mainly been male.

The 1970's saw the beginning of the bolero's decline. The saturation of the market with trios, the mass production of electrical instruments that rapidly spread among the younger generations, and the appearance of rock, all had a profound effect on the music that was being played. In the face of the impact caused by the appearance of rock, the bolero modernised itself.

Since this consolidation, all that was not "modern bolero" has been considered old-fashioned. Formally, the modern bolero is less strict than the traditional form, especially with regard to the rhythm that is very similar to what the *Trova Yucateca* would call *capricho* (caprice). It is exactly this new freedom that separated it from the monotony into which the traditional bolero had fallen. Armando Manzanero, Alvaro Carrillo and Vicente Garrido have been the latest, best-known composers of the modern bolero (Moreno Rivas 1989:132, 133).

The bolero therefore, is not one song, but many. It is transformed by the stages on which it is performed and the substance it acquires. It is performed and appropriated in many different ways. The different interaction rituals vary according to whether it is an intimate, private space or a public space, whether it is a live performance or a recording, and how it is broadcast through the different technology of the mass media.

The bolero, is a means of identification and distinction for a range of the social groups inhabiting a city. Visiting the different urban spaces in which the bolero is performed permits us to map the city, its poly-cultural character, its conflicts and social contradictions. In its passage through the city, the bolero adopts different aspects and acquires multiple different meanings.

At the beginning of the 20th. century in Mexico, the traditional forms of popular music were subject to the demands and needs of stage performance. The most popular entertainment among citizens was review theatre and its more humble parallel, tent-theatre (*carpas*), which was fertile soil for the creation of boleros as part of the show, and the bolero's main means of diffusion.

The main composers and singers such as Agustín Lara, Joaquín Pardavé and Gonzalo Curiel, performed their first compositions in the magazine theatres of those days: *Politeama*, *Lírico*, *Iris*, *Fábregas*, and *Arbeu*. With the appearance of mass media (radio, cinema, television), magazine theatre gradually declined. Now, the *Teatro Blanquita* is practically the last theatre of this kind still surviving in Mexico City.

A close connection between the song and the stage continues to exist, but the relationship has changed. The intimacy, the level of interaction, the unavoidable and accepted closeness of the review

theatre, where the singer and the musicians only had the power of their voice and traditional instruments, has been transformed by the microphone.

Agustín Lara's boleros sung and accompanied on the piano and violin at the *Teatro Lírico*, are not the same boleros (though they are the same lyrics) as the ones sung by Luis Miguel at the *Auditorio Nacional*, or by Amparo Montes, Tania Libertad and Guadalupe Pineda in concert at the *Teatro de la Ciudad*. Given that instruments aided by microphones have the immediate advantage of electricity and amplifiers, the singers can make their presence felt before the audience in terms of decibels, more easily than with the traditional instruments.

THE BOLERO AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS IN ITS PASSAGE AMONG THE PUBLIC SPACES OF FACE TO FACE COMMUNICATION

In Mexico City, the bolero passes through a variety of locations touching a range of social classes; from the working class bars in *Colonia Guerrero* with *Paquita la del Barrio* (a typical singer), to the affluent enclaves of *San Angel* with singers such as Amparo Montes and María Elena Baldelamar. The bolero moves from small, intimate locations to the big spaces of theatres such as the *Teatro de la Ciudad* with Tania Libertad, Eugenia León and Guadalupe Pineda, or the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* theatre during a performance dedicated to Agustín Lara. The bolero also moves from the older to the younger generations when it goes to the *Auditorio Nacional* with Juan Gabriel or Luis Miguel.

The lyrics may be the same, but in each of these locations the bolero is transformed in an infinite game of meaning. When the space is changed the rituals and interaction rules are also changed. The singers

deliver different performances. Their pitch, their voices tones, the instruments, the fashions, the body positions are different. The bolero as it travels through space and time alters its meanings and possible interpretations.

BOLERO IN RESTAURANTS AND BARS AS A VARIETY SHOW OR THEATRE

There are many places in Mexico City, in which the bolero is sung. There is trio bolero as background music in expensive restaurants and some 4-star hotel bars such as *Hotel Casablanca* or *Hotel Krystal*, *Bar La Posta*, *Bar La Mancha* or *Bar María Grever*, where it is possible to listen to the famous trios that have recorded their songs, such as *Los Montejo*, *Los Tres Ases*, *Chamín Correa*, *Los Tres Caballeros*. (*Tiempo Libre* 1992).

In popular canteens, it is possible to listen to boleros at a cheaper price, performed by unknown trios. The singers move between the tables offering their songs and they receive a tip for each song they sing. In these places the singers sing while the audience chats at their tables, occasionally paying attention to the singers with whom they establish a direct, personal relationship, requesting songs, making comments, cracking jokes, until the trio goes to another table, to another group or couple that requests their services. It is also possible to hire musicians to take their serenade to another place.

In other bars though, the ritual situation is more formal. The bolero has a central place and demands silence and attention from the audience during the length of the show, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs. In order to gain a synoptic overview of the boleros on offer in Mexico City, I looked at 52 issues of the weekly magazine *Tiempo Libre* (Lesiure Time), covering the whole of 1992.

This provided the basis for a selection of places, and shows to be observed.

The selection was made with the following criteria in mind:

a) Three different kinds of place were distinguished according to the type of show:

1. Bars with a variety show
2. Theatres
3. Dance halls

b) Two different kinds of place were distinguished according to the social class of the patrons or customers:

1. Upper middle class and upper class people
2. Working class people

c) In addition, when selecting dance halls, note was taken of the comments made by the subjects who took part in the group interviews.

d) With regard to theatres and bars, special consideration was given to those places referred to in radio and television programmes that those interviewed mentioned having seen or listened to, and to places where the bolero was a special feature. *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* (The House of Paquita, the Paquita of the Local Area) was chosen because it features in various episodes of the popular soap-opera *María Mercedes*. *La Cueva de Amparo Montes* (Amparo Montes's Cellar) was chosen because the anniversary programme of *La Hora Azul* (The Blue Hour) was staged there by special invitation, and the show was broadcast on the radio station *El Fonógrafo* (The Gramophone). The series of shows *Noche de Gala* (Gala Night) at the *Teatro Tepeyac* (Tepeyac Theatre) was chosen, because it was promoted on the programme *Siempre Bolero* (Always Bolero) on *Radio XEB*, and also because courtesy tickets were given away to radio-listeners.

e) Juan Gabriel's and Luis Miguel's respective performances at the *Auditorio Nacional* were also examined, because they were the most successful performers at the box-office for 1992. In both shows the bolero had a special place, and both had a special write-up in the magazines that promote shows: *Tiempo Libre* and *Teleguía* (Teleguide). It is also worth mentioning that both singers, together with Armando Manzanero, were the performers and composers most recognised and talked about by those who took part in the group interviews.

These various criteria, generated the sample of locations shown in table 3.1:

TABLE 3.1 THE SAMPLE OF VENUES FOR OBSERVING 'LIVE' BOLERO PERFORMANCES

PATRONS	BARS	THEATERS	DANCE HALLS
UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS	"EL HABITO" "LA CUEVA DE AMPARO MONTES"	"AUDITORIO NACIONAL"	"SALON RIVIERA"
WORKING CLASS	"LA CASA DE PAQUITA LA DEL BARRIO"	"TEATRO TEPEYAC"	"CALIFORNIA DANCING CLUB"

THE BOLERO AT "LA CUEVA DE AMPARO MONTES"

At *La Cueva de Amparo Montes* (Amparo Montes's Cave), the bolero is sung to a clientele with an average income of over 10 times the minimum salary³⁵³. This places them in the top 5% of the total population.³⁵⁴ *La Cueva* selects its audience carefully. It is located in *Colonia San Angel*, a residential area for high-income households in

³⁵³ i.e. 5,000 Pesos, approximately equivalent to USD \$1,400, in 1992-93.

the south of the city. *La Cueva*-goers are between 40 and 60 years old. The men arrive dressed casually or in a suit and tie. The ladies arrive heavily made-up, wearing high heeled shoes and evening clothing, from cocktail dresses to designer suits.

The bolero at *La Cueva* is "classical" and "refined" just as its audience is. The best musicians and singers of the bolero of the old times and of today, play on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays, from 9:30 p.m. on, offering a careful performance of great musical quality to a "romantic", "attentive" and "connoisseur" audience. Amparo Montes herself says that her songs can still be listened to because they are: "musicalised poems... that say something about the magic of living" (*Tiempo Libre* 658, 1992).

At *La Cueva*, the night club bolero, Agustín Lara style, is sung. The soloists are accompanied by a piano and a small orchestra made up of the bass, percussion (bongos and cymbals), and a trumpet with "muffler". Guest singers occasionally use guitars. The boleros are taken seriously, played according to their traditional forms, as in the old times. There is no innovation, no change. Attention is paid only to perfectionism and to the progressive sophistication of Reynolds Peña's and Bruno Tarraza's musical arrangements.

After 50 years of uninterrupted work, in 1995 Amparo Montes, was still singing at *La Cueva* and broadcasting her show on the radio station *El Fonógrafo* every Thursday. She has recorded 28 records, the majority originally recorded on 78 r.p.m., and says:

"It is not the same recording with current technology where they can make any voice sound good; before that was not so, we used to

³⁵⁴ According to the XI National Population and Housing Census in 1990, INEGI, the highest income level registered is 5 times the minimum salary, and this is earned by 10% of the population of Mexico City.

record from top to bottom, only once, and if there was a mistake, it remained because there was no time or money" (Interview with Amparo Montes by Rosario Reyes, Tiempo Libre 658, 1992).

All her records continue to be sold as CD's, the latest with songs by Sabre Marroquín. Amparo Montes recorded it in 1992. She said about it in the interview she granted to Rosario Reyes:

"it is for listening to, sometimes alone, sometimes with your partner... if God gives you a partner for a long time... all you bring with you, in your personal story... a song gives back to you"(Amparo Montes, Tiempo Libre 658, 1992).

Agustín Lara's songs in *La Cueva*, in their progressive migration to higher classes, have left the low class night-clubs, and the popular, almost outcast character of their origin, a space for illicit love, to enter the legitimate spaces of well-to-do couples. But in *La Cueva de Amparo Montes*, Lara is not the only composer whose songs are sung, she explains thus:

"I do not sing the songs of only one composer; I sang a long time with Gonzalo Curiel's orchestra, with Sabre Marroquín's orchestra, with Lara, with the Hermanos Domínguez; I have sung the songs of all the Mexican composers, and I have always done so with great pleasure" (Rosario Reyes' interview to Amparo Montes, Tiempo Libre 658, 1992:27)

A very important part of the bolero's history is engraved in *La Cueva*. Photographs of the main bolero singers and composers hang on the walls surrounding the dimly lit hall. The orchestra and singer are at the front. Amparo Montes, elegantly dressed in dark colours with some silver or gold decoration is the compere of the show. The songs are interspersed with comments about the composers and singers, and the

dialogue between the guest singers and the audience is warm and familiar. The public is attentive and silent, they direct their eyes towards the stage and listen to the song respectfully, and when the singer has finished, they express their restrained enthusiasm within the limits of the best of good manners.

THE BOLERO AT *LA CASA DE PAQUITA LA DEL BARRIO*

Located in the city centre, *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* is a natural haunt for the entertainment of the office workers, mechanics, employees and clerks, who earn between one and three times the minimum salary, about 55% of Mexico City's population³⁵⁵. Lately, *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* has also been fashionable with students and intellectuals of the upper middle class who are searching to make contact with what they define as "authentic" or "popular".

La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio, is a purified slum colony, popular style. Paquita is chubby, serious and proud, in contrast to her long gaudy dresses with beads and sequins in pink, light blue or turquoise. Her crimson lips are highlighted by her white skin, short dyed blonde hair combed back with parting on the side, that gives her an androgynous touch, emphasised by her rude gestures and the way in which she challenges, confronts and controls the "rude" audience of *Colonia Guerrero* with disrespectful expressions such as *¿estás oyendo inútil?* (are you listening to me, you good-for-nothing?).

As a singer, Paquita adopts the role of a woman or a man, without changing the genders in which the songs were originally composed. When Paquita sings, she changes the male-female roles in an instant, just like her clothing and gestures. At *La Casa de Paquita la del*

³⁵⁵ XI National census of Population and Housing, 1990, INEGI.

Barrio, there is an area simply for listening to music in the restaurant, and another one for dancing in the *Salón Aries* on the second floor of the building.

Paquita sings at the tables with a grave, reverberating, throaty voice, that evokes the sound of country women when they sing in church, preventing the bolero from having that purely popular style.

*"In the slums was born the illusion of all my loves... In the slums I left tears in every corner, I learned to drink liquor and to walk all night, along the streets of bitterness... because of those loves..."*³⁵⁶

Paquita la del Barrio's style follows that of the slum colony bolero by Chelo Silva who, in an interview, said:

"I was raised in the slums, I have lived with slum colony women and I owe it to the people of the slums... I sing to the love that hurts that I know well through the experiences I have lived in my own life" (Tiempo Libre 620, 1992:26).

Like Chelo Silva, Paquita includes in her repertoire songs such as *Amor de la Calle* (Street Love), *Cheque en blanco* (Blank Cheque), *Fichas negras* (Black Chips), *Perdida* (Lost), and new ones such as: *El Barrio de los Faroles* (The Slums of the Street Lamps), *Besos Callejeros* (Street Kisses), *Lámpara sin Luz* (Lamp without Light). The slum songs narrate the story of "good women marked by fate, weak men overcome in the fire of a devouring passion, bedrooms or night clubs filled with smoke and moral laxity, red eyes due to alcohol and sorrow, noble, lonely prostitutes, girls who grow up in the shadow of brothels" (*Tiempo Libre* 620, 1992:26).

³⁵⁶ BARRERA, Lalo. *El barrio de los faroles*. Op. cit. (a) p.405

The traditional slum bolero in *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* is partially modernised. The Valencia and *requinto* guitars are replaced by an electrical bass and guitar. The synthesiser reproduces the rhythms that in the past were produced by *bongos* and kettledrums. The keyboards and the synthesiser make the bolero sound like contemporary group tropical music, which is very popular in Mexico. Paquita's bolero includes rock instruments because of the influence of Northern Mexican Music. The tempo and rhythm of the songs are more adapted to the needs of dancing rather than to the elements of voice interpretation and its values.

THE BOLERO IN "EL HABITO"

El Hábito is a theatre-bar, located in *Coyoacán* a district in the south of Mexico City. In *El Hábito*, artists, critics and intellectuals have found a space for recreation and entertainment. It is a territory open to artistic expression that goes well with its function of rebellion, and cultural and political criticism through humour, irony and parody.

The clientele at *El Hábito* range in age from 25 to about 60. They are intellectuals, leftist politicians, gays, feminists and other inappropriately named "minorities". Since *El Hábito* was inaugurated, other parallel places, under the control of the state or in the hands of the cultural industries, have been opened, for example, *Teatro Bar Bugambilia* or *La Bodega*, where the bolero has an occasional place. In *El Hábito*, the bolero has made a sporadic appearance within the varied programming of musical-comedies and shows dedicated to cultural, social and political criticism.

The bolero in *El Hábito* has been de-mystified. It is an object of irreverence and it is itself irreverent at the same time. Eugenia León

with a script and directed by Jesusa Rodríguez enacted a bolero show in this space (*Tiempo Libre*. November 1992 to March 1993). With the masterful manipulation of her clear, clean voice, she has taken bolero to the limits of the melodramatic making it explode in all its multiple meanings. The selection and interpretation of boleros, in contradiction to the farcical script of which the performance is a part, changes and perverts the original meaning, uncovering the construction mechanisms of the discourse of loving.

The *azote* (whipping), a satirical name given to the general state of the person in love whose love is not returned, is the topic of the show. The comments made between songs, with an exquisite sense of humour, take a trip through the different states a person in love experiences, to create a parody of the traditional figures of the person in love. In a the parody of both psychoanalytical and bolero discourses, the person in love is deemed dialectic when he/she says *Te odio y te quiero*³⁵⁷ (I hate you and I love you), or fetishist when he/she sings *Osito de Felpa*³⁵⁸ (Teddy bear).

Eugenia León, wearing a long, fitting, black silk gown emphasising her slender body, in an alternate game of identification and detachment adopts the bolero paradoxically as an expression of contradictory emotions. The audience laughs, comments, applauds and asks her to sing a song.

Eugenia's bolero in the context offered by *El Hábito*, retrieves traditional elements in order to shift them from their respective places in an innovative form of interpretation, in which new meanings are produced. At the end of the show the dance hall is opened with tropical

³⁵⁷ ALESIO, Enrique, *Te odio y te quiero*. En: DUEÑAS, Pablo. *Historia Documental del Bolero Mexicano*. AMEF, A.C. México, 1990 (d) p.271

³⁵⁸ CAVAGNARO, Mario. *Osito de Felpa*. Op. cit. (d) p. 272

music: *danzón*, *bolero* and *salsa*. The hall is called *Chalma*³⁵⁹ "a liberated territory" where there are no restrictions on whether couples form with partners of the same or the opposite sex.

In addition, thanks to *El Hábito*, very famous names in bolero, such as Hermanas Aguila and Chavela Vargas, have returned to the stage after a long retirement period, discarded by the dominant cultural policies promoting "the youthful" as the only valid value. In *El Hábito* the bolero composer Emma Elena Baldelamar also sang (*Tiempo Libre*, October to November 1992), keeping to the most traditional style.

THE BOLERO IN ITS PASSAGE THROUGH THEATRES AND CONCERT HALLS

In time, the bolero migrated from the popular magazine theatres to the big theatres of "cultured art". The bolero became classical, sophisticated, and in these places travelled progressively further away from its popular roots. And in return, the "cultured" space of the concert hall became popular thanks to the bolero.

THE BOLERO IN "EL PALACIO DE BELLAS ARTES" THEATRE, AND "EL TEATRO DE LA CIUDAD"

From the 1930's to the 1950's, the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* was devoted exclusively to opera, ballet and "classical" music concerts. It was a meeting place for aristocrats, bankers, scholars, entrepreneurs and their families. In popular review theatres, such as *El Lírico* and *El Politeama*, songs by Agustín Lara, Gonzalo Curiel and other bolero composers made their debut, sung by popular singers with tropical orchestras or small orchestras of three or four instruments

³⁵⁹ The name of the dance floor paradoxically makes a play on the popular saying: "irse a bailar a Chalma" which means to take someone out of the running. The Sanctuary of Our Lord of Chalma is a popular place of yearly pilgrimage where different traditional dance groups celebrate the Saint's day in a manner that dates back millennia.

accompanied by a piano, between the *rumbas* and other dance numbers. They were meeting places where "anything went" for men from different social classes and for "bad women", away from family life.

In the beginning, some singers and composers, for example Juan Arvizu, Pedro Vargas, Consuelo Velázquez and Gonzalo Curiel, were trained in the Conservatory of Music, and migrated from cultured art to the ambit of popular music. The inverse movement took almost fifty years to occur.

By that time, Agustín Lara's music was considered noisy, vulgar and the total opposite of art. Consequently, a "bolero concert" at the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* theatre would not even have been considered. It was not until the 1980's and 1990's that the bolero enjoyed its triumphant entrance into the spaces where in the past it had been forbidden. Austin Laura conquered the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* theatre in a performance, with 70 musicians, 20 dancers and 10 singers on stage, "a tribute to his huge musical richness, what is Mexican in all its implications" (*Tiempo Libre* 645, 1992:26-29).

The bolero is altered by, and at the same time modifies these places. Tania Libertad, Amparo Montes and Guadalupe Pineda, in concert at the *Palacio de Bellas Artes*, accompanied by the Symphonic Orchestra with more than 60 musicians, can fill the theatre. There the distance between Amparo Montes and her audience is much greater, the number of spectators is multiplied many fold, the space to be filled is that much larger, the voice changes from the hint of a whisper because of the need to project with as much force as is possible. The intimate bolero, sung almost in the ear at *La Cueva*, gradually disappears to reappear grand and distant in the form of a concert.

BOLERO AT “*EL AUDITORIO NACIONAL*”

The *Auditorio Nacional* is in *Miguel Hidalgo* Delegation, on *Reforma* Avenue, across the street from the Anthropology Museum and next to the *Chapultepec* Woods and the Modern Art Museum, in the tourist, hotel and most luxurious office zone of Mexico City. Adjacent to the *Lomas* and *Polanco* districts, where the richest people in the country live. The programming of events at the *Auditorio Nacional* includes very famous, pop singers such as Juan Gabriel and Luis Miguel at the national level, and Paul Simon, Elton John, U2, Bon Jovi, at the international level. At the *Auditorio Nacional*, the bolero is modernised as a multimedia show. When Juan Gabriel and Luis Miguel took the bolero here, they transformed it into a show for the new generation and for the dominant classes.

Juan Gabriel “a successful gay in a *macho* country”, performed at the *Auditorio Nacional* from January 31 to February 8, 1992. In a show that lasted three and a half hours, he presented a varied repertoire from his 20-year singing career. Among the songs he included some boleros such as *No vale la pena* (It's not worth it), *Tenías que ser tan cruel* (You had to be that cruel), and *Amor Eterno* (Endless Love). He established a ticket sales record, attracting over 90 thousand people to the nine shows (*Tiempo Libre* 613, 1992:29). A huge number if we compare it for example with the average attendance at the *Sala Nezahualcóyotl* of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (The National and Autonomous University of Mexico), that attracts one hundred thousand people to all the classical concerts performed during a whole year.

Juan Gabriel has, as Elvis Presley did before him, established strong communication with his audience,

"he excites the masses little by little to manipulate them as he pleases, making them shiver with a shake of his hips, making them shout, howl, wave their white handkerchiefs, fluorescent strips or whatever is to hand, in a festival of light, ecstasies and delirium rarely seen" (Tiempo Libre 613, 1992:29).

The show for ten thousand people, in a rock concert style, substantially modifies the relationship between singer and audience. In this atmosphere, the bolero loses its romantic, intimate character and turns into a spectacular event. Juan Gabriel's show, where the bolero is sung:

"is a show of great professionalism... the lighting effects, the harmonic playing of a 25-musician orchestra and a 12-singer choir, where the acoustic guitar, the violins and the piano are outstanding; the Arriba Juárez mariachis performance and then in a shocking symbiosis, the orchestra, the choir, and mariachis together..." (Tiempo Libre 613, 1992:29).

Juan Gabriel's show has aesthetic, economic and technical resources, musical arrangements, a profusion of lighting and screens that multiply and magnify images of the singer. It launches a permanent game between the singer's virtual images and live acting, displayed in a spectacular relationship.

Luis Miguel, for his part, reappeared on stage on 26th June 1992, after a strange absence that generated a rumour of his death from a drug overdose. The rumour started when "he did not appear in the Acapulco 92 Festival (where he was the most eagerly awaited performer)" (*Teleguía* año 40. No. 2085:11). The great expectation generated by the rumour made the tickets sell like hot cakes.

"He sold 10 thousand tickets in only three hours. And if you consider the three thousand people left outside, the ones who were standing, the ones who improvised a chair in balconies..." (Teleguía año 40, No. 2084:28).

Thus, Luis Miguel aimed to have the same success that Juan Gabriel had had only five months before. During the show, the bolero had a predominant place, among other styles:

"Forty members of the Symphonic Orchestra of Mexico City, directed by Benjamín Juárez, accompanied Luis Miguel in his romantic interpretation of the songs from "Romance", his latest record" (Teleguía año 40, No. 2085:12).

With Luis Miguel, the most popular young singer of the moment, the bolero is transformed and acquires pop ballad dimensions. In its movement from the bars, where the singer interacts with fewer than one hundred persons, to the monumental space of the *Auditorio Nacional* that can hold 10 thousand people, all frenzied fans, the bolero's meanings are transformed. To fill the space needs vast technological deployment:

"A staff of 40, a full set of computerised lights, the most sophisticated sound equipment, excellent musicians, a space worthy of Luis Miguel's great personality and a delirious audience, were the elements that went into the most eagerly awaited performance of a singer this year" (Teleguía año 40, No. 2085:12).

Bolero ceases to be bohemian, romantic and intimate and turns into a spectacular event. In the *Auditorio Nacional*, technology amplifies and even substitutes for the vocal and acting capacity of the singer with a display of visual and sound effects produced by cameras, computerised lights synchronised with synthesisers, playbacks, and systems to mix

and correct singing defects. The audience's attention is mainly captured by the technological display. However, regardless of the technology used, and the advertising and marketing tricks and strategies, Luis Miguel has the acting capacity necessary to fill the stage:

"Luis Miguel can by himself fill the huge stage of the Auditorio Nacional... with his dancing, his famous steps... that some deem erotic, sensual and even pornographic" (Teleguía año 40, No. 2085:12).

Thanks to Juan Gabriel and Luis Miguel, the bolero has migrated from the "traditional" spaces where it was aimed at the older generation and the lower classes (such as maids, servants, or housewives), to radio stations for the young that broadcast rock in Spanish and modern romantic ballads. Bolero has travelled transversally through subjects and spaces.

The bolero has been transplanted from "the bohemian culture" of the 1930's and 1940's to the culture of "young idols". There is a change in strategies. The image construction changes, the value and aesthetic configuration of the body changes, and the constitution of subjectivity changes.

There are stories that make legends out of the lives of actors, and a myth is created around them. From the Guty Cárdenas myth built up after his death in a canteen fight, to the rumour of Luis Miguel's death due to a drug overdose, there is a distance, a different strategy in the constitution of subjectivity. Once again we see that the bolero is not a single entity. There are many co-existing boleros, that travel transversally, producing variations, fusions, and transformations.

THE BOLERO AT THE *IMSS* THEATRES

Teatro Tepeyac is one of the Mexican Institute of Social Security (*IMSS*) theatre group located in different popular zones of Mexico City. This cultural space is located in the north of the city, on the *Calzada de Guadalupe* which leads to *La Villa* where the Virgin of *Guadalupe* Sanctuary is located. This is a factory area surrounded by worker and low-income housing complexes. These people earn between one and three times the minimum salary and their education is elementary or junior high school level.

IMSS theatre programming is politically nationalistic and cultural. It bears the traces of a benefactor state, now in extinction, that wants to promote "learned" culture and put it within the reach of the most unprotected social sectors. Here, the bolero, having been expropriated from the popular classes, returns to them transfigured, as a culture for the family, covered by an aura of national culture, an authentic, typical expression of the modern urban Mexican's identity. The bolero audience in this type of space is made up of workers at the Social Security Institute, mainly retired, between 50 and 70 years old, accompanied by their families.

In the face of neo-liberal politics, the cultural programme which includes bolero shows, is a true marker of the end of populism and a benefactor state. The precarious, decadent show at the *Teatro Tepeyac* is in sharp contrast to the technological display put on by the private administration of culture as a business set up by the *Auditorio Nacional* managers.

The worn-out red velvet seats, the stage full of old decoration, a fancy lamp "courtesy of *Candiles González*" pretending to be elegant, and an artificial flower arrangement are the frame for the show. In an

agonising attempt not to lose elegance and style, the singers and conductor wear black dinner jackets and evening gowns that contrast with the shabbiness surrounding them. The audience wear their best clothes. The men in jacket and tie, the women in party dresses, high heeled shoes and "coiffured" hairdos. The scarcity of economic and technical resources, including sound equipment failures, make the show a nostalgic imitation of "Grand Gala of Romantic Song" announced in the programme.

"I want to make an earnest request to the sound people, to turn it down because I have a speaker here that is killing me, the audience can say the same" (Teté Cuevas, Pianist. Gran Gala de la Canción Romántica, 28th. March, 1994).

The volunteered comments of the singers, that speak of the bolero as an "eternal" art, contrast with the signs of deterioration that surround the show:

"we must not allow the bolero to disappear or not to be heard, we must continue to teach it to the young people, to our children, because it is a very beautiful kind of music" (Jorge Manuel Hernández, conductor. Gran Gala de la Canción Romántica, 28th. March, 1994).

"Bolero will never die, bolero is still alive and let me tell you that Luis Miguel has made it international and his records are sold even in Japan and it is even in the top places in the hit parade, that is the importance of the bolero in our days" (José Luis Duval, Singer. Gran Gala de la Canción Romántica, 28th March, 1994).

Singers cling to an expression of loving which is about to die out. It is the last trace of an anachronistic, late- night romanticism that has no meaning for contemporary urban youth. Teté Cuevas expresses her

opinion without any fear of being left out of the show in which she took part in her heyday and from which she is presently retired:

"Success is not precisely... in their voices, no matter how much marketing they use... but in the music they used to get to that success..." (Teté Cuevas, pianist. Gran Gala de la Canción Romántica, 28th. March, 1994).

"Truly, it is the bolero sung in their voices that has gone around the world... because good things never end... what is good is good forever..." (José Luis Duval, singer. Gran Gala de la Canción Romántica, 28th March, 1994).

In Teté Cuevas's comment about Luis Miguel's and Julio Iglesias's marketing success there is some resentment and sarcasm for those who, in her opinion, owe their success to advertising and the songs they sing more than to their artistic quality.

THE BOLERO IN DANCE HALLS

THE BOLERO IN THE "SALON RIVIERA"

The *Salón Riviera* "the most elegant dancing hall in Mexico", as the radio advertising says. It is located between the *Colonia del Valle* and *Narvarte* in the south of Mexico City, in the *Benito Juárez* Delegation. It is surrounded by modern urban buildings of the late 1940's and early 1950's. The inhabitants of this zone small entrepreneurs, office workers and officers of middle rank, belong to the middle class with an income higher than five times the minimum salary.

With the industrialisation process, the expansion of the record, radio, film, and television industries, the growth of the city and of the new urban middle class, musical review and the new dance rhythms passed from the theatres and night-clubs "of ill repute" to the "legitimate"

family spaces and decent "dance halls". The *Salón Riviera* is one such hall.

Every Wednesday, Friday and Saturday from 6:00 to 11:00 p.m. it opens its doors to the public. No alcoholic beverages are served, only soft drinks. The couples gather for the sheer pleasure of dancing to live music. The *Danzonera de Acerina* and of *José Casquera*, the *Banda Universitaria de Pepe Luis*, *La Sonora Santanera*, the Orchestras of Luis Arcaraz, Carlos Campos and Alejandro Cardona play the old musical songs adapted to the new tropical rhythms.

The clientele of the *Salón Riviera* are middle class couples, ranging in age from 45 to 70. The dance specialities are *danzón*, *bolero*, *cha-cha-cha*, and *mambo*, executed with unparalleled mastery. Some groups of couples who share the pleasure of dancing go together, many others attend only with their partners and some go in search of a dance partner.

Dancing is a ritual ceremony that demands special clothes. For the weekly dances the women must wear high heeled shoes, cocktail dresses, beauty parlour hairdos fixed with spray, and fancy jewellery. Men have to wear a suit and tie. For the special "Black and White" dances, men and women have to wear their best clothes: for the women, evening gowns and for the men, dinner jackets. "Remembering is living" is the *Riviera* and its audience's motto.

When one crosses the threshold one is transported back to the dance halls shown in the golden age of national cinema, the 1940's and 1950's. The orchestra, seen by everybody, is raised up on a stage and framed by two crystal lamps that stand out from a background of red velvet and mahogany panels. Time has left its marks however, the

elegance of the hall shows slight signs of decadence; some dust on the lamps and the wall paper discoloured by sunlight and time.

The wall illumination has the same style as the huge lamp hanging from the ceiling centre above the dance floor, which is surrounded by tables, and occupies about two thirds of the space. On the left of the orchestra, there is a wide staircase whose banisters continue in the form of a half moon on the mezzanine. There are also tables in the mezzanine, from where the dancing couples can be seen.

Men have to invite women to dance and lead them during the dance. The gentleman faces the lady, his left hand, firmly but gently holds her back; his right hand, at the height of his partner's cheek, supports the lady's left hand. The woman's right hand rests on the man's shoulder keeping the arm at a right angle. Their eyes look into the distance and meet their partner's only from time to time. The straight bodies move through a small square that they describe with their feet as they slide with little steps. *Danzón* is harmony, voluptuousness and sensuality contained. When the music speeds up in the third segment of the song, the couples stop and listen, before dancing again when the last part starts. At the end of each piece, the dancers applaud celebrating their own and the orchestra's mastery.

THE BOLERO AT THE CALIFORNIA DANCING CLUB

The *California Dancing Club* is located on the *Calzada de Tlalpan* in *Colonia Portales*, a zone of wholesale and semi-wholesale commerce, clothing manufacturers, mechanical workshops and popular housing in high-rise buildings and *vecindades* (a kind of popular building where many people live in small rooms), an intersection zone between lower and middle class people. The *California* is a meeting place mainly for maids, masons, drivers, taxi-drivers and workers.

On Sundays the dance hall opens at 5:00 p.m. Young people between the ages of 16 and 25 start to arrive. The musical groups play according to the programme. "Uninterrupted music from 6:00 p.m. to 3:00 or 4:00a.m.". The stage at the front of the hall, is covered by a marquee with the name of the hall on it: *California Dancing Club*, the dance palace of Mexico. The architecture and decor date from the 1950's. In the centre of the enormous granite-floor dance floor, surrounded by a wide corridor with columns that support the balcony there are tables and chairs from where the dancing couples can be seen.

The *California* is a "decent" place. The people attend well-dressed, bathed, and perfumed, wearing their "Sunday best". Alcoholic beverages are forbidden, *tortas* (a Mexican sandwich) and soft drinks are served. The main reason for meeting is the sheer pleasure of dancing to live tropical music played by new groups heard on the radio stations, for example: *Tropi Q*, *Los Abelardos*, *Los Askis*, *Grupo Cañaberal*, *La Denuncia*, among others. The tropical rhythms such as *danzón*, *bolero*, *cha-cha-cha* and *mambo* have been transformed into *salsa* and *cumbia* by these "new wave" tropical groups.

At 6:00 p.m. the live music starts and some couples start dancing. One hour later, over five hundred people are gathered on the dance floor moving to the rhythm of tropical music. Dancing at the *California Dancing Club* is a highly coded ritual that all the participants reproduce methodically. Everybody dances the same steps but with their personal style. At the beginning of every song, a man approaches and invites one of the girls waiting near the dance floor, to dance.

The man always leads. With the right hand he holds her back and, the other takes her hand, while she rests her left hand on his shoulder.

Through agile, quick movements of the left hand, the man leads and indicates to his partner the steps to be followed according to the pre-established code. The woman's dexterity consists of "letting the man lead" and she demonstrates her ability to follow with her feet and her whole body, the movements imposed by her partner's rhythm.

Mastery is expressed in movements of the feet. They are the main point of interest towards which the men try to attract attention by the shoes they wear: cowboy boots, light-coloured shoes or two-tone shoes in the old fashions of the national cinema urban dancers: *Tin Tan* and *Resortes*, high platform shoes, and trainers for the younger men that want to imitate "rap" style.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to follow the multiple paths of the bolero, through the different spaces where face to face communication takes place. The next chapter seeks to describe the boleros on offer in the record and radio industries, and to explore the different meanings the bolero acquires when it materialises in the purely sound-auditory registers of those media.

CHAPTER IV

BROADCASTING BOLERO: RECORDS AND RADIO

With the development of recording technology, in contemporary societies, popular music has become a field of power for the cultural industries, a progressively exclusive and excluding territory. These industries have expropriated music from the subjects and communities, for whom it represented creation and recreation, to return it to them as a commodity. Through their operations, the song loses its body and becomes invisible, to return as a presence of sound that invades all the spaces of everyday life.

In order to examine the bolero as an object of cultural consumption, this chapter firstly highlights, some of the distinctive characteristics of the cultural industries that use only the languages of sound to collect and transmit the love song. Secondly, it describes the bolero on offer in Mexico City, particularly in the public spaces of communication in which the record and radiophonic industries intervene, and examines the specific forms that contribute to the construction of collective memory, and to the "bolero effect".

To arrive at an overview of the provision of the bolero by the record industry, the catalogues of two record companies, Orfeón and Polygram were selected for analysis. These were chosen after observation at various sale outlets. Even though most record companies offered at least one volume of boleros, Orfeón and Polygram produced a wider range of popular music, and of the bolero in particular. Those two catalogues therefore offer reliable indicators of the supply of bolero records, in relation to other types of music.

The sample of boleros broadcast over the radio in Mexico City, was based on the survey of stations carried out by Beatriz Solís (see

appendix 2), and on information printed in the weekly magazine, *Tiempo Libre*, during 1992. The corpus arrived at for analysis was made up of 16 radio programmes in total.

As in the previous chapter, this chapter follows the bolero through its various spaces, noting how it migrates, from one radio station to another, from one medium to another. It attempts to consider the different registers of the bolero, both on record and on the radio, not as isolated units but rather as discourses in their inter-connections, and in their multiple cross-references.

From each programme, those fragments or *lexias*, were selected for analysis that best illustrate the manner in which the radio constructed the "bolero effect", a "bohemian world" made up of bolero composers and singers from all times. As we shall see, these figures have become mythical characters who define the semantic universe of "the romantic" and "the Mexican", in which they invite the public to participate in their imagination, and in so doing confirm the meaning and legitimacy of the bolero's heroes.

THE LOVE SONG AND THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Different mass media and technologies modify the space-time characteristics of the voice and sound in different ways, either amplifying its scope with the microphone or the radio, or permitting time manipulation. Fixing the song to a material object, such as a magnetic tape or record, makes it possible to repeat it indefinitely, excluding any variation and to diffuse it widely. At the same time when the voice becomes independent from the producer, it loses spontaneity and freshness (Zumthor 1991:29).

The oral communication broadcast by the mass media differs from face to face communication in that it separates the interlocutors in space and/or time, and prevents any possibility of direct exchange between them. The presence of the interlocutor becomes virtual as opposed to real. The recording machine permits filing of the information beyond the subjects' memory and transports the voice, without any loss of its quality as a voice (Zumthor 1991:30). Every time that the love song passes from one register to another, from a live performance to a record, to the radio, to films, or to T.V., a radical mutation takes place that cannot be traced at a purely linguistic level.

THE LOVE SONG, THE RECORD INDUSTRY AND RECORDING TECHNOLOGY

The registration and storage of information is a form of social power and control. With the possibility of recording, the sound, singing, and oral poetry stop being memory incorporated in the subject. The song is transformed from a live performance, a unique event that cannot be repeated, a direct relationship and collective reception, into a mediated relationship, a solitary listening experience and the mechanical repetition of an event deferred in time and space. Serial reproduction is in effect the death of the original, the victory of copy and the forgetting of the support represented (Attali 1995:132).

With the gramophone boom, the recording of the music from the most popular films and/or singers and composers expanded all over the world. Records offered a much cheaper alternative to live performances in entertainment. Many *trios*, bands and singers that used to perform in bars, canteens, hotels, restaurants and dance halls were replaced by musical equipment and disc jockeys (Wallis and Malm 1990:166). With the extension of the record market, radio stations increased their programme hours. Bars and restaurants installed juke boxes, and

music became an integral part of everyday life as a background and accompaniment of everyday activities.

In the 1970's, with the introduction of recorded cassettes, the music market increased geometrically. Cassettes simplified and increased the possibilities of access to music and its use in different spaces. They gave more people the opportunity to listen to more music, and to decide what they wanted to listen to. They would also be used by ordinary people to record their own performances. As a consequence recent years have seen the rise of small companies and alternative networks of production, circulation and consumption of local popular music and the multiplication of non-copyrighted cassettes and pirate radio stations.

At the same time there is a growing process of integration and concentration of the major commercial sectors of the music, electronics and communication industries (Wallis and Malm 1990:161). Companies have merged into huge consortia, which are very complex in their organisational structure.

Thanks to the music industry, a multinational form of culture is coming into being, a metaculture, that does not have much to do with contents or genres of music, but with the place it occupies in everyday life. As explained by Steiner: "the completely new fact is that now any music may be listened to at any moment and as domestic background music. The magnetophonic tape, radio, phonographer, cassette broadcast an unending current of music at any moment or circumstance of the day." (Steiner 1991:153).

THE BOLERO AND THE RECORD AND PHONOGRAPHIC INDUSTRIES

In Mexico, from the early years of the 20th century, the record industry has been one of the most important means of diffusing new rhythms

from other countries. From 1902 to 1910, though some U.S. recording plants were installed in Mexico, most tapes recorded in Mexico were sent to the United States to be printed and returned as records. The main labels in Mexico were *Víctor*, Columbia, Edison, Odeón and Zonófono. They left the country during the Revolution, but returned in 1921. In 1927, the first national phonographic company was founded: *La Compañía Nacional de Discos* (The National Record Company). In response the main American firms have all established branches in Mexico. Without a shadow of a doubt, the bolero was the most listened to musical rhythm up to the 1950's (Dueñas 1990:217-218).

At the present time, there are 425 record shops in Mexico City (INEGI 1989). The Mexican record market is one of the most attractive for record companies. As can be seen in table 4.1, in 1993, total sales volume was USD 572.8 million, and Mexico occupied seventh place overall in the world record market (Longhurst 1995:40).

TABLE 4.1 : TOP TEN TERRITORIES BY SHARE OF THE WORLD MARKET OF RECORDS AND TAPES (1993)

	SALES (USD Millions)	% SHARE
USA	9,833.1	32.3
JAPAN	5,082.4	16.7
GERMANY	2,690.7	8.8
UNITED KINGDOM	1,976.0	6.5
FRANCE	1,848.6	6.1
CANADA	896.8	2.9
NETHERLANDS	618.8	2.0
MEXICO	572.8	1.9
AUSTRALIA	545.6	1.8
SPAIN	493.7	1.8

Source: International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (1994).

As Longhurst points out (1995:30), at the international level the music industry is highly concentrated. More than 70% of all musical production is controlled by six record companies (EMI Music, Polygram, Sony, Warner, BMG and MCA). The record industry in Mexico displays the same characteristics. Out of a total of 130 companies that operate in the country, 17 account for 85% of the record market, and the top 5 control 60% (Ortiz Ibarra 1996:23).

TABLE 4.2 THE SEVENTEEN LEADING RECORD COMPANIES IN MEXICO

COMPANY	WORLD GROUPS	SALES (thousands pesos)	% SHARE
SONY MUSIC	Sony (3 ^a)	133,468	17.80
FONOVISA MEXICO		118,472	15.80
BMG/ARIOLA	BMG (5 ^o)	116,972	15.60
POLYGRAM	Polygram (2 ^o)	101,226	13.50
EMI MUSIC	Thorn EMI (1 ^a)	89,979	12.00
WARNER MUSIC	Warner (4 ^a)	67,484	9.00
DISCOS MUSART		37,491	5.00
PEERLESS		22,495	3.00
CIA. FONOGRAFICA INTERNACIONAL		6,899	0.92
DISCOS SABINA		6,899	0.92
FONO VIDEOGRAMAS		6,899	0.92
LUNA MUSIC CO.		6,899	0.92
MCA MUSIC	MCA (6 ^a)	6,899	0.92
METRO CASA MUNDIAL		6,899	0.92
ORFEON VIDEO VOX	CONSOLIDATED SHIPMENT	6,899	0.92
PRODUCCIONES LUBATA		6,899	0.92
N		749,822	100.00

Source: Mexican Association of Phonograms and Videograms producers (AMPROFON) (1996).

As can be seen from table 4.2, a number of the biggest record companies operating in Mexico, are affiliates of international consortia. For example Polygram which belongs to Philips (which is Dutch in origin), holds second place internationally and fourth place nationally controlling 13.5% out of the 85% of the Mexican record market accounted for by the top 17 firms. Orfeón is an affiliate of the American company, Consolidated Shipment, that operates out of Miami and offers the largest number of bolero titles. However, it only accounts for 1% of the market commanded by the 17 leading companies (Ortiz Ibarra 1996:23).

Although at present, the bolero is no longer the most produced genre of music, it continues to have a significant share of the record market. There are frequent re-releases of traditional bolero in collection albums such as; the 8, two record volumes called *La pura bohemia* (Pure Bohemian) (BMG 1995), *Las Estrellas del Fonógrafo* (Stars of the Phonograph) (BMG and RCA 1995); *100 Boleros de Amor* (100 Love Boleros) and *Amor se dice con tríos: los 25 mejores tríos* (Love is Said with Trios: the 25 Best Trios) (Orfeón-Sanborns 1995); *Canciones para decir te amo* (Songs to Say I Love You) in 4 volumes, *Canciones para cuando dejamos de amar* (Songs for When We Stop Loving) in 5 volumes, and *Grandes Compositores* (Great Composers) in 3 volumes from Quality Records Co., among others.

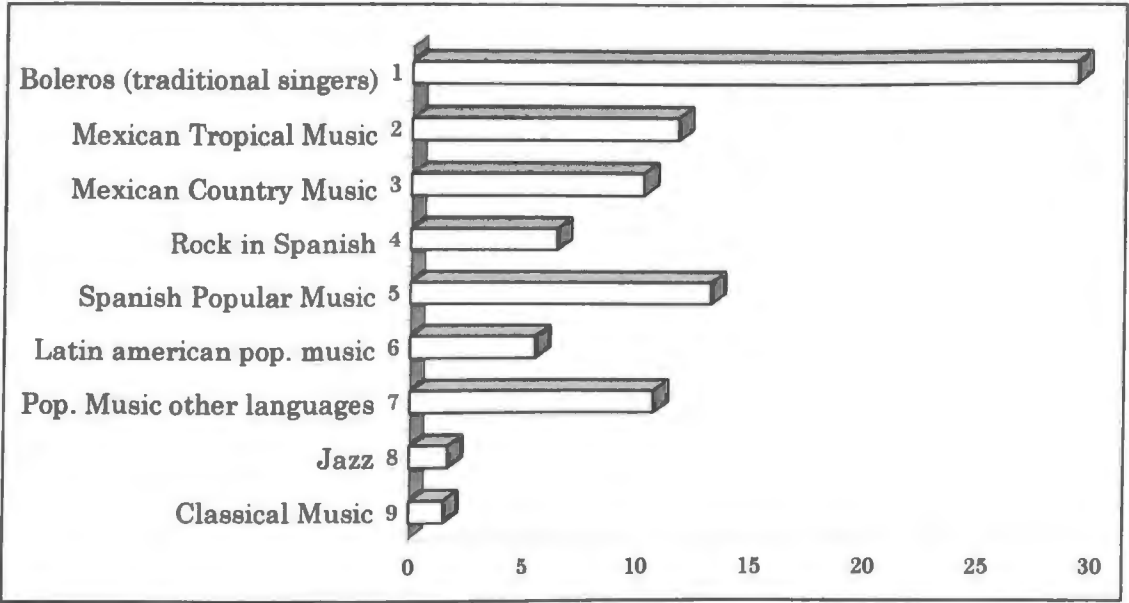
There are also new versions of the old boleros performed by current popular singers such as the record *Ven Acá* (Come Here) by Eugenia León, and Luis Miguel's *Romance* (Romance) I and II, Tania Libertad and Armando Manzanero's joint record called *La Libertad de Manzanero* (Manzanero's Liberty) (Sony Music Entertainment 1995), or *Boleros Por amor y desamor* (Boleros For Love and Indifference) by Lucerito, Mijares, Cristian, Yuri and other contemporary ballad singers (Melody undated) to name but a few.

All of these that have been in the top places of the national hit parade, week after week, and enjoyed buoyant sales in the main stores and record markets, such as Sanborn's and Mixup for the middle and upper middle classes, and *Mercado de Garibalidi* for the lower middle class. Although at present, new boleros are being composed, with innovative musical and poetic construction, the commercial record companies have generally chosen to re-record the old boleros rather than to risk untried styles.

Some record companies, such as Orfeón, continue to produce new editions of the old recordings of the great composers and singers of the golden age of the bolero. Other companies such as Polygram however have pursued a different policy, recording of traditional boleros with the most successful current singers, and introducing new instruments and musical arrangements. A detailed analysis of the 1992 catalogues of both companies shows how they direct their market strategies towards different audiences.

The Orfeón catalogue includes 468 releases. Its profile is directed to the middle class adult public that likes contemporary popular music in Spanish (85%). Of the musical genres included in the catalogue, three account for 54% of their titles. These are in first place, bolero recordings with traditional singers (29.3%), in second place Spanish music (13.2%) such as *pasos dobles*, *flamenco*, etc., and in third place the traditional tropical music such as *mambo* and *cha-cha-cha* (11.7%). The remaining 46% of the catalogue is made up of 10.7% Italian, French and U.S. popular music of the 1940's and 1950's; 10.2% rock in Spanish from the 1960's; 6.4% Mexican country music, 5.5% Latin American popular music. Jazz and classical music represent only 1.7% and 1.5%, respectively.

Figure 4.1 Musical Genres; Orfeón Catalogue.



N=468

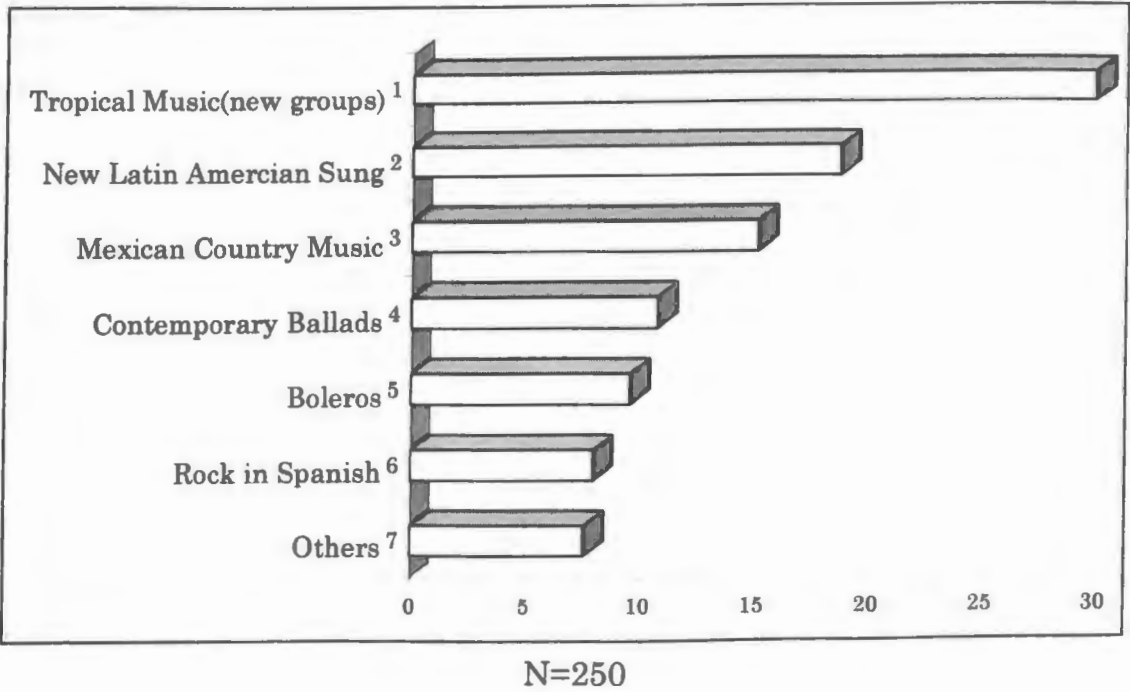
The Polygram catalogue is larger and has 719 titles divided into three major groupings that are directed to different sectors of the public. The first segment is addressed to a select public with high income which is offered classical music including labels such as Gramophone and London with 227 titles, representing 31.57% of all the records in the catalogue.

A second segment of its public is made up of middle and upper middle class young people, with a great capacity for music consumption, though numerically small. The company offers them popular music in languages other than Spanish, basically English. This sector accounts for 242 titles and represents 33.65% of the total. In this segment the most important genres are rock with 146 titles and jazz with 32, representing 60.33% and 13.22% respectively of all the releases in this group.

Finally, the segment with the largest number of titles (250) comprises popular music in Spanish and is aimed at middle class young people. It represents 34.77% of the total catalogue. The musical genre with the most titles (75), group tropical music, represents 30% of this segment. The second most important segment is romantic music with 20.4%. In this group the traditional bolero sung by current outstanding singers such as Eugenia León and Tania Libertad (9.6%), shares the space with contemporary ballads (10.8%), and with singers of great, although fleeting, prestige among young people, due to broadcasting on the radio, television and live shows promoted by the record companies as sales strategies.

New Latin American song with artists such as Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés and Mercedes Sosa, among others, mainly addressed to students and intellectuals, represents 18.8%, Mexican country music makes up 15.2% and rock in Spanish makes up 8%.

Figure 4.2 Popular Music in Spanish; Polygram Catalogue.



THE LOVE SONG AND RADIO LANGUAGE

The radio is a means of oral communication to the extent that it operates through voice and hearing. However, it is not a primary but a secondary orality, mechanically mediated, deferred in time and space (Zumthor 1991:248-49). In Mexico, radio followed the United States commercial model and rapidly came to occupy a central place in the private space of the home and transformed everyday family life.

Since the arrival of television, radio in Mexico has operated mainly as a means of broadcasting music. With the majority of stations favouring the "sung" word above programmes that use only the "spoken" word such as reports, interviews and news programmes. The music stations differ from one another in the genre of music they specialise in. The stations with a "romantic" profile broadcast mainly love songs.

The love song appears in a range of programmes with different kinds of format. These include live programmes, such the relay of a show or interviewing singers in the studio; 'phone-in programmes that are contests or request shows, or broadcasting songs interspersed with advertisements and comments from the programme presenter.

A musical performance, when broadcast on the radio, loses an important part of its quality as a live event because it lacks the visual dimension. Radio is characterised exclusively by a combination of sound and silence. It is a blind means of communication. It lacks visual images (Crisell 1993:3). It is pure phonic material, a disembodied voice that determines two radio readings, one listening adrift and the other, searching to anchor the first by means of a markedly stereotyped code (Mier 1987:60-61).

In a live performance broadcast over the radio, the presenter reconstructs the scene verbally for the listener. The atmosphere of the place has to be evoked by words and sound effects, such as environmental noises. The absence of the body and of any visual image, the transient character of words and the impossibility of fixing them beyond the listener's fragile aural memory, demands more participation from the radio listener. They have to imagine the location of the bodies within a space, the movement of the actors about a stage, the expressions on their faces, their clothing.

Since the beginning of the radio's economic crisis, brought on by the introduction of T.V., the number of live musical programmes, either with singers in the studio or the broadcasting of concerts and auditions carried out in different outside locations has been reduced considerably. Radio stations have basically become reproducers of recorded music.

On the radio, the love song now has almost totally given up its function as a performance and never-to-be-repeated event to turn into repetition, a sign, deferred in space and time, of an event that occurred in the past. The recorded song broadcast on the radio is a document, a guarantee of presence and a monument, a memory of the past, nostalgia. Due to the iconic character of its signs (Mier 1987:62; Crisell 1993:47), the radio reproduces events, repeats, celebrates and renders unforgettable the great concerts of deceased singers thanks to the recording of their music and voices. A recording is an invariant track of events. It turns into a model and is confused with the original. That is the basis of radio credibility (Mier 1987:64).

With the appearance of television, the use of the radio has also become specialised. It turned from being a means used collectively into a means used individually, privately. Even though the radio is a long-

distance means of communication, paradoxically it "speaks into our ear". The love song is received in this closeness and intimacy. The subject receives it when he/she is alone and in private, and the meaning is recreated inside of him/her (Crisell 1993:12). The presenters of "romantic" programmes mobilise this to simulate a personal dialogue with the lonely listener. It is a dialogue that is established momentarily through the telephone calls received in the studio and broadcast over the airwaves. The open telephone line has a phatic function (Jakobson 1981:356). It ensures that a channel of communication is open between the radio listener and the broadcaster.

Through the open telephone line, the radio turns (more in the imagination than in reality) into a means of interconnection between broadcasters and their audiences and between separate elements of the audience. In the programmes where the romantic music requests of the audience are played, thanks to the open telephone line, the radio fulfils the role of a serenade. The radio listeners request a song and they dedicate it to another person in the audience, as a declaration of love, an expression of dejection, or of congratulations on some anniversary. The love song broadcast on the radio is no longer listened to in silence as is a live performance. The popular music appropriated by the radio has become repetitive, catchy, easy to listen to (Barnard 1989:139).

The love song on the radio has become part of everyday life and accompanies people throughout the day, either as background music to work to, as music to dance to at parties, or to create a romantic atmosphere as a part of the courtship and seduction process. The love song is endlessly repeated on the radio and has become an unavoidable, constant and imperceptible presence. It has have been transformed into another one of the "noises" in the environment, a permanent presence that is heard at home, in the car, at shopping centres, in the work place. It is a familiar noise that is not generally

perceived while it is on, but whose absence makes the subject feel the loneliness and vacuum that contemporary society creates around subjects.

Listening to a love song on the radio is in general casual, absent-minded. The songs are heard at a pre-conscious and unconscious level. They are recorded in the memory mechanically and automatically through mnemotechnical mechanisms. The song is marked in the body as a melody or rhythm and may be reproduced later without any effort. The songs become recognisable, familiar but indistinct, they evoke and call reminiscences to mind. They produce body reactions, sensations, feelings, affections, but never notions. The love song on the radio appeals to the subject's affections by being emotive rather than conative.

The folk or traditional love song has been transformed by the cultural industries. The record and radio industries have imposed formats on it in order to mobilise it as a commodity that can be bought and sold. It must be adjusted to a duration of three to five minutes. The narration have become depersonalised. They are no longer stories of members of the immediate community, the family, the neighbourhood, the town. Songs have become exchangeable objects that can be used by anybody. They are attributable to distant characters, far-away from the life of the community, but they are also present and mythified by the "star system" constructed by radio, films and television.

The mass media have turned these characters -the stars- into part of the most personal affections of everyday life. They are necessary references of the collective memory, models of behaviour to imitate. The stars' anniversaries are to be celebrated collectively as the anniversaries of national heroes were once celebrated.

The radio, phonographic, and record industries are the preferred media for the diffusion and consumption of the love song. The radio turned slowly into an almost exclusive sales ancillary of the record industry. It provides the industry with a shop window to display its products. In return, the record industry provides the radio with more than enough material to fill its broadcasting time. At just sight, it seems as if the demands of radio listeners determine record production. In reality song programming depends on the pressure exerted by the record producers on the radio station programmers and on sales figures. The popularity thermometers of the songs and the singers are a mock representation of "democracy", a sign of the public's taste. They are an instrument to legitimise and promote certain singing styles. The audience buys what is familiar to it, because it is in fashion or has been listened to tirelessly on the radio (Barnard 1989:95-100).

For its first two decades of operation, the radio was the main promotion and diffusion means for songs and singers. The bolero baptised the radio. The XEW station, "The Voice of Latin America from Mexico" started broadcasting in 1930 with the bolero programme "Agustín Lara's Intimate Hour". The bolero today, transformed by other genres of music, is part of that continual stream of music and discourse that invades all the everyday life spaces in a new culture of sound and image.

Luis Miguel and Mijares have opened the doors to bolero and allowed it to enter the spaces occupied by the younger audiences. As a result, at present, the bolero can be heard on all the AM and FM bands from the old versions of Agustín Lara, Pedro Vargas, Juan Arvizu, Dr. Ortiz Tirado, Amparo Montes, and the Hermanas Aguila among many others, to the versions of several trios and all-time favourite singers, to the most modern versions of the new singing style.

THE BOLERO'S OMNIPRESENCE THROUGH THE RADIO

Oye mi canción, tierna melodía...³⁶⁰
(Listen to my song, a tender melody...)

Donde quiera que tú vayas, estaré contigo...³⁶¹
(Wherever you go, I will be with you...)

On the radio, the time and multi-directional dimensions of sound dominate. The bolero becomes omnipresent, a space without borders that forces the subject to listen. He/she cannot reject to it.

"This is XERC on AM, "El Fonógrafo" broadcasting 24 hours a day, from Mexico City at 790 on your radio dial, with the latest in digital technology..." (El Fonógrafo, station identification, XEB, 22nd. July, 1994).

The radio sound universe penetrates and invades all everyday life spaces. As Manzanero says:

"I love the radio because it is our best companion. It is the person that one can take in one's car or put next to one's bed. There are many things that cannot be done with television, because the noise or the shots entertain. By contrast, you can do everything with a radio" (Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. July, 1994).

The radio in Mexico City forms part of the everyday hubbub that involves and surrounds the inhabitants. It is listened to at top volume on the buses and minibuses of the collective transportation system. It escapes through the windows of houses and cars. It is heard in supermarkets and offices as background music, soft and almost

³⁶⁰ GALLI, Carlos. *Oye mi canción*. Op. cit. (d) p. 271

³⁶¹ DIPLO RIVERA, Ramón. *Donde quiera que tu vayas*. Op. cit. (c) p. 325

imperceptible. Of all the radio stations in Mexico City, seven were centred around bolero (see table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3 RADIO STATIONS WITH A PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON BOLERO

INITIALS	FREQUENCY	STATION	GROUP	RATING	%
XEJP-FM	93.7	STEREO JOYA	RADIO CENTRO	0.716	40.36
XERPM-FM	103.3	ORO 103	RADIO FORMULA	0.469	26.44
XERC-AM	790	EL FONOGRFO	RADIO CENTRO	0.318	17.93
XEQR-AM	1030	RADIO CENTRO	RADIO CENTRO	0.179	10.09
XECO-AM	1380	LA PODEROSA (DIMENSION 1380)	RADIORAMA, S.A.	0.040	2.25
XEB-AM	1220	LA "B" GRANDE DE MEXICO	INSTITUTO MEXICANO DE LA RADIO	0.030	1.69
XEX-AM	730	LA X SINTONIA HUMANA	RADIOPOLIS	0.022	1.24
				1.774	100

Source: Nielsen Radio Index (1993-1994).

In addition a number of stations included at least one bolero program (see table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4 LIST OF BOLERO PROGRAMS BY RADIO STATION AND RATING

STATION	PROGRAM	SCHEDULE	RATING				
			sep-nov '93	oct-dic '93	jun-ago '94	jul-sep '94	sep-nov '94
EL FONÓGRAFO	PÁGINAS DEL PASADO	M-F 10-12	0.16	0.2	0.36	0.51	0.41
EL FONÓGRAFO	PÁGINAS DEL PASADO	M-F 13-15	0.16	0.17	0.27	0.36	0.35
EL FONÓGRAFO	PÁGINAS DEL PASADO	TH R 23-24	0.46	0.53	0.29	0.33	0.42
LA "B" MÁS GRANDE DE MÉXICO	SIEMPRE BOLERO	WED 20-21	0.02	0.02	0	0.03	0
LA "B" MÁS GRANDE DE MÉXICO	MANZANERO A TRAVÉS DE SU MÚSICA	FRI 20-22	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0
DIMENSIÓN 1380	SÁBADO DE RUMDA	SAT 10-12	0.07	0.09			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	SALÓN LOS MALOS	FRI 22-23	0.06	0.05			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	A MEDIA LUZ	THR 23-24	0.06	0.05			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	MÚSICA DE VIDRIO	TU-TH 9-10	0.09	0.11			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	JOYAS Y MUSICA	M-SU 01-02	0.03	0.03			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	LA ÚLTIMA NOCHE	M-F 20-21	0.08	0.07			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	KUBANACAN	SAT 20-21	0.1	0.04			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	SALSABADEANDO	SAT-12-14	0	0.03			
DIMENSIÓN 1380	AUNQUE PASEN LOS AÑOS	MON 18-19	0.04	0.05			
LA CONSENTIDA	MÚSICA DE MI TIERRA	M-F 22-23	0.12	0.12			
LA CONSENTIDA	LOS ADOLORIDOS	M-F 20-21	0.19	0.2			
XEW	TÚ Y YO	M-F 17-17:30	0.08	0.05			
RADIO VARIEDADES	LA HORA DE JUAN GABRIEL	M-F 17-18	0.16	0.14			
SINFONOLA	LA HORA DE PEDRO INFANTE	M-F 8-9	0.2	0.18			
XEQ	PROMESAS DE AMOR	M-F 20-21	0.08	0.07			
RADIO CENTRO	EN CONCIERTO	M-SAT 18-19	0.11	0.12			
RADIO UNAM	LA DICHA INICUA	SUN 16-16:30	0.05	0.03			
RADIO ACIR	SERENATA ACIR	M-F 21-22	0.02	0.02			
CRISTAL FM	LA MÚSICA ATRAVÉS DEL SENTIMIENTO	TUE 20-21	1.33	1.51			
CRISTAL FM	BOHEMIA SIN LÍMITES	THR 20-21	1.33	1.51			
AMOR 106 FM	NOCHES DE BOHEMIA	M-F 19-20	0.29	0.23			
RADIO UNO FM	SOMOS NOVIOS	M-F 20-21	0.28	0.2			
FM 103.3	TRIOS, VOCES Y GUITARRAS	SAT 14-16	0.28	0.29			

Source: Nielsen Radio Index (1993-1994).

In Mexico City and its metropolitan area there are 58 radio stations, 33 on AM and 25 on FM. According to the Nielsen radio indices, between September 1993 and November 1994, radio had a penetration among the population of Mexico City. When fluctuated between 14% and 19%. Among radio-listeners the majority listened to the FM band (see table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5 RADIO RATINGS BY BANDS

	Sep-nov '93	oct-dec '93	jun-aug '94	jul-sep '94	sep-nov '94
SAMPLE	11,201.40	11,221.40	11,369.50	11,387.90	11,426.00
DIDN'T LISTEN	84.56	85.53	80.9	80.79	81.21
DID LISTEN	15	14.11	18.71	18.91	18.73
DIDN'T KNOW	0.44	0.36	0.29	0.3	0.60
LISTENED AM	4.1	3.73	5.84	5.89	5.60
LISTENED FM	10.9	10.38	12.87	13.02	13.13

Source: Nielsen Radio indices (1993, 1994).

Besides the regular radio that can be received on any transistor, there is a new radio system broadcasting via satellite: *Multiradio*. This is a restricted access system. The users have to pay a monthly fee to receive the signal. Installing the device and paying the monthly fee is about "the same price as buying a compact disk a month" (*Tiempo libre* 638, 1992:22). This service has 20 channels, 16 arrive directly from New York, via satellite and four are generated in Mexico City. They are devoted to Latin music, boleros, Mexican folk, and *salsa* (*Tiempo libre* 638, 1992:22). *Multiradio* only broadcasts music, without any interruptions, 24 hours a day all the year round. It has no commercial spots, speakers or station identifications. One of its channels, number 9, broadcasts solely boleros for the Mexican and U.S. audience (confirming how important the bolero is for Latin people in the United States).

Despite the proliferation of channels the Mexican and Latin American love song retains a significant and stable segment of the music market. Romantic music occupies third place, according for 15.6% of the total music broadcasting time on the radio, including both AM and FM bands³⁶². However, on the AM band in Mexico City and the larger metropolitan area it takes second place after rock, and represents approximately 25% of the music broadcast on that band, while on FM the share is only 7.9% (Solís 1995-96:9-13).

Taking both AM and FM bands together, rock, occupies first place with 39.3% and group tropical music is in second place with 18.9%. It is important to mention that songs in English represent 18% of the total programming. Most of the music in English is to be found on FM³⁶³, where it makes up 34.56% of the total. Whereas on AM, music in English takes up only 8.52% of the time. Ranch-style music is played for 9.55% of AM programme time, as against 4.28% on FM. Classical music occupies a similar proportion of broadcasting time on both bands, 7.37% and 7.16%, respectively (Solís 1995-96:9-13).

As mentioned earlier, as a Mexican and Latin American romantic song, bolero still has a significant place on the radio. Between 1992 and 1994³⁶⁴ seven stations broadcast only romantic music from the 1930's to 1950's, mainly boleros (see table 4.3). They included: *El Fonógrafo* "music linked to your memories", *Dimensión 1380*³⁶⁵ "the new nostalgia"

³⁶² The ordinary radio in Mexico is principally geared towards the reproduction of recorded music. Music makes up 72.56% of all radio transmission time. AM and FM are not only different technically, they also differ in their programming and type of audience.

³⁶³ Young people prefer FM because it transmits music, principally rock, 91% of the time. For example, on FM 103.3 *Fórmula romántica* (Romantic Formula), The presenter's voice only identifies the station, the format "created by Romantic Formula" consists of playing "five linked tunes". Adults prefer AM because it transmits a more varied range of programmes including, in addition to music (58.45%), news, sports, interviews and talk shows (Solís 1995-96:9-13)

³⁶⁴ The period during which radio was monitored for this study.

³⁶⁵ This station changed names, format and programming in mid-1994. First it broadcast in English in response to NAFTA which had come into effect in the January of 1994, then the

on AM, and 103.3 *Fórmula Romántica* "yesterday's music with today's sound", on FM.

These stations intended:

"to rescue not only the voices and sounds of that time but also the Mexico that has been vanishing, that romantic night-life, the entertainment and loves of that time. When one of the ways of entertainment was precisely listening to the radio" (Tiempo Libre 623, 1992:28).

El Fonógrafo devotes over 80% of its time to broadcasting boleros. This station alone attracts almost 12% of the total radio audience of Mexico City (Solís 1995-96:9-13).

Besides these specialist stations, other stations reserve a special place for the bolero in their programmes (see table 4.4). This may be either in programmes with guests invited to the studio, such as *Siempre Bolero* (Always Bolero) and *Manzanero a través de su música* (Manzanero through his Music) on XEB, or *En Concierto* (In Concert) on *Radio Centro*, where "your favourite singers speak to you about their life, music and feelings" (*Tiempo Libre* 626, 1992:23). *Música de mi tierra* (Music of my Country) on *La Consentida* is a "space for singers and musicians that are representative of Mexican music" (*Tiempo libre* 632, 1992:27). On this last station, there is another bolero program called *Los Adoloridos* (The Ones in Pain): "Music and songs that tear your soul apart. Dedicated to lost love, love that was never realised, loves that hurt us..." (*Tiempo Libre* 625, 1992:27). This programme has a different format. The radio listeners are invited to the studio to talk about their love problems and receive calls from

station called itself *La Poderosa* (The Powerful One), the programming of which consisted mainly of bolero, ballads and group tropical music in Spanish.

opposite sex listeners who console and advise them. The one in pain can choose one of the three callers for a date (*Tiempo Libre* 659, 1992:18).

In the most common format however, recorded music is played alternating with comments from a speaker in the studio. The best known include: *Tú y W* (You and W) on XEW which is described as "the force of a period in time through the most beautiful songs" (*Tiempo Libre* 660, 1993:24); *La dicha inicua* (Iniquitous Happiness) on *Radio UNAM*, which is defined as "the eternal nostalgia of boleros, music, comments and memories of the feeling that moves the world (or stops it)" (*Tiempo Libre* 627, 1992:27); *Serenata ACIR* (ACIR Serenade) on *Radio ACIR*; on *FM Amor 106.3 Noches de Bohemia* (Bohemian Nights) "romantic music and poetry reading for people in love" (*Tiempo Libre* 623, 1992:28); *Somos novios* (We are Boyfriend and Girlfriend) on *XEDF 104.1 Radio Uno*; *La Música a través del sentimiento* (Music through Feeling) and *Bohemia sin límites* (Bohemia without Limits) on *Radio Crystal FM*; and *Tríos, voces y guitarras* (Trios, voices and guitars) on *Radio 103.3 FM* "romantic formula".

Other programs are organised around one character in particular who composes and/or sings boleros, among other kind of songs. Examples include: *La hora de Juan Gabriel* (Juan Gabriel's Hour) on *Radio Variedades* or *La hora de Pedro Infante* (Pedro Infante's hour) "music, anecdotes, and comments about the Mexican idol" on *Radio Sinfonola* (*Tiempo Libre* 1992/623:28). In addition, other Mexican romantic music stations occasionally include the bolero among other modern ballads.

Selecting the programmes to be analysed in detail however concentrated on stations with a romantic, nostalgic music profile, where the programming was fundamentally made up of boleros.

Stations that broadcast boleros occasionally, but had a different programming profile, were excluded. For example, even though the programme *Los adoloridos* (Those In Pain) on the radio station *La Consentida* (The Favourite One), had one of the highest ratings per programme (.19 and .20), it was not considered because the profile for the station and the programme itself was fundamentally based around *ranchera* (ranch) music, although boleros were occasionally included (see table 4.4).

The FM stations that broadcast boleros all day, as well as those stations that include a few bolero programmes sometimes in their programming, were not considered in the selection either, because their programming is based exclusively on the reproduction of pre-recorded music with no commentaries, interviews or dialogue with the public. Programmes that consisted entirely of the broadcasting of taped music were excluded, given that such songs were fully analysed in the previous chapter .

On the selected stations, particular programmes were chosen to represent the main genres in which the bolero had a place, with the aim of understanding the different transformations that the bolero underwent on the radio. The genres were:

1. The broadcasting of live shows staged outside the radio station.
2. Programmes of interviews with and commentaries by singers and composers invited into the studio.
3. Phone-ins programmes in which there was a dialogue between the radio-presenter and the public.

Programmes that consisted entirely of taped music were excluded, given the songs themselves fully analysed in an earlier chapter. In

accordance with the criteria mentioned above, the selected programmes were as follows:

Páginas del Pasado (Pages from the Past) on *El Fonógrafo* (The Gramophone): a programme that was broadcast from Monday to Friday, from 10 a.m. to mid-day. This was a phone-in programme, in which a dialogue was established between the presenter and the radio-listeners. It was the bolero programme with the highest rating on the AM waveband. During the period of observation, the rating showed an upward tendency, and it was always above the overall average for the station. In the three month period, July to September 1994, the programme managed to capture 8.64% of the AM waveband audience with ratings of .51 points. This number of points is particularly high when one considers that, in the same period, the AM band had a total of 5.89 points in the ratings, distributed between the 33 stations on the band with which *El Fonógrafo* was competing (see table 4.4).

La Cueva de Amparo Montes (Amparo Montes's Cellar) also on *El Fonógrafo* (The Gramophone), was the weekly live broadcast of Amparo Montes's bolero show, directly from the bar where the show was taking place. Considering the time of the programme, between 11p.m. and midnight, it had a really good rating. This programme is also interesting because it demonstrates clearly the migration of the bolero through the different spaces in which it is performed, and through the different subjects who sing it. Amparo Montes migrates from the live show in her bar to the private space of the home, thanks to the technology of radio broadcasting.

It is important to note that *El Fonógrafo* (The Gramophone) is not only the AM station with a bolero profile (nostalgic music in Spanish) that has the highest rating, but that its programmes also have one of the highest average ratings, taking the AM waveband as a whole. During

the period over which the radio station was studied for this thesis, it reached .31 points in average ratings, a figure which represented 5.25% of the total AM audience. *El Fonógrafo* is one of the oldest radio stations in Mexico City. It still continues to broadcast basically boleros, and which has not changed its profile over the years (see table 4.4).

Lastly, the radio XEB programme *Manzanero a través de su música* (Manzanero through his Music) was also chosen. This programme was broadcast every Friday from 8p.m. to 9p.m. (see table 4.4). It consisted of interviews with and commentaries by bolero singers and composers invited to the studio. In spite of the fact that both the radio station and the programme had low ratings, it was selected because it is representative of an important genre, and most of all because the programme's presenter was the bolero composer best known to the Mexican public in general, and the composer most mentioned by those subjects interviewed for this research. Similarly it is important to point out that XEB is the oldest radio station in Mexico City. It began broadcasting in 1923, promoting the great names in bolero, and to this day maintains the same profile.

These selection produced a corpus of 16 programmes all were taped and transcribed in full. The taping was carried out between 10th October and 13th November 1994. All editions of the programme *Páginas del Pasado* (Pages from the Past), which is broadcast from Monday to Friday, were taped during the week 7-11th November, together with five consecutive weekly broadcasts of the programme *La Cueva de Amparo Montes* (Amparo Montes's Cellar). Regarding *Manzanero a través de su música* (Manzanero through his Music), as well as the five weekly programmes taped during this period, the special programme of tribute to Armando Manzanero that began the series on Friday 22nd July 1994 was also taped and included in the corpus for analysis.

LIVE BROADCASTING: THE MASSIFICATION AND PRIVATISATION OF THE BOLERO SHOW

*Cotnigo en la distancia...*³⁶⁶
(*With you in the distance...*)

By means of live broadcasting, the radio becomes an active intermediary between performers and listeners. *Dimensión 1380* takes Amparo Montes's voice and Reynolds Peña's music from the public venue to the private home.

"Kind and gentle audience, we are here with you in San Angel, at Av. De la Paz 32, broadcasting from Tasca Manolo where La Cueva de Amparo Montes is located, to continue delighting ourselves with the voice of passion: AMPARO MONTES" (A media luz. Dimensión 1380, 17th. December, 1992).

The bolero as a live show, when it passes through the technology of radio undergoes a metamorphosis. The voice is separated from the body that produces it, and the music from the instruments that produce it.

At the same time, thanks to the radio, a bolero show in an exclusive and excluding bar in Mexico City (due to the prices and space limitations), becomes accessible to anyone. Radio breaks down (more in an imaginary than a real way) the borders of social and physical space. It reduces the distances between different places in the city and positions in the hierarchical structure of society.

Through live broadcasting, the public show becomes a private event, whether listening together with friends or strangers in a bar, becomes cosy or alone, at home, in a hotel room or in the car. Amparo Montes at

³⁶⁶ PORTILLO DE LA LUZ, César. *Contigo a la Distancia*. Op. cit. (c) p.244

La Cueva, becomes pure voice, music and noises. The framework of physical space are dissolved in the pure time registers of sound. The listener recognises her from the slightly difficult breathing, marked by the signs of age, and the still powerful, clear and deeply sensual bass pitch of her voice that sings:

"Temor... de ser feliz a tu lado... miedo... de acostumbrarme a tu calor..." (I am afraid of being happy at your side... afraid of getting accustomed to your warmth)³⁶⁷

This, together with other sound information allows the listener to construct a space in which he/she places people, evokes known faces or makes up an unknown face to recreate the scene in his/her imagination.

In this process the elements supplied by the radio *compère* are crucial, as in the following dialogue:

J.M. "I was looking at that statue... it is very beautiful."

A.M. "My beautiful statue! Chacho Ibáñez gave it to me."

J.M. "Beautiful... (and adds as an explanation for the radio listener) ... it is Agustín Lara showing off a beautiful Cordoba suit... (La Cueva de Amparo Montes. El Fonógrafo, 13th. October, 1994).

THE BOLERO: NOSTALGIA OF THE PAST AND NEW NOSTALGIA

*Nostalgia de no escuchar tu voz...³⁶⁸
(The nostalgia of not hearing your voice...)*

³⁶⁷ CURIEL, Gonzalo. *Temor*. Op. cit. (c) p. 1061

³⁶⁸ BRITO, Orlando. *Angustia*. Op. cit. (c) p. 103

When the radio broadcasts romantic music, and in particular boleros, it anchors its discourse around the axis of nostalgia. On some radio channels, the identification of the station itself transports us to the past. *El Fonógrafo*, music linked to your memories" for example, took the name of Marconi's invention that gave birth to the radio over a hundred years ago. Its profile is like an archive of the musical tradition and an aid to collective memory. *El Fonógrafo* evokes the past repeatedly, in the names of the musical programmes where the bolero has a central role: *Páginas del Pasado* (Pages of the Past), *Caminos de Ayer* (Yesterday's Roads), *Las Inolvidables de El Fonógrafo* (The Unforgettable Songs of *El Fonógrafo*). All the programming is designed to link the present with a shared cultural past.

El Fonógrafo, as described by its artistic director, Don Enrique del Callejo,

"is the only station that broadcasts songs in the voices of the singers who made them famous." (Tiempo Libre 623, 1992:28).

Musical arrangements, piano, violins, guitars or orchestra all evoke the old style. The female and male voices of singers are all retired from the stage or dead: Ma. Luisa Landín, the Hermanas Huerta, Juan Arvizu, Pedro Vargas; or composers like Curiel, Lara, Pardavé, María Grever or Consuelo Velázquez. This combination of significant elements transports us to the period from the 1930's to the 1950's. The station's profile is oriented towards a specific segment of the city audience: retired men and women who stay at home during the day:

"Senior citizens have their space on this station; our programming is addressed mainly to them, but the grandchildren are the ones who phone in to communicate with the station, so young people are now discovering

this kind of music" (Enrique del Callejo. Tiempo Libre 623, 1992:28).

The sounds, and musical elements stand in contrast to the interwoven anchors of the present: the speaker's voice, advertising, information capsules, news broadcasts and live programmes. The radio listener is transported in his/her imagination from one space and time to another. The station's discourse strategy invites him/her to travel in time and to establish a parallel between the characters, radio styles and city of today with the Mexico of a last era.

In contrast, *Dimensión 1380*, when promotes "the new nostalgia", confronts the audience with a double meaning in the very name of the station. The proposed framework of interpretation is established through the paradoxical tension between the words new and nostalgia, between past and present.

The memory of a wonderful time always disappearing makes a brutal contrast with everyday life in today's Mexico City with over 15 million inhabitants (12,000 per km²); 18% of the country's total population concentrated in less than 1% of the national territory.³⁶⁹ The traffic, traffic jams, lack of water, garbage, floods, pollution and the "day off the road" programme, are common problems for the city's inhabitants, that provoke nostalgia for "the most transparent region."

The radio station promotes itself by offering everyday items to the middle class families of old-modern Mexico. The announcer invites the "housewife" to buy "a set of glasses, pitcher and tray in aluminium of vivid colours", collector's items. It is something substantial that does not wear out with use. A past time is evoked and renewed today, every day. Love songs become part of this process.

³⁶⁹ *La Jornada* 8th March 1993.

In this way, a 'new' nostalgia, in the sense of a nostalgia that is renewed every day, is constructed for a mythical subject and a collective past. As artistic director Linn Fainchestein describes the station:

"the idea is to recover the time in which one could go out at night, and enjoy the dances and the night clubs. That is why we go out to the street... we try to make it feel as if it were not just a memory, that all of it were still true and liveable..." (Tiempo Libre 623, 1992:28).

To cement this sense *Dimensión 1380* invited the public to go out every Wednesday and take part in a ball organised by the radio station at the *Salón Riviera* "the most elegant dance hall in Mexico" with the motto "Remembering is Living". And through the music in programmes such as: *Sábado de rumba* (Rumba Saturday), *La Matancera* and *Salón los malos modales* (Dance Hall: the Bad Manners), the radio station recreated the dance hall atmosphere.

This radio station, in the purest and oldest radio style, used to sponsor live events in order to open a special space for them in its programming. To celebrate Chavela Vargas's 100 performances, the radio broadcast a special programme from the Theatre Bar *El Hábito* (*Tiempo Libre* 665, 1993:25). They also broadcast on Thursdays from 11:00 to 12:00 p.m., live from *La Cueva de Amparo Montes*, a programme called *A media luz* (In Half Light) conducted by Ruiz del Río (*Tiempo Libre* 658, 1992:27).

Dimensión 1380's radio strategy went beyond the mere repetition. It was an attempt (prematurely aborted) to recover and give back to the audience its memory and the possibility to go out on the town. The programmes were the result of extensive research. By broadcasting

romantic music and through the live testimony of guests they evoked memories and re-lived the stories that are part of the musical artistic chronicle of Mexico.

They included the programme *Música de vidrio, ritmo de cristal* (Glass Music, Crystal Rhythm); and the documentation of the links between bolero and the cinema in Alberto Sekely's programme *Joyas y música de la época de oro del cine nacional* (Jewels and Music from the Golden Age of National Cinema). In the programme *La última noche que pasé contigo* (The Last Night I Spent with You) presented by Jesús Flores Escalante and Pablo Dueñas, little known romantic music was rescued. In another programme presented by Pablo Dueñas Herrera called *Kubanacan*, the "biographies and anecdotes of musicians, singers and composers" of Cuban romantic music were broadcast (*Tiempo Libre* 625, 1992:27). All these initiatives were a form of popular archaeology, bringing burned and half-buried artefacts back to the surface of consciousness.

THE BOLERO IN SUPPORT OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY: COMMEMORATIONS AND TRIBUTES

*Te acordarás de mí, mientras yo viva...*³⁷⁰
(You will remember me as long as I live)

As these examples show, the bolero is an important intermediary between present and past. Further, each bolero broadcast on the radio commemorates events, that the presenter and the audience both recall, as a part of their collective memory. A particular prominent feature of radio programming is the tribute paid to the characters of bolero history. Some of them, such as Agustín Lara, have died and become controversial. They are remembered romantically as unconventional,

³⁷⁰ VALDEZ HERNANDEZ, Pablo. *Sentencia*. Op. cit. (c) p. 987

avant-garde artists who broke with tradition, creators of a new school within the environment of popular music.

"Agustín Lara, the Mexican composer, unconventional of course, like any genius, will be remembered tonight by all the artists who are taking part in this programme, "music linked to your memories" (La Cueva de Amparo Montes, El Fonógrafo, 13th. October, 1994).

Through the songs and anecdotes from the lives of significant bolero singers and composers, the radio evokes a time past:

"Friends of El Fonógrafo, I am Sandra Monje, daughter of Chucho Monje, the composer. When he was very young, at the age of 17, my father composed "Al son de mi guitarra" (To the Sound of my Guitar) that was recorded in Spanish, English and French. It was his first song, my father wrote about 300 songs, among them México Lindo y Querido (Mexico Pretty and Beloved), La Feria de las Flores (The Flower Fair), Creí (I Believed), Sacrificio (Sacrificio), Besando la Cruz (Kissing the Cross), No hay Derecho (That's Unfair), Me das pena (I feel sorry for you)..." (Páginas del Pasado. El Fonógrafo 9th. November, 1994).

The radio constructs popular narratives of the lives of singers and composers, biographies that are made up of fragments worth recounting.

"... the indestructible, that is the way Mexico's press described Fernando Fernández when he reappeared before an audience at the night-club "El Señorial", after having undergone several, painful operations following an accident in which he had almost died..." (Páginas del Pasado. El Fonógrafo 9th November, 1994).

The bolero provides a vehicle to celebrate events from a "star's" private life, that can be shared with an audience: birthdays, wedding anniversaries, death anniversaries.

"El Fonógrafo pays a well-deserved tribute to Mexico's crooner, Fernando Fernández, on his birthday..." (Páginas del pasado, El Fonógrafo, 9th. November, 1994).

Radio contributes to making singers and composers into mythical characters who substitute for older national saints and heroes. The great bolero singers and composers become models for personal identification and projection. Their lives and behaviour are offered for imitation or catharsis. Through them, the listener works through displaced experiences.

RADIO INTERVIEWS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MYTHICAL MODELS

Vamos a platicar...³⁷¹
(Let's talk)

In studio interviews, the singers and composers who are still alive, relate their own lives in ways that construct a singular, exceptional image of themselves as artists. The anecdotes tell of the special gifts that God and nature have bestowed on them. These characteristics constitute them as quintessentially modern, democratic, heroes, ordinary human beings and at the same time outstanding, specially gifted.

Consuelito Velázquez for example, in an interview on an XEB programme *Manzanero a través de su música* projects an image of

³⁷¹ MENESES, Héctor. *Vamos a Platicar*. Op. cit. (d) p. 274

herself as a child prodigy to whom nature gave the gift of a "musical ear".

"I was born with a musical ear... at the age of 4 or 5 I was always at the piano... they said we have to make this girl study, and they made me learn the notes... I studied for nine years and I became a concert pianist, my first concert was at the Palacio de Bellas Artes... the following day they called me to play on the radio... on XEQ, after that I went to W" (Consuelo Velázquez in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 28th. October, 1994).

Consuelo Velázquez portrays herself, through a dialogue with Manzanero, as a disciplined professional, with a mission. She is an exceptionally gifted woman who works, takes words and puts them to music, plays the piano and sings:

"I compose with the mind, I never perform a song if it is not complete in my mind. I am never strumming on the piano with my finger looking for melodies, never... I always take my time... if there are no lyrics that I like, I put them away without fretting, and one day that little word I am looking for comes to mind..." (Consuelo Velázquez in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 28th. October, 1994).

The composer of internationally broadcast boleros such as *Bésame Mucho* (Kiss me, my Darling), projects a double image of herself. Where the lyrics of her songs such as *Verdad Amarga* (Bitter Truth) and *Amar y Vivir* (Loving and Living) express great passion, she distances herself from such passion when she says:

"I write them... based on everything I observe about a human being... the only ones that I have written, that I have composed for particular persons are for my two children..." (Consuelo Velázquez in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 28th. October, 1994).

In this way, in front of the audience, she conveys an impression of herself as an ordinary woman, a model wife and mother. This is carefully formulated to facilitate identification with her by the average middle class woman.

In his turn, in the special programme dedicated to Manzanero, that celebrated the beginning of the series *Manzanero a través de su música*, the composer projected an image of himself as an extraordinary talent having produced 350 songs. He is an innovator who has broken with the traditional style, and who together with composers such as Vicente Garrido has given the bolero a new boost

"my father wanted me to speak in the songs the same as in his time, he wanted me to compose exactly the same as in his time... and he told me you are not writing good accompaniments, you don't know how to harmonise, you don't even know how to carry rhythm... that is when I stopped playing the piano, when I quit music... but one fine day... I listened to a man who said 'don't tell me any more... let me imagine that the past does not exist...' then I said, my father is the one who is wrong..." (Manzanero in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

He projects an image of a "famous, successful" musician who travels around the world giving concerts,

"I was working in Buenos Aires two weeks ago, last week I was in Panama, I am working with Diango in the Plaza de Toros in Madrid next Thursday, and next week I will be working in Chile..." (Manzanero in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

However, Manzanero is also careful to present himself to the audience as an ordinary person, almost insignificant, because of his height and the colour of his skin, topics which he is always joking about.

"I am from Yucatán, one of the things I love most is having been born there, it is a beautiful place that saw me being born, it did not see me grow, but it saw me being born..."
(Manzanero in *Manzanero a través de su música*, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

"I like Spaniards very much, because, despite my size and colour, I also have a lot of Spanish blood in me... because they tell me... that my ancestors ate some Spanish friars..."
(Manzanero in *Manzanero a través de su música*, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

Manzanero also presents himself in the image of an "ordinary" Mexican male, a Don Juan who speaks about his woman as *la de adiveras, la merengues* (the real one), an expression that implies the possible existence of "other" women in his life. He is simultaneously a worker and a romantic, a dreamer

"a guy like me, a dreamer, a crazy man, this disaster who does not care about anything, who does not care about the dollar exchange rate going up or down, as he has already spent them all" (Manzanero in *Manzanero a través de su música*, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

BOLERO HISTORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

*Nosotros...*³⁷²
(We)

³⁷² JUNCO, Pedro. *Nosotros*. Op. cit. (c) p.821

The radio creates the myth of bohemian bolero world whose singers and composers constitute one great family, a community of friends, a network of deep links, of love, friendships, and work relationships. This can be seen at work in the following dialogue, from the *La Cueva de Amparo Montes* radio program:

AM "Bruno, you knew Agustín Lara very well..."

BT "I had a lot to do with him, when he travelled to my country, Cuba... later we worked together in the Lírico, in Los Angeles, with two pianos, the master and myself" (La Cueva de Amparo Montes. El Fonógrafo, 13th. October, 1994).

In his own program Manzanero speaks of his friendship with Tania Libertad and Vicente Garrido, as well as his recent work with Luis Miguel:

"On 27th April 1968, I debuted in Lima... a girl went out on stage before me, with her guitar, and sang Peruvian songs marvellously... I had debuted with a lady called Tania Libertad... that is the friendship that unites us..." (Manzanero in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

"Thanks to this brother, Don Vicente Garrido, whom I love so much -says Manzanero- I took up the piano again and started to dream of the songs that you now know..." (Manzanero in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

"On 7th. March I became part of the project team for the most recent Luis Miguel record. We took a whole month to look for the material, the tones, everything beautiful, on 4th. April exactly we started recording..." (Manzanero in Manzanero a través de su música, XEB, 22nd. August, 1994).

The radio, by means of the bolero, establishes a parallel between the calendars of the stars' lives and the dates important to the families in the audience. In a double movement, the radio listeners become a part of the show and the announcer and the bolero stars in turn become part of the listener's family, one more member:

"This is Magdalena Martínez Bustamante speaking, I would like to wish Mr. Fernando Fernández many happy returns on this his birthday... he is my idol, he is a fantastic singer... thanks for this opportunity to reach them through your programme." (Páginas del pasado. El Fonógrafo, 9th. November, 1994).

Radio has allowed the creation of emotional links, no less close or deep for being imaginary, between radio listeners and the stars. These passions are expressed in a particularly heightened form on occasions of public mourning, in the paradigmatic case of Pedro Infante's death³⁷³. At a more mundane level events in the listener's personal life are continually linked through imagination to the stars' world.

"As I was telling you, at my age, I have listened to a lot of old, old music... I would like you to dedicate to my wife a song I sang with Guty Cárdenas... El Caminante del Mayab (The Mayab Walker)... I am speaking about the 1920's... Guty Cárdenas was a student at Colegio Williams... he was a very nice boy...but he was, as it is said today, very bold, he liked to fight a lot,... at that time we sang serenades... on the San Angel bus, we put a little piano... the whole orchestra... it was another time... it was like living in the country..." (Páginas del Pasado. El Fonógrafo, 8th. November, 1994).

³⁷³ Thousands of people went to bury him when he died in 1957.

The private stories of ordinary people in turn, become part of the story of the stars and the history of cultural industries, and in particular bolero history.

"I lived all my life near the W, on Luis Moya street, until I got married. I met a lot of singers there, Mr. Fernando Fernández who was on the programme yesterday... we were fortunate to talk to him..." (Páginas del Pasado. El Fonógrafo, 8th. November, 1994).

Through bolero, Radio creates a potent sense of imagined "community". It unites subjects of different social groups, sexes, and ages in a convergent imaginary space. It creates the illusion that all listeners share a common past, the same history.

The country's and the city's history are re-told and reassembled in anecdotes from the personal lives of the singers and composers that make up a self-referring universe, separated from the national economic-political context. The radio takes the voices that contribute to this narrative, out of these contexts, and repositions them in the closed space of the media and its protagonists. The lives of the "stars" constitute what is memorable, the rest of the events relevant to the city's life are consigned to silence.

THE BOLERO AND PHONE-INS: THE MYTHICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

*Cuando sientas frío en tu corazón,
háblame...³⁷⁴
(When you feel cold in your heart, call me)*

Through phone-ins, the radio listener, who in the past the announcer had to imagine, becomes a tangible presence.

³⁷⁴ MICHEL, Paco. *Háblame*. Op. cit. (c) p.507

"You see Mr. Luna... I am a driver... I work on a microbus... I have this station on almost all day long and the people have asked me what station I am playing and I am pleased to tell them that it is El Fonógrafo" (Páginas del Pasado. El Fonógrafo, 8th. November, 1994).

The radio listener's voice enters into the concert of voices broadcast by the radio, and offers the rest of the audience a point of identification. It represents the voices that always remain silent. In this way, an imaginary network is established between the different players in this communication.

The radio and the bolero enter into a special contract with listeners as, mediator and public at the same time, when husbands and wives, the parents and children, lovers or friends, use them to send each other greetings, or congratulations, or dedicate a song to some one.

RL "Could you play a song for me?"

AN "Yes, with pleasure, which song?"

RL "'Déjame llorar" (Let me cry), I dedicate a warm greeting to Mrs. Catalina Alanis, if she is listening to me..." (Páginas del pasado, El Fonógrafo, 8th. November, 1994).

Through the open telephone line, the audience enters the radio space. The dialogues between announcers and listeners aired on the radio, create a virtual space. They project an image of city life through the fragments of everyday life that are expressed in addressed messages, collected from each telephone call.

"For my wife... hoping she is not angry with me anymore..." (Páginas del pasado. El Fonógrafo. 8th. November, 1994).

"For my step mother... on my father's death anniversary... as she still feels bad..."

(Páginas del pasado. El Fonógrafo. 8th. November, 1994).

"For my husband who is sick... he is at home and I am at work... I want to send him greetings and many kisses because I love him very much, we have been married for 25 years and we have four children... I want to dedicate the song "Sin ti" (Without you) by Los Panchos to my husband... that song brings us memories of when we were boyfriend and girlfriend..." (Páginas del pasado. El Fonógrafo. 8th. November, 1994).

The conversations between the programme presenters and the radio listeners are an integral part of contemporary broadcasting. The effects of the personal, intimate communication that the telephone permits is amplified when it is aired on the radio:

- *A very good morning to you, Páginas del Pasado,*
 - *Good morning Mr. Luna,*
 - *What can I do for you? Who is calling, please?*
 - *Mrs. María Concepción Castro*
 - *Mrs. Conchita, what can I do for you?*
 - *I want to trouble you for a song,*
 - *It is no trouble, which would you like?*
 - *I want you to play "Tú y La Mentira" (You and the lie), to congratulate my parents who have been married for 33 years*
 - *Yes, of course...*
 - *I also want to congratulate you for your nice words*
 - *Thank you,*
 - *And I hope that you and all your family are happy, and that you live for many years*
 - *And you too, take care, have a nice day...*
- (Páginas del pasado. El Fonógrafo. 8th. November, 1994).*

These ritualised interaction over the telephone simulate a personal, family link between the radio presenter and the audience. The mythical relationship with the announcer is an imitation and evocation of the encounters between acquaintances in the same neighbourhood, relationships that have been lost in the depersonalised and depersonalising environment of a large city.

Through the open telephone line, private life acquires a public, anonymous character. Ordinary life is transformed into part of the show. The radio displays small fragments of intimacy that are integrated into the program and return to the public an image of their life. The audience becomes a witness to declarations of love, requests for forgiveness, condolences or congratulations. The ordinary person turns into the protagonist of a widely heard love story. His/her life is no longer routine, mundane. It acquires a new meaning, a new dimension, which is spectacular, extraordinary and memorable.

CHAPTER V

PICTURING BOLERO; CINEMA AND TELEVISION

As we have emphasised at several points, during its passage through the cultural industries, the bolero has undergone multiple transformations. With the arrival of the moving images in the cinema and later on television, it has been converted into a narrative, a love story, a show extended over space and time. Television transports performances from public spaces to the private enclosure that is the home. It also transports the cinema of the past to the present. Thus films from the thirties, forties and fifties, in which the bolero played a leading role, can still be appreciated week by week on television. In addition, many of these films are now available on video.

This chapter explores some of the transformations that the bolero has undergone in the passage through the audio-visual languages of the cinema and television. It pays special attention to the ways that the bolero, itself transfigured by each medium, has contributed to the constitution of collective memory in general and to the shaping of subjects in love in particular. To illustrate these processes, I present a concrete analysis of two films and two television programmes, in which the bolero plays a fundamental role.

In order to determine the bolero's role, in the cinema, as an important form of both cultural patrimony, and of collective memory in matters concerning love, a general review was carried out of the films produced in Mexico between 1930 and 1959 (García Riera Vol. 1-8 1992-1994). This was the golden era of both the cinema and the bolero. The results showed that more than 80% of the films produced during that period had love as their main theme.

However, for the purposes of the analysis I have excluded plots set in the countryside and focused on urban melodramas which included boleros as a leitmotiv. These represented approximately a third of all the films produced between 1943 and 1953. By analysing the summaries of films of this type, provided by García Riera (Vol. 3-6 1992-1993), it was possible to distinguish two main genres: the family melodrama and the cabaret melodrama.

In the family melodrama, the drama unfolded during the day in the privacy of the home. The story ended with the wedding, and the central female character was the girlfriend, who, is converted into wife and mother. The cabaret melodrama, had passionate love as its theme. It unfolded mainly during the night, in the public space of a cabaret club, and the central female character was the lover or prostitute.

One representative example of each of these genres was selected for detailed analysis. The choice was made in accordance with the following criteria: a) that the film had to be one mentioned by those interviewed, b) that some of the main characters had to have been mentioned by those interviewed, and c) it was available on video in video rental centres near areas of Mexico City where those interviewed lived. The family melodrama chosen *Nosotros los pobres* (We the Poor) met all these criteria and *Hay amor que malo eres* (O my Love, how bad you are!) the representative cabaret melodrama, met criteria b) and c).

Nowadays, films with the bolero as a musical theme or as an argument, are no longer produced. However, older bolero films continue to be widely distributed through video rental, or through the broadcasts on normal television channels. They are therefore still very much part of contemporary cultural life. Consequently, a comprehensive analysis needs to include them as one of the symbolic resources that people routinely draw on.

To compile the sample of television programmes for analysis, the weekly magazine *Teleguía* (Teleguide) was studied, to locate programmes featuring musical shows. The programmes chosen were *Un poco más* (A Little More) on Channel 11, and *La hora azul* (The Blue Hour) on Channel 2, because in both the bolero is central. Five editions of each programme, transmitted between 13th February and 13th March 1993, were taped and transcribed. It is important to note here also that those interviewed mentioned that they used to watch these programmes. On monitoring regular television broadcasting more generally the occasional presence of the bolero was observed both in the most prominent soap-operas of the day: *Valeria y Maximiliano*, *María Mercedes* and *De frente al sol* (Facing the Sun); and in different commercials. It is worth mentioning that the bolero music programmes had low average ratings. *La Hora Azul*, on private television, showed 10.0, and the programme *Un poco más* from the state-run television, only reached a meagre 1.0. Soap operas, in contrast, had very high ratings, ranging from 23.1 at the lower end for the soap opera *Si Dios me quita la vida* (If God Takes Away my Life), to 47.0 at the higher end for *María Mercedes* (see appendix 3).

Both the films and the television programmes selected were analysed sequence by sequence, taking note of the linguistic registers, the sounds (musical and special effects), and the image. This procedure followed the methodologies for audio-visual analysis set out by Chion (1993), and the structural analysis of narrative proposed by Barthes (1974a:9-42).

THE LOVE SONG AND THE FILM INDUSTRY

Most early films were short documentaries on actuality footage but by 1915 when Griffith made "Birth of a Nation", film-making had developed its own language and, become "a machine to tell stories"

(Metz 1972:148). The cinema as a cultural consumer product come to centre around a fictional narrative of approximately one and a half hours, called simply a "film".

With the invention of the "talkies", the industry took full advantage of the sound arts and the list of actors drawn up by radio. Thus music became an integral part of film-making rather than an accompaniment, as in the silent era. The love song as an aesthetic object became part of films as a theme, and the singers of these songs became film stars.

In films, the love song expressed in the first person, becomes a musical melodrama and is transformed into a love story. The lyrical discourse as an expression of the feelings of the "I" who sings, an emotive function (Jakobson 1981:353) is amplified and turned into an epic (narrative), dramatic discourse -subjects and referential functions (Jakobson 1981:353-355). It is a narration-representation of a love story. Singing, or oral poetry, takes on substance. It is transformed and re-defined through cinema language.

Music, and the love song in particular, having become an integral part of films, gave birth to musical comedy and melodrama. Films include musical scenes in which the actors sing or dance, in addition to using background or environmental music. Moreover, music is used as a means of symbolic punctuation for the action. In some ways this kind of film is an attempt to create a sort of spoken opera (Chion 1993:41-67).

In a similar way to baroque opera, musical "melodrama" or "comedy" films are divided into dialogue sequences in which the plot is developed, and where the music serves as a backdrop. These sequences would be the equivalent of the "reciting" part of an opera. The singing

or dancing scenes would be the equivalent of the "arias" where the effects of the drama are shown by the characters' mood. A currently popular song is incorporated as a central theme or leitmotiv, a thread that runs through the whole film. The love song becomes an aria at those moments, as the character, facing the camera "acts an aside and faces the audience, showing the audience his/her affections and feelings" (Trías 1993:44).

The love song transformed into a film story has been a potent myth-creating device in contemporary culture and a fundamental instrument in the construction of the belief system that such a culture has built and developed. In a myth, the individual events in a subject's life are integrated into a story and acquire meaning as part of collective memory. The symbolic dimension of the story lies in the suspense - which stimulates desire- and the conclusion (González Requena 1992:114-118).

Films, image-movement, when projected on the screen become independent of the filmed object and produce, simultaneously and paradoxically, an effect of reality as testimony and an effect of unreality as imagery. This interplay of presence and absence is a necessary pre-condition so that the imaginary identification and projection a subject makes may be brought into play (Morin 1972:101-174). This simulation of reality fosters self-recognition in familiar things, in familiar situations, the familiar characters and their actions. In films and dreams there are also shameful, secret identifications with terrible characters and unutterable conduct (Morin 1972:101-174).

Through films, because of the mechanisms of identification and projection, individuals and communities may recognise the meaning of their love experience through the characters and their actions. The plot

of desires and conflicts serve as a metaphor of the conflicts that divide them (González Requena 1992:118).

In the 1990's however, the practice of "cinema going" has reduced considerably with the appearance of television and videocassette recorders (García Canclini 1995:119). Now, it is possible to watch films on television, or to rent and play them on videocassette recorders and television sets. Films on T.V. modify dramatically the form of consumption and, consequently, the meaning conveyed at the moment of reception. The pleasure and aesthetic experience of seeing a film is completely changed when it moves from the cinema screen to the television screen.

When a film is transported from the cinema, which is a public space shared with other unknown spectators, and where the film is watched in silence, in darkness, without any interruptions, to a living room which is a private space where the film is shared "with the family", amidst everyday conversation, noise, and the many interruptions caused by normal home life, or in the case of televised films, by commercial spots, a difference is established between the cinematographical, aesthetic experience and the television experience.

THE BOLERO AND FILMS: FROM LOVE SONG TO LOVE STORY

From 1930, the talkies have not only used the topics and composers of music and review theatre, they have also incorporated elements of its structure, sketches and songs. Indeed to an extent the Mexican cinema's popular success was based on, and powered by, the prestige achieved by the Mexican song and its singers at the national and international level.

Since 1930, the bolero has been one of the main characters of the national cinema, and a topic for many films, some of which were named after boleros, such as Agustín Lara's *Santa* (Saint) (1930); Joaquín Pardavé's *Negra Consentida* (My Favourite Black Girl) (1933) the theme for *La Calandria* (The Mangle); Lerdo de Tejada's *Perjura* (Perjury) (1938); Gonzalo Curiel's *Caminos de ayer* (Yesterday's Roads) (1938), and Esparza Oteo's *Un Viejo Amor* (An Old Love) (1938).

In the 1940's, due to the contraction of the U.S. cinema industry during the Second World War, and the growth of a Spanish-speaking market hungry for cultural products, both Mexican song, and the bolero in particular, and Mexican films, became known throughout the whole of Latin America.

The setting for the bolero is Mexico's urban life of that time, where a cosmopolitan desire for luxury and night life, was symbolised by "a city alive at 4:00 a.m.". Economic progress is measured not only by the development of railroad and highway infrastructure, price increases and the obvious growth of industrial apparatus, but also by the abundance of night-clubs, restaurants, cabarets, and whore houses like "an industry without chimneys" (Monsivais 1986:81). As an effect of economic development and modernisation produced by industrialisation, "all kind of cabarets appeared in Mexico City... the Mexican cinema soon reflected this phenomenon" (García Riera 1993/4:108).

In the 1940's in Mexico, the cinema genre that could be called "musical melodrama", analogous to the U.S. "musical comedy", was fully developed. This genre accounted for approximately a quarter of all the films produced at that time. Towards the end of that decade, a new cinema genre was also launched which combined bolero with gangster films. In 1947, 11 of these cabaret-bolero films were produced all with

a slum setting. They represented 20% of all the films (57) produced that year. During the two following years, this genre expanded until it reached 30% in 1948 and 1949 out of a total of 81 and 108 films produced respectively in those years. This percentage increased again in the following two years to a nearly 35%, then it dropped abruptly in 1952. As one critic has remarked: "The Mexican cinema made the end of Aleman's presidential term coincide with the end of cabaret topics" (García Riera 1993/6:157).

The genre included some elements of the musical melodrama with devices it took from post-war U.S. film *noir*. The films described the atmosphere of the lowest depths of society and depicted graphic violence. The majority took crime as a metaphor of the human condition, and conventional moral categories crumble before it. In this genre, the prostitute is the main character in films such as *Carne de Cabaret* (Cabaret flesh) (1938) and *Perversa* (Perverted) (1945). Agustín Lara's *Noche de Ronda* (A Night on the Tiles) in 1946 was the musical theme of the film *Esos hombres* (Those Men) with Arturo de Córdova and Marina Tamayo. *Cortesana* (Courtesan) (1947), *Revancha* (Revenge) (1948), *Coqueta y Perdida* (Coquette and the Lost One) (1949), the last two with Ninón Sevilla and Agustín Lara; *Humo en los ojos* (Smoke in Her Eyes) and *Mujer* (Woman) (1946); *Cada Noche un Amor* (Every Night a New Love) (1946) was the theme of the film *Distinto Amanecer* (Different Dawn) with Andrea Palma.

THE CINEMA, THE BOLERO AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MYTHS ABOUT LOVE, PASSION, AND MARRIAGE

In Mexico's sentimental education, from the 1930's until now, both the bolero and the cinema have held an important place. The cinema takes the bolero as a starting point for developing the plot of its films, it has love as a central topic, and it promotes an urban culture characterised

by particular kinds of intimate relationships, centred around the couple, and mobilising modern ways of expressing love.

Through the cinema, bolero is transformed from a soliloquy or a love dialogue in the present tense, singular and sung in the first person, into a love story. The multiple, open, transient and transitive discourse of the bolero is fixed in images, which anchor its meaning. The flexible figures of the bolero love rhetoric are selected and ordered according to the demands of narrative. The anarchic, random and singular events undergone by people in love, turn into episodes that acquire a meaning according to the narrative logic. When the bolero turns into a love song it has an introduction, a development and a denouement. The feelings and conduct of the loved one are interpreted according to their causes or purposes, and assessed according to a certain morality. When the bolero turns into a love story it becomes a slave of "the other great narrative, public opinion" (Barthes 1983a:16).

The bolero in the cinema is identified with a particular urban romantic style. The images of certain faces that accord with western standards of beauty, and the spaces and characters of Mexico City the canteen, the cabaret, the mansions or suburban housing -all serve to anchor the song's multiple and flexible meanings.

The bolero in the cinema cancels the transitory nature of love, and forbids same-sex relationships. It mobilises the active position of men and the passive positions of women. It exemplifies and establishes the legitimate roles of each figure narrowing the whole universe of possibilities down to only a few stereotypes.

In this kind of romantic film we can distinguish two main forms of love story; ones that refer to love in marriage, and those that develop out of a love-passion. In the first type, civil and state conventions are laid out

positively regardless of the quality of the loving relationship. In the second type the loving community is emphasised at the expense of the social world. They correspond to two vital but different paths, two roads: one that leads to salvation and the other to damnation. By way of illustration, two Mexican films with a central bolero topic will be analysed, with the intention of showing how the bolero cinema contributes to the confirmation of myths about both passionate love and love in marriage.

***Nosotros los pobres...* (We, the poor ones...)**

Amorcito Corazón (Love Heart), a bolero by Manuel Esperón, is the theme of one of the most famous and popular Mexican films of all time: *Nosotros los pobres*. It deals with love in marriage. Although is cheap, popular Ismael Rodríguez film, did not have receive any nominations for awards, it was quickly recognised by audiences, and became the best-selling film of the year at the ticket office. In time it became "the Mexican film seen by the largest number of people" (García Riera 1993:109), broadcast several times on television.

The stars, *Pepe el Toro* (The bull Pepe) and Celia are in love. This is revealed in the initial sequence of the film where they sing together the theme of the film: *Amorcito Corazón*. Pepe and Celia communicate by imitating the melody of the words, by whistling, and then Pepe sings solo while Celia whistles.



Figure 5.1 Celia whistling and singing.



Figure 5.2 Pepe whistling and singing.

With regard to the images, the song starts with a middle-distance shot of Pepe working in the carpenter's shop, alternating with a shot of Celia in the kitchen. At the emotional climax of the song there is a close-up of Pepe's face alternating with a close-up of Celia's face, very obviously in love, and sighing. As in a baroque opera aria, the characters demonstrate their feelings of love to the audience, in a sequence more theatrical than narrative.



Figure 5.3 Pepe... very obviously in love.

The lyricism of the scene is conveyed by an intensive use of close-up shots and the "romantic" expressions on the faces. As "the first shots are lyrical: they are perceived by the heart, not the eye" (Vela Balaz quoted by Morin 1972:80).

"Amorcito corazón yo tengo tentación de un beso, que se prenda en el calor de nuestro gran amor, mi amor" (Love heart, I have the temptation of a kiss that is ignited in the fire of our great love, my love)

Pepe's love for Celia is clean and pure, licit and well-intentioned.

"Yo quiero ser un sólo ser y estar contigo"
(I want to be only one being and to be with
you)

It differs from illicit love into which women fall, such as "the (woman) who gets up late" and "the consumptive woman" who, after having been deceived by a man, becomes a prostitute. In this film, love triumphs, in spite of the many obstacles in its way: Celia's step-father's opposition, money problems, the accusation of robbery and murder that take Pepe to jail an innocent man, and the flirting and seductions that both Celia and Pepe engage in.

"Compañeros en el bien y el mal, ni los años nos podrán pesar... Amorcito Corazón serás, mi amor" *(Companions in good and bad, even the years cannot be a burden on us... Love heart, you will be my love)*



Figure 5.4 Pepe, Celia and their son: "el torito"

Pepe and Celia finally marry for eternity and they have a son: *el torito* (little bull). The melody of the song acts as a leitmotiv and provides the musical background for the different moments in which the couple meet or think of each other with love. The song symbolises their love and is a support for memory when the couple is apart.

*"Te quiero ver, en el querer, para soñar."
(I want to see you, in loving, to dream)*

While in the jail cell, Pepe "remembers" with nostalgia the happy moments of his relationship with Celia,



Figure 5.5 In his jail cell, Pepe remembers Celia.

The memories, like a day-dream, are expressed in diffused images. The movement of the camera around the couple, against the background of an empty space, gives us the impression that they are spinning suspended in the air, as they both sing *Amorcito Corazón*.

"En la dulce sensación de un beso mordelón quisiera, amorcito corazón, decirte mi pasión por ti." (In the sweet sensation of a nibbling kiss I want, love heart, to tell you of my passion for you)

The scene ends with Pepe, Celia and Chachita (Pepe's niece) harmonising together. In the space of the film memories of the past and future expectations are gathered in the imaginary present of the protagonist.

Amor que malo eres... (O my Love, how bad you are!)

In the film *Amor que malo eres*, musical melodrama is combined with the police genre of U.S. film *noir*, a combination that is particularly appropriate for the exploration of "passionate love", the central theme of Luis Marqueti's song around which the director develops the theme.



Figure 5.6 *Amor que malo eres* a film noir.



Figure 5.7 *Amor que malo eres* a film noir.

Amor que malo eres is a film of the cabaret genre in its decadent phase. Although it had no great success with audiences at the time of its release, it continues to be rented at videocentres.

An exceptionally beautiful woman, Norka³⁷⁵, is found to be from the slums,

*"Quien iba a imaginar, que una mentira,
tuviera cabida, en un madrigal" (Who would
imagine that a lie would reside in such a
beautiful madrigal)*

Carlos Durán discovers the deception, but as he is madly in love, he agrees to do anything for her:

³⁷⁵Acted by Emilia Guiu

"...por haber querido tanto, es mi desesperación" (My desperation is because I have loved so much)

He is then forced to go on the run after having been sentenced to ten years in prison for drug trafficking.



Figure 5.8 Durán has been sentenced to ten years in prison.

When he comes back, he finds Norka with another man.

"No quieres saber quién soy. después de darte lo que tienes, ahora para tí soy vagabundo que va por el mundo como un criminal". (You do not want to know who I am, after I gave you what you have, now, to you, I am a bum who roams the world like a criminal)

The bolero *Amor que malo eres* crystallises Carlos and Norka's love story and, is repeated as an "aria" in different scenes: the day they first meet, the day they become lovers, the day Carlos finds Norka with

another man and the day they are reconciled. when Durán. shot by his rival, dies in Norka's arms.

In the final loving encounter before the fatal conclusion. the lovers dance as though they were floating on air. they embrace, they kiss. just like the first time. while the orchestra plays the song: *Amor que malo eres*.



Figure 5.9 The final loving encounter.

In contrast to *Nosotros los pobres* whose central theme is "love within marriage", *Amor que malo eres* expresses the theme of "passionate love", based around a love triangle.



Figure 5.10 Passionate love as a triangle.

The object of desire is always a forbidden love, according to the protagonist's lines:

"the women one fancies are always with another man".

As Trías explains: "All desire is a desire for the impossible, and what we desire we desire because another person desires it" (Trías 1991:114). The protagonist of passion is always a victim of destiny. Passion dominates them as though it were a demonic possession. It is repetitive, excessive, and it always leads the character to damnation.

THE CINEMA, THE BOLERO AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LOVING SUBJECT

The romantic cinema offers its audience a restricted range of models and archetypes. Different "figures of passion" are understood as

"mythical forms through which we recognise our everyday passionate existence" (Trías 1991:174). They enable us to re-interpret and understand our own loves and sentimental stories. They allow us to order and value the loving subjects' conduct according to a classifying and bipolar morality that distinguishes sharply between the good and the bad.

The melodramatic story offers several female and male archetypes as models and this unites with the power of cinema to create stereotypes. These expresses their strength in the confirmation or launching of existential and sentimental ideals, such as the mythical couples formed by Pedro Infante and Blanca Estela Pavón, or Emilio Tuero and Emilia Guiú. "People live thus the prose of their existence, their very own sentimental lives, family or public life according to these models" (Rubert de Ventós 1989:538).

The bolero, supported by cinema images, offers a richly textualised representation of the city, its spaces and archetypal characters: rich bank and industrial managers, rumba dancers and prostitutes, artisans and workers, the *peladito*³⁷⁶ (the nuisance) and the *mordelón*³⁷⁷ (the leech), secretaries and clerks who fall in love with cosmopolitan men. Images, topics and songs all contribute to the constitution of the urban subject and the new individual modern citizen.

Pepe el Toro the character who immortalised by Pedro Infante³⁷⁸ is the archetypal Mexican *macho*, the dream man for all the lower class women. The story is built around him. A carpenter, dressed in an overall, and a knitted T-shirt, with horizontal stripes, that evokes the

³⁷⁶Cantinflas

³⁷⁷ Popular name given to the corrupted motorise police which is the central character of Ismael Rodríguez's film *A toda máquina* (High Speed), protagonized by Pedro Infante.

image of a sailor (Mexican *chanoc* or American Popeye style), or artisan. The tight T-shirt emphasises a strong and well-built body. The film projects *Pepe el Toro's* image as *Juan Tenorio*. He is a "charming" man whom all women chase and with whom he flirts. He is attentive and shows good manners.

According to the *Don Juan* myth, men can do with their sexuality "whatever they want to" without losing prestige, as *Pepe el Toro* confirms when he says to a prostitute: "I don't lose anything by talking to you, I am a man".

In contrast, Carlos Durán is the archetypal "gentleman". He is well dressed in a suit and hat; a man of the city, mundane and cosmopolitan, single and free; he likes the good life. He is a little bohemian and melancholic. A "pilot", a stereotype "*homo viator*", used to having his way and leaving, a *Don Juan*, as one of the female characters said in the film, "with whom all women fall in love" and to whom he always says the same thing:

*"Has anyone ever told you that you have so
much sex appeal?"*

However, when Durán falls in love, he stops being a *Don Juan*. He is no longer a male myth of "Sun" love, that, according to Tournier "is the rebellion of freedom against loyalty, the freedom of being a womaniser against the loyalty of marriage" (Tournier 1988:29). He turns into a Tristan, a female myth of moon love that "also rebels against the loyalty of marriage... but in the name of deeper, more permanent loyalty: that of an ominous passion" (Tournier 1988:29).

³⁷⁸ The star whose death summoned thousands of Mexicans together for his funeral, as evidence of that space between reality and fantasy in which the "myths" created by the "star system" move.

Like Tristan, Carlos Durán is a sad, melancholic man "the victim of a long list of women" who betray him, one of whom leads to his death. The Tristan myth turns a man into a passive being, "into an object: shaken, hurt and healed all the time by female hands" (Tournier 1988:25). Lilia and Katy console and protect him from his abandonment by Norka.

The female characters, are always defined in relation to the *macho* and strictly according to their sexuality: they are either saints or whores. In *Nosotros los pobres*, the young women are classified into three female archetypes, according to the moment and the conditions in which they "lost" their virginity.

The main female character, is Celia, the girlfriend and wife, who achieves perfectly the objective of all honest women: marriage. Celia, "the romantic", is an innocent woman, who believes in love and men. Before losing her virginity, she marries the man she loves. He gives her his name and she makes a family with him. The film is fully in keeping with western misogynous thinking of the XIX century crystallised in Schopenhauer's words, which seem to have inspired it, "Man fundamentally demands only "one thing" from a woman. Thus, women have to exert their skill in such a way that men cannot obtain that "one thing" except in exchange for taking care of them and their future children" (Schopenhauer 1993:103).

As counterpoints to the ideal model of the "chaste, pure" woman, a wife and mother, the film shows women, who failed in their attempt to form a family. Loló, the prostitute, or "the one who gets up late" uses her body as a work tool.

The single mother, Yolanda, nicknamed "the consumptive", evokes "romantic" literary characters. She is a woman who has been deceived

and abandoned by the man who had sex with her and with whom she had a daughter, whom she in turn abandons to her mother and brother, "before", as she herself puts it to the priest on her deathbed "plunging into shame and vice". In consequence, she is rejected by her family and everybody else, because she has tainted the family's honour.

The man is responsible for taking care of the family's honour deposited in the sexual behaviour of women. The film shows the strong inbred relationships of the Mexican family that tolerates and encourages the incestuous links in this triad of women: the mother, the sister and the daughter around the man. Women to whom the "*Pater familias*"³⁷⁹ is tied by ambivalent feelings of love-hate, and over whom he watches and shows jealousy.

The women of the night, the lovers, are always beautiful, young, sterile, and available, as opposed to the wives who, thanks to marriage are placed in a time that "implies fecundity, children, rest, and ageing" (Tournier 1988:30). The cabaret women, liberated from the chains of "honour" granted by "virginity" and children, give up, at least partially, their submissiveness and become a threat to men.

The hero of *Amor que malo eres*, Carlos Durán, is also surrounded by three women who envelop him with their love, but all of them are "bad and treacherous" and all deceive him. According to the film's misogynous perspective, the women are not bad in themselves, they are simply instruments of a "male" power that rules them. Although the film, was produced in 1952 it reflects the mentality of the end of the XIX century, paradigmatically expressed by Schopenhauer who argued that "It is evident that, by nature, woman's destiny is to obey,

³⁷⁹ In a Mexican family, in the case of an absent father, this place is taken by the son.

and a proof of that is that the one who is totally independent, contrary to her nature, becomes easily involved, it does not matter with what man, whom she lets rule and dominate her, because she needs a master." (Schopenhauer 1993:102).

The film sets out the impossibility of love. From a male point of view, the always doubtful value of woman lies in her sexuality. In this film, the woman is seen as a mere sexual object. The "public" woman, who works outside the home, is always a prostitute in one form or another. The police clerk and the woman who works for the drug traffickers band, thanks to their sex appeal, are used as bait to watch and trap men. Women occupy the mythical role of Eve, who was an instrument of evil in causing Adam's damnation, or Judith beheads Holofernes while he was sleeping peacefully next to her³⁸⁰. Katy and Norka, Eve and Judith, have the same function -they betray Carlos- although with different aims.

Amor que malo eres defines "passionate love" as the love men feel for "public" women (lovers or prostitutes), because all of them have abandoned the "private" world of home life. This world (of marriage and family life) that the film does not mention, is mythically hung as a backdrop and is offered paradoxically as both a threat and a path to salvation. The film narrates the unfortunate destiny of those who decide to chose the exciting but fatal road of "passionate love". Paradoxically and negatively, love in marriage is outlined as the alternative.

³⁸⁰ " *Mirad la cabeza de Holofernes, jefe supremo del ejército Asirio, y mirad las colgaduras bajo las cuales se acostaba en sus borracheras. ¡El Señor le ha herido por mano de mujer! ¡Vive el Señor!, el me ha guardado en el camino que emprendí, que fue seducido, para perdición suya, por mi rostro, pero no ha cometido conmigo ningún pecado que me manche o me deshonne*" (See the head of Holofernes, supreme head of the Assyrian army, and see the drapes under which he fell asleep in his drunkenness. The Lord has injured him through the hand of woman! Blessed be the Lord! He has kept me safe in the path that I undertook. Holofernes was seduced, by his own perdition, by my face, but he has not committed any sin that either stains or dishonours me.) (Judith 13, 15-16)

THE LOVE SONG AS A TELEVISION SHOW

The introduction of television into the centre of any home affects the location and movements of subjects and objects within the space of the house. The presence of television regulates to a greater or lesser extent, the rhythm and topics of conversations, the direction of sight, and the physical distribution of people.

The screen in the middle of the house organises the family space and divides people's leisure time according to its daily schedule of programming: the morning news programmes, cookery lessons, psychological counselling, and all kind of advice for housekeepers during the morning, afternoon programmes for children and soap operas for women, night entertainment programmes for the men of the family, "programmes for all the family", and sports programmes at the weekends. Television organises the weekly routine. Some series continue day after day, week after week, and thus, as the months and years go by, programming adapts to social needs, to the traditions and habits of each community. The domestic mass media, and through them the love song, accompany people constantly throughout their days and lives.

Music on television, as in films and on the radio, has two main functions. On the one hand, a complementary function as background music, a support for dramatic development, a connection between segments, and, on the other, as an aesthetic object in itself, a musical show. The love song falls into the second category. While the song in films is translated into a love story, on television, the song generally keeps its predominant character as a performance, although transformed by technological intervention into a particular kind of show.

There are several kinds of music programmes in which the love song plays a principal part, from musical reviews, reproduction and mimesis of shows on stage, competitions, video-clips, to soap operas. All of them are privileged instruments for the promotion of currently popular "stars" and their records.

The love song appears in soap operas as theme music. Each episode starts and finishes with a love song that identifies the series. These songs have a role analogous to the one they played in films of the 1940's. The musical theme of the soap opera sung by a currently popular star becomes a recurrent melody on the radio. Incorporated into the plot it has a catalytic character, serving to create an atmosphere in which the character's feelings can be expressed.

The musical magazine program, of which the love song is a part, reproduces in the studio the form of Music Hall theatre. As in the theatre, the singers walk about the stage, with a huge number of microphones and lights. Orchestras and choreography fill the space with musical and visual colours; the movement of the singers; the gaudy clothing; the exaggerated make-up that emphasises the features of the faces. The programme presenter introduces each of the singers or groups to the audience in the studio, who represent the audiences who receive the programme in "the comfort of their homes". The musical numbers alternate with interviews with the singers, comments, commercials, gossip about show business and contests.

The love song turned into a show by television, even though it apparently reproduces the configuration of a stage show, is materially modified. Television replaces direct experience and turns the perceptual universe into a show that is paradoxically both near and far. Near because it is able to bring to the intimacy of the home, the

image of the singers who act in the studio or other locations in another time and place.

The television audience is always in the front row. Indeed through close-ups he/she can get a lot closer than the front row and see in detail the expressions of the singer's face. The camera's ability to move around also releases the audience from a fixed position. A new place is created which incorporates the multiplicity of viewpoints offered by several cameras located at different vision angles and at changing focal distances. And all those viewpoints are incorporated into the vision of the audiences, who are in front of a screen (González Requena 1992:82).

At the same time, the love song, through the intervention of television's technological apparatus turns into a doubly distant object. The spectator, where he/she is located, is always looking in from a position outside the field where the song is set, in front of the visual field framed by the television screen and on which is displayed the virtual image of the object he/she is looking at (González Requena 1992:89-90).

On television, the musical show has lost its tactile, collective, public and exceptional character, to become a visual, individual, private, everyday, permanent and omnipresent experience. Unlike the theatre, which offers a direct experience through co-presence, television makes the show less physical, converting it into an exclusively visual and aural experience.

Whereas the radio can be used as background music for parties, music to dance to, and is suitable for listening to while doing other things, television is more rigid, establishing a certain distance between the subject and the screen.

Like cinema, the love song in video-clips turns into a love story. However, whereas in films, the story develops over the period of more than an hour, the video-clip presents a complete story, comprising introduction, conflict and denouement, over the duration of the song. It narrates the story in three minutes, without dialogue, with only the support of lyrical, musical and visual languages. The rhythm and cadence of the images are closely related to the song music and lyrics, either in concordance or opposition.

Video-clips are first and foremost advertisements. They began as a strategy to increase record sales when the record industry was in crisis. They now occupy one of the 84 satellite channels in Mexico City, specialising in music: MTV. Video-clips have also become popular as segments of television programmes about the "hit parade" (Landi 1992:37-38; Goodwin 1993:48-54).

Though video-clips, record sales, and 'phone-in music shows are clearly the products of commercial and market strategies governed by consumer logic, they are also aesthetic entities, creating myths, and models of identification and the production of meaning. Such meaning production is generated according to the specific characteristics that a television show acquires and the particular characteristics of television as a language.

Contests as a mechanism to assess the value of songs, singers and composers have been widely used in both radio and television. Through various mechanisms the theatre companies initially, and subsequently the great show-business corporations -record companies, radio, cinema, and television- determine "quality" by mobilising judges. Or, in the case of commercial reproduction of the music, "quality" is established by the marketplace; through record sales; the demand for particular

songs on radio request programmes; and the ratings of stations and events on the radio and television.

THE BOLERO AND THE TELEVISION INDUSTRY

Run videotape...

From the moment cultural industries, as entertainment businesses, appeared in the nascent capitalistic society that was Mexico, they have moved towards a multi-media corporate structure, and a multi-national market place. This is particularly true of the country's central cultural institution, the broadcasting and entertainment giant TELEvisa.³⁸¹

But the basic trends were evident some time before it arrival. The managers of magazine and tent (*carpa*) theatre were also businessmen of the cultural industries. Joaquín Pardavé, for example, was a theatre producer who became a film producer. Emilio Azcárraga who was first a businessman and representative of the American RCA Victor record company, moved to the radio and finally to television. In the same way, actors and singers also moved from one medium to another. Some of them survived and overcame the difficulties imposed by the new medium, and the new language requirements, and became popular with the public. This was the case with Agustín Lara who started his

³⁸¹ Consorcio Televisa S.A., is made up of more than 50 companies: 4 television channels with 197 relay stations in the Mexican Republic, and 27 local affiliates. Televisa controls the cable network, Cablevisión S.A.; and it reaches more than 800 channels in Spain, the U.S.A., Central and South America through Univision. In the field of radio, it includes Sistema Radiópolis S.A., Producciones Artísticas S.A., the stations XEW (AM and FM), XEX (AM and FM), XEQ in Mexico City, XEWOK in Guadalajara, and XEWW (short wave). In Publishing, it includes the newspaper Novedades, Editorial Televisión S.A.(which produces Teleguía), Provenex S.A.(which produces the magazine Activa), Palsa S.A., Edición, and Compañía Editorial. In the record industry, Televisa includes Producciones de Discos América S.A. and NCR, América Musical S.A., and Originales de Música Grabada S.A. In popular shows, it includes Imagen y Talentos S.A., Móvil Espectáculos, Magnaverde Productions, Multiteatros, Televiteatros, PRONESA, Estadio Azteca, Club de Football América and Azteca de los Angeles, Marraquez (cabaret). In Cinema Production, it has a stake in Televisine S.A., and Dibujos Animados S.A.; in filmclubs: Videocentro, Productora de Videos, and Videovisa. Televisa has also entered the furniture market, aviation, hotels, and maintenance services.

career in the *Teatro Politeama* with his bolero "Impossible" in 1927, and continued for over 20 years of uninterrupted musical composition. He started his radio appearances in 1930, and moved to television in 1952. The genres, programmes and songs also migrated becoming transformed in the move from one medium to another.

When television appeared in the 1950's, radio was overshadowed for some time. Radio singers were hired by television. Radio music programmes such as the contest *Buscando Estrellas* (Searching for Stars), or magazine programmes such as *El programa Nescafé* (The Nescafé Programme), *Noches Tapatías* (Guadalajara Nights), *Cómicos y Canciones* (Comedians and Songs), *Así es mi Tierra* (This is what my Country is like), and Agustín Lara's *La Hora Intima* (Intimate Hour), moved almost intact to television. Beginning in 1955, 80% of the new boleros were sung for the first time on television. Other programmes that were notable in the promotion and configuration of the new face of the bolero were *El Estudio de Pedro Vargas* (Pedro Vargas's Studio), *Max Factor*, *El Club del Hogar* (The Home Club), *Nueva Cita Musical* (New Musical Date) and *Esta es su Vida* (This is Your Life). (Dueñas 1990:139-140).

The bolero and its traditional forms of presentation however forced badly before the audience in front of the small screen. As a medium, it demands narration and impedes the intimate dialogue into the ear that radio technology permits. As a consequence, in the 1970's the bolero practically disappeared from television and films, and returned to the radio. Given that the new audio-visual media had restricted the possibilities of the bolero as a love dialogue, turning it back into a show or melodramatic story, the bolero in these media is really a complement to other forms and genres.

From the end of the 1980's until now however, television has brought the bolero back down again "from the attic", to include it in magazine programmes where it is the main feature.

THE MUSIC MAGAZINE PROGRAME. PRIVATISATION OF THE BOLERO SHOW

Television allows the re-creation of the past through recordings of image and sound, of different lyrics and narratives, and of the different languages, gestures and fashions. Television magazine programmes featuring romantic music include fragments of films and/or videotapes in which boleros are sung, alternating with comments and live performance of the old boleros. Private television (in particular, TELEVISA) and the little that remains of public television (CHANNEL 11) narrate bolero history from their particular point of view as part of the country's cultural history.

During 1992 and 1993, *Televisa* launched a new programme that harked back to Agustín Lara's old programme *La Hora Azul* (The Blue Hour). It was a musical review made up of fragments of the old programmes already mentioned. Channel 11 also constituted its own version of the bolero tradition with a musical show named after Alvaro Carrillo's most famous bolero *Un poco más* (A little more). This programme continues to be broadcast.

STATE TELEVISION AND THE BOLERO. NATIONALISM AND THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY

*Un poco más... (a little more)*³⁸²

Channel 11's version of bolero nostalgia is broadcast every Saturday at 9:30 p.m.:

"The spring of other times has become a lazy autumn, one has to search again for what had already been searched, one has to sing what for generations has been sung"³⁸²

The programme opens as piano notes, without any accompaniment, reproduce the melody of the well-known bolero *Un poco más*, and at the same time edited segments of the old films are broadcast without any technological enhancement.

It is a programme that combines the musical and documentary genres, trying to reconstruct through its weekly broadcasts the history of the romantic popular song offering explanatory elements from the context of national history. It combines epic narration, the history of romanticism in Mexico, and love lyrics with their poetic function.

"The majority of the classical boleros were published in the 1930's and 1940's, i.e., at the time when nationalism was the guide of the consolidation of the Mexican state. The bolero was then a chronicle of urban feelings. It was an intimate alibi of free love in a society that was losing freedom little by little".³⁸³

The programme presenters narrate the life and works of a composer such as Lorenzo Barcelata or Consuelo Velázquez; of a singer, a musical genre, or a topic or style, according to a pre-written script. The bolero past and present in Mexico: its singers and composers. There is no improvisation. The moderated voice, the careful discourse, rich in rhetorical figures, without any exaggeration, or affectation.

"Bolero is living history, a chronicle of love and indifference... Every day, boleros are reaffirmed, love and its setting is restored..."

³⁸² CARRILLO, Alvaro. *Un poco más* Op. cit. (d) p. 271

³⁸³ *Un poco más*, Channel 11, February 1993.

³⁸⁴ *Un poco más*, Channel 11, 6th. March, 1993.

the bolero has sung the illusions and discoveries of a society that has made life a reflection of art."³⁸⁵

The programme proceeds alternating boleros by different composers from all time periods, sung by female and male voices in a selection of "immortal boleros". The words support the images from film fragments in which the bolero was prominent. Archive images alternate with the actual presence of the singers in the studio. The musicians, singers and conductors dress with city elegance, modern and traditional at the same time, the men in dinner jackets and the women in evening gowns.

Against a black background, the lights shine simulating star light, the musicians are ready with their instruments, the black piano in the centre, the conductor and the singers. That is all the scenery there is. Camera manipulation is minimal. The cutting is more important. Dissolves and super-impression are more important than a direct shot. The spoken words, descriptions and narrations in the third person, have the visual support of middle-distance shots. The director choose close-ups of the singers' faces for the songs, the expression of loving intimacy. For the purely musical fragments, a great close-up of the musicians' hands nimbly playing their instruments. All these significant supports operate as connotations of cosmopolitan nationalism, elegance, seriousness, breeding, erudition, respect, mastery and good taste.

Un poco más is a serious programme. It is historically well documented. It considers the bolero as an expression of Mexican popular culture, and accords it the treatment of high culture "it deserves". The programme expresses professionalism and mastery in

³⁸⁵ *Un poco más*, Channel 11, 6th. March, 1993.

the execution of instruments by excellent musicians such as Reynolds Peña (artistic director of the programme and pianist at *La Cueva de Amparo Montes*), or *Los Caminantes trio*, and in the manipulation of the singers' voices, singers such as Julieta Bermejo and José Amado, as well as the still lively creativity of composers such as Consuelito Velázquez.

For Channel 11, bolero is not only a commercial product

"on this side of the market, in the popular soul of romantic Mexico, the bolero has not changed, it continues to be the obligatory reference for the one who loves, the expression of the desire that names us".

It is not purely an object of nostalgia, either. Rather the bolero is "an institution", a live expression of national culture

"...echo, resonance, of what we have been, although in grave danger of extinction, "

In spite of its initial energy, the bolero has changed. Entrepreneurial appetites have found simplistic formulas for creating commercial ballads. However,

"the bolero continues to survive because of its nocturnal vocation... in the vital refuge of the couple in love".³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ *Un poco más*, Channel 11, 6th. March, 1993.

PRIVATE TELEVISION AND THE BOLERO. THE INTEGRATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN MARKET AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

La Hora Azul...(The Blue Hour)

La hora azul is a current television programme (and a line of audio-visual products, cassettes, compact disks and videos) that send us back to Agustín Lara's radio programme of the same name, which used to broadcast romantic music everyday during the 1930's and 1940's. Today, thanks to computerised animation techniques, the little screen projects the image of Doric columns, a reminiscence of Greek classicism, that march over a starry sky (cosmic dimension, futuristic image) until they turn into the golden letters of an emblem that reads *La Hora Azul*. The image fills out over a deep blue background, visual for the colour and musical for the orchestra version of Agustín Lara's song "Blue" that accompanies the images.

The television, "a time machine", dissolves space-time barriers and distances, transports the viewer from present to past and future, from one place to another, thus giving the spectator the divine gift of ubiquity. Then a book with an old cover is opened to reveal before the eyes of the audience an album of photos of Agustín Lara *El flaco de oro* (the golden skinny man). Then there is a cut to an illuminated marquee on which some of the following names can be read: Emilio Tuero, María Victoria, Pedro Vargas, Luis Alcaraz and Gonzalo Curiel. Finally, through a subjective camera, the viewer enters into the space than once was the cradle of mass communication in Mexico to wander along the marble corridors of the *Televiscentro* building located on *Avenida Chapultepec*, that was essentially destroyed by the 1985 earthquake, when 96 persons died in the building and 20 thousand metres of construction were lost.

La hora azul is pure nostalgia, but profitable. A cheap programme, with no more imagination effort than choosing videotape fragments, with no more work than editing and repeating them in a new programme. Carlos Amador and Susana Dosamantes present the programme from a set that imitates a middle-class living room. They introduce "spontaneously", without any pre-written script, with a minimum of information reduced to the name of the song, the singer and the programme in which the segment appeared originally. The presenters, with strident expressions, reminiscent of a circus Ring Master, speak to the public and talk to each other with affected courtesy, about trivial aspects of their personal lives.

Thus, in a "casual" way, like an everyday conversation transported to the television set, they connect the different segments of the programme. The different archive images of the

*"great composers and singers that gave life to
the marvellous golden age of romantic song"*

are shown alternating with advertisements broadcast in each cut. All the signs continuously evoke private life, the family. The past is always told from the point of view of the individuals, and the history of Televisa's great adventure.

The global village ... or is *Televisa* Americanist...?

Today as yesterday, *Televisa* refers to and explains its multinational vocation. In its radio version, since 1930, XEW has been "The Voice of Latin America from Mexico". *La hora azul* in its television version, opens a space for

*"a re-encounter with the music that has filled
with emotion all our America".³⁸⁷*

XEW sends its image out, through UNIVISION, to all the Spanish-speaking countries. History begins and ends with *Televisa*. An anchor in the past. An economic projection into the future that foresees the myth of a global village.

Diversification is carefully calculated to include local cultural products in order to broaden the consumer market. Between one song and the other, a strategy is implemented that is realised differently in each programme. It is shown as a return trip that goes from "home" to the wider continent, passing imperceptibly by the centre, Mexico City and *Televisa*'s control.

The medium offers a folk-tourist vision of the regions: *San Luis Potosí* identified by its own *Guadalupe* Church and its most typical monuments, by *cajeta* (that Carlos Amador explains to the Latin American audience is a typical Mexican dessert and not a bad word), and *enchiladas potosinas* (a local dish). It provides a simulation of recognition of the other, of his/her differences and peculiarities, a disguised commercial strategy; coupled with the paternalistic centralism carried in the phrase,

*"Mexican Republic (and why not, America)
Channel 2 greets you"*

The interview with Celio González, a Cuban singer of tropical music, or the letter that Leo Marini (an Argentinean singer of Mexican boleros) sent to the programme, confirm the cultural mediation role that *Televisa* has had at the Latin American level, and at the same time

³⁸⁷ *La Hora Azul*, *Televisa*, February, 1993.

renew it. The old videos featuring such characters constitute the Americanising profile of the Mexican consortium, and summon the Spanish-speaking audience to become a part of the great family that is *Televisa*.

*Por vivir en quinto patio... (By living in the fifth patio)*³⁸⁸

According to the commercial criteria of anticipation and segmentation of audiences, the programme producer selects

"specially for each occasion"

a romantic music menu. Paco Michel, María De Lourdes, and Vicente Fernández sing ranch-style music; Marco Antonio Muñoz, Olga Guillot, Leo Marini, Pedro Vargas and Hugo Avendaño sing boleros; Ana Bell sings ballads, and Celio González sings tropical music. At the end Rocío Durcal and Juan Gabriel sing a *bolero ranchero*. A mixture of genres, styles and times whose only common factor is that all the singers are "stars" of the "Channel of stars" that the videotape has

*"captured forever as a testimony of our dearest heritage."*³⁸⁹

The result: a programme *de dulce, de chile y de manteca* (a typical Mexican expression meaning that very different things are put together in random order) for the middle and lower classes, that Emilio Azcárraga Jr., President of the television corporation, defines in the following terms:

"Mexico is a country with a very awkward lower class... that will never leave that situation. For television, it is an obligation to

³⁸⁸ ARCARAZ, Luis, *Quinto Patio*. Op. cit. (b) p. 42

³⁸⁹ *La Hora Azul*, Televisa, February, 1993.

*take entertainment to that kind of people and take them out of their sad reality and difficult future... Rich people like me are not customers, because the rich don't buy a thing (of the products that television advertises)."*³⁹⁰

Private television writes its own history, considers social and collective life to be the sum of the lives of individual people. There are no social conflicts. There are only problems exclusively attributable to the government, the responsibility of some individual, to work, and... perhaps to luck.

THE BOLERO, NATIONAL HISTORY AND SUBJECT STORIES RELATED TO THE WORLD OF TELEVISION

*"Tengo el pelo completamente blanco pero voy a sacar juventud de mi pasado... (My hair is completely grey but I am going to extract youth from my past)"*³⁹¹

On 7th. March, 1993, a new section of the programme was launched: *Las Serenatas de la Hora Azul* (The Serenades of the Blue Hour). Television continues to foster illusions. Anyone can be chosen,

"one of these days, why not, when you least expected, a song sung at someone's window may announce that you have won a marvellous serenade from the best musicians in Mexico. You only have to write to Televisión and explain your request"

To begin the serenades, 47 viewers, in a home for elderly women, supported by *Las Damas Vicentinas* (a charitable group) and located in *San Luis Potosí*, have already been chosen.

Televisa visits old people, and offers them the opportunity to participate and sing in front of the cameras. The religious attendance

³⁹⁰ Interview. *El Nacional*. 11th. February, 1993.

of the more affluent class of women is transported to television as a world vision. The old women listen in the cafeteria of the home, the *sui generis* serenade starts with *Despierta* (Wake up), then they sing *Noche de Ronda* and dance to the rhythmic, happy tempo of *Piel Canela* (Cinnamon coloured skin).

*Que se quede el infinito sin estrellas, o que pierda el ancho mar su inmensidad pero el negro de tus ojos que no muera, y el canela de tu piel se quede igual... (Let the infinite sky be without stars, or let the sea lose its vast dimension, but don't let the blackness of your eyes die, and may the cinnamon brown of your skin always stay the same)*³⁹²

Old age and the nostalgia for a lost youth, for the times that have vanished never to return. History seen from the subject's perspective, sad or happy memories referring exclusively to personal, private life.

*Cuando aparezcan los hilos de plata en tu juventud como la luna cuando se retrata en un lago azul... (When the silver threads appear in your youth as the moon when it reflects upon a blue lake)*³⁹³

The programme opens a caricature-like space for participation. Participating is a mnemotechnical exercise, repeating and memorising songs, sending letters to the programme, or turning the television set on and off as a gesture of approval of the programming that is presented. In a frame that reduces the television image still more, a singer appears (through archive images) and on the white surround, the lyrics appear. Thanks to *Televisa*,

"everybody can sing with the great stars"

³⁹¹ JIMENEZ, José Alfredo. *Cuando Vivas Conmigo*. Op. cit. (d) p. 273

³⁹² CAPO, Boby. *Piel Canela*. Op. cit. (b) p. 81

³⁹³ DOMINGUEZ, Alberto. *Hilos de Plata*. Op. cit. (c) p. 518

alone, with their family or friends, in the intimacy of their homes, without the need to move from one's seat around the television set. The television organises leisure time. It classifies, segments, distributes and orders humans in space and time according to the rhythm and continuity of the programmes.

THE BOLERO AS AN ELEMENT IN BACKGROUND MUSIC FOR SOAP OPERAS AND ADVERTISING

The bolero also plays a part in other kinds of programmes. In 1992, it appeared in the soap operas *De frente al sol* (Facing the Sun), *María Mercedes* and *Valeria y Maximiliano* as a background element. The actor Juan Ferrara in his role as Maximiliano takes a serenade to Valeria (Leticia Calderón) (Channel 2, January 1992). In *De frente al sol*, Lupita runs away from home because she is pregnant and takes refuge in the house of a bolero singer who has a bohemian bar in Veracruz, where a tribute is paid to Agustín Lara. In several episodes, the bar appears and a bolero is sung (Channel 2, July 1992). In one of the episodes of *María Mercedes*, Paquita sings some boleros in the show of *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* (Channel 2, December 1992).

In 1995, Channel 2 of *Televisa* produced and broadcast a soap opera with the name of Luis Demetrio's bolero *Si Dios me quita la vida* (If Gods takes my Life away), which provides its musical theme. Such soap opera "are set" in 1940's Mexico. Daniela Romo is María, a woman who fights against a conservative society that calls her a "bad woman" because she is the owner of a cabaret where she sings, and she becomes famous due to the radio.

The bolero has also appeared in some advertisements to evoke a given associative field. MacMa advertisements (for biscuits) make a play on the bolero phrase *pero siempre llevarás sabor a mí* (but you will always

taste like me). MacDonald's has promoted a different kind of hamburger with French fries and soda called *MacTríos* and the musical theme of the commercial is a bolero sung by a trio. At the same time, there was also an advertisement for sanitary towels in which the lyrics and music of Agustín Lara's bolero *Mujer* (Woman) were used as a musical theme. These share with other television programmes a nostalgia for a forgotten Mexico, a flourishing city, and paraphrasing the poet "a road that will never be travelled on again."

PART II:
THE BOLERO AND INTIMATE
EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER VI

THE LOVE SONG AND ORAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES. AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF RECEPTION

In this chapter I approach what have come to be called "reception" processes in the field of communication studies in a different way, as processes of sense production and dissemination. I intended to go with the flow, to follow the way songs are transformed into different kind of discourse and their multiplication within a vectorial field (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:378). I am interested in "tracking" the evolution of verbal discourse in the love song, into the exterior, open and defined spaces in which subjects are distributed. I will also try to analyse the power relations that such discourses contemporize and the changes of sense produced by ordinary people in their capacity as agents who perform unique and unrepeatable speech acts.

As a first step to constructing my point of view, I begin with critiques of theoretical approaches which try to find an inherent meaning in texts, and identifying it with what the 'author' is trying to say. My intention is to deal with the oppositions between producer-receiver, as notions that mark the divorce that cultural institutions have maintained "between the producer of the text and its user, between its owner and its customer, between its author and its reader" (Barthes 1980:2).

Since I am particularly interested in the love song, its forms and function as part of the general ebb and flow of everyday speech, I also intend to study the effect of the depersonalisation of the anonymous, common discourses, that form part of "it is said", as devalued discourses that paradoxically acquire the greatest value: that of "democracy". This is a concept that contributes to the creation of the new universal myth in which "common sense, the unit of all the

faculties as the centre of the *cogito*, is the State's consensus carried to the absolute" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:381).

Developing this perspective means considering the love song in its evolution, removing receivers from their intransitive condition in which their only liberty is to accept or reject the lyrics of the song. It also means changing questions that have traditionally ruled communication studies; Who? (the author), asks What? (about certain message), Through what means? With what intentions? (what is it the producer tried to say?) and With what effects? (to analyse if the producer achieved his/her objectives of persuading the receiver). In their place, relevant questions, paraphrasing Foucault, would read: "What are the modes of that discourse?" "On what basis does it rest?" "How is it able to circulate?" and "Who can make it his or hers?" "Which are the places reserved for possible subjects?" "Who can fulfil these different subject functions?" (Foucault 1985:43).

In pursuing this objective I will briefly review recent theoretical approaches from the disciplines of sociology, semiology, philosophy and literary criticism, whose main concern has been to shift the locus of study from the author and the work, to the study of readings. The purpose of this is to look for ways to apply these contributions to the analysis of ways of listening and subjects' uses and appropriations - under certain historical conditions- of the love song, and in particular the *bolero*.

In order to emphasise language as a necessary mediation of communication processes, I will use Roland Barthes' concepts of text and reading. He establishes an analogy between the process of reading the written text, specifically the literary text, and the interpretation of cultural objects that are materialised in different codes and languages. However, it is important to stress that because the concepts of the text

and reading were developed for writing, they are only applicable figuratively speaking to the analysis of the verbal and audio-visual languages which are the subject matter of this thesis.

That said, the notion of reading has undoubtedly been useful in emphasising the production work that subjects perform the moment he/she receives and understands cultural objects. Also valuable has been the notion of the open "text", with its emphasis on flows as opposed to the "work". As Barthes points out the text "decants the work... from its consumption and gathers it up as a play, activity, production, practice" (Barthes 1977:162).

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that applying the concepts of text and reading to the analysis of oral and audio-visual communication, also obscures certain of their distinguishing characteristics. As Zumthor notes, the notions of text and reading have contributed to "making the word sacred" and giving it a privileged place over and above the "spoken" word and other verbal and non-verbal audio-visual languages.

Finally, although we can say that such concepts were initially useful as methodological tools, it is now necessary to analyse the problems caused by the use of the textual metaphor and try to produce a new approach to the specificity of oral-musical discourse. Therefore, in this chapter I intend to propose a new approach to the textual metaphor: a shift from the ability to read and write to the ability to listen and talk.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RECEPTION

The distinctive theoretical traditions of communication studies are all marked by analogies that have been used to explain the process of

communication. There have been drawn in models of physical processes, and biological and mathematical models developed within a range of disciplines, from electronics to hermeneutics.

The process of communication has been defined traditionally as a linear relationship. For example, the functionalist view has taken as its model the physical process of the transmission of information by telephone in order to metaphorically label the subject, the "receiver", and the process of decoding and reading messages, "reception". This analogy gives us a system of ideas that separates the processes of transmitting and receiving, in both space and time. The model also gives rise to metonymy by considering only the precise moment in which the stimulus is received to name the group of operations that are let loose on the subject. It therefore rules out the possibility of analysing communication, within its specificity, and ignores the conditions and mechanisms of meaning production that are carried out through the agency of language.

The notion of reading is certainly a more useful metaphor in approaching the process of communication, in so far as the verb "to read" - understood in its widest possible sense - can be applied to all objects of culture. As Barthes points out: "In the field of reading ... there is no pertinence of objects: the verb "to read", apparently much more transitive than the verb "to speak", can be saturated, catalysed by thousand complements of objects: I read texts, images, cities, faces, gestures, scenes, etc" (Barthes 1986b:34).

The reading metaphor also allows us to establish an analogy between articulated language and other languages like those of the image (photography, film and television) or of sound (radio, music). Reading, unlike receiving, mobilises the idea of endless selective work; a process of producing meaning which implies the existence of codes and diverse

languages and stresses the activity of the subject in bringing a text to life.

In the same way that certain perspectives within literary criticism have moved from the study of the work and the author, as apparent guarantees of unity, towards the text as the site of a multiplicity and proliferation of meaning, I consider it necessary to make this same shift within communication and song studies, with the aim of analysing popular bolero culture from the point of view of the audiences' interpretations.

THE SHIFT OF EMPHASIS FROM THE AUTHOR TO THE READER AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON

From Foucault's point of view, the author, apart from being a real empirical individual, is a function of the discourse with a certain kind of existence and circulation in a given society. Furthermore, we must add that "the author's function is not carried out in a uniform way or in the same manner in other discourses throughout history and in all forms of civilisation" (Foucault 1985:29). For his part, Barthes points out that in capitalist societies it produces a unitary effect in that the work would definitely be "the voice of a single person, the author" (Barthes 1977:143).

In contrast, in other cultures, this author-work property relationship has never existed: "in ethnographic societies, the responsibility for a narrative is never assumed by a person but by a mediator, shaman or relator whose "performance" -the mastery of the narrative code- may possibly be admired but never his "genius". The author is a modern figure, a product of our society insofar as ... it discovers the prestige of the individual" (Barthes 1977:142-43).

In societies that based on individualism and private property, the author's function is inextricably linked to notions of individual appropriation and hence to the legal system and institutions that regulate the rights and obligations of the owners of the work. These exercise control over them, punish those who transgress the established social norms and prescribe what is to be said on pre-determined subjects in specific circumstances and areas. In post industrial societies the property relationships between author and work are being modified however. In the area of mass culture we are witnessing the gradual disappearance of the framework of the author in its traditional form, although the traditional function is still prevalent and has been transformed as we will see later on. We are also seeing the emergence of the consumer as an arbiter, source of control and overseer.

With the development of new technologies in the cultural industries, the majority of the population has access to equipment with recording facilities. Images, texts and voices can be recorded, reproduced and photocopied. Such developments attack the copyright laws which were designed to protect the authors of books, videos, computer programs and information in general, to the extent that it is now impossible to completely control their use.

Plagiarism and pirating together with other forms of appropriation and the illegal sale of works typify the crimes that can be attributed to the consumer. Attempts to regulate consumption have a long history however. One of the first signs of the birth of reader-consumer power was the Index of Prohibited Books through which the Catholic Church looked for means to control the schismatic effects of the different critical movements labelled by the church authorities as heretical. It was a concerted attempt to supervise and classify writings which, according to the opinions of scrutinising clerics went against the faith,

morals and customs of the population, but fundamentally against the power of the Church. Consequently, the Roman Church forbade its followers to read these works.

With the growth of the modern cultural industries, educational institutions and governmental organisations became increasingly concerned about the impact of the new media on individuals and started to classify programs and films, to regulate transmission hours in the mass media according to the viewing habits of different age groups, and to use of censorship to omit segments which are considered to be unsuitable, inappropriate or harmful. All these mechanisms and institutional devices were designed not only to control what can and should be said by "the author", but also what can be seen, read, listened to and consumed by distinct sectors of the population in their roles as "consumers".

Parallel to the emergence of the consumer, we are witnessing a gradual disappearance of the author within the cultural industry discourses particularly on the radio, television and in the cinema, although the latter, like literature, retains the notion of the author for films that do not fill the standard industrialised forms. In routine media discourse however, it is often difficult to say who is speaking; the character in the film or soap opera, the actor, the cinematographic institution or TV program makers, or the sponsor, this is not surprising. In the cultural industries in general, discourse production is collective and undertaken within a specific institutional framework with its own devices, production mechanisms and censorship.

If we consider some recent counter cultural movements, such as punk culture, we see the questioning and demystifying the image of the author fallen a stage further. According to an investigation carried out in San Francisco California by James Lull, punk music was a reaction

against the dominant commercialised forms of rock music. A punk singer or composer is not considered a star. From his/her point of view, any member of the public can and ought to be able to make music. Accordingly in the United States and Britain, the relationship between the punk band and its audience was characterised by the disappearance of the distance between the musicians and their audience. This proximity was cemented by a strong interaction between the audience and musicians that results in physical contact. During the performance, the audience can climb up on the stage to dance while the members of the band mix with the public. Finally as a sign of opposition to the star system, applause is not permitted. (Lull 1987: 235-243).

This erosion of authorship is not only happening in the musical field. Steiner points out that there are an increasingly number of literary texts and works of art that are offered as collective and/or anonymous productions. In punk culture, poetic ecstasy and group sentiment consider "one big name" in music to be archaic vanity. The auditorium is no longer a reflection of the artists' talent that responds to a single enterprise and transmits it, but becomes a collective creation motivated by an impulse to participate, like a freewheeling movement; "Enough of presumptions of permanency in classical oeuvre, enough of great musicians" (Steiner 1991:122).

However, one cannot deny that the established relationships between author and work still retains a considerable hold in the field of high culture when compared to mass culture. Here the author still functions as a guarantee of unity and authenticity, and appears as the source and inspiration of sense as a true principle, as a norm of interpretation. In contrast, in mass culture, the author's function revolves, much more around stars and trademarks. For example, advertisers frequently use the voices of certain personalities who are in

the public eye as a testimony of truth. Hugo Sánchez, the famous footballer and dentist, recommends Colgate for protection against tartar. Placido Domingo³⁹⁴, "the one with beautiful smile" personally recommends the toothpaste of the competition, Crest. The words are endorsed by someone whose authority is indisputable, an authorised, legitimate voice, they operate as a guarantee of truth. The two toothpastes serve the same purpose, both are recommended by a well-known public personality. The first campaign focuses on "health" by means of a sports personality, while the second focuses on the product's aesthetic value, "the artistic", "the beautiful" mobilising Domingo's reputation as an opera singer and actor. Advertising uses the values of western culture: sport, a beautiful body, health, excellence, perfection and the exclusivity of the products of high brow culture as metaphors for the most prosaic objects of daily consumption. The author's discourse in this contexts centres on prescribing a form of reading: "it's about how a word should be received and how in a given culture that word takes on a certain status." (Foucault 1985:20).

THE AUTHOR AND THE WORK: ORIGIN AND UNITY OF MEANING

The shift of focus from the author and the work to the reader has given rise to distinct theories of reception in the field of literature. These start from a criticism of models of interpretation in traditional hermeneutics and from a questioning of certain structuralist perspectives.

Hermeneutics "is the science of the rules of exegesis, the latter being understood as the particular interpretation of a text" (Ricoeur 1970:11). A misinterpreted signal opens the possibility of double

³⁹⁴ Opera singer.

meaning. Avoiding this demands the existence of a legitimate authorised voice, depository of knowledge, that is to say, a subject (individual or institution) capable of interpreting texts in their particular sphere. For example, in theological and legal hermeneutics besides synaeresis of the sense of the text, interpretation implies the correct application of a moral and/or legal norm to changing situations, overcoming the distance that separates the period in which the text was written and its reader.

In the field of literature it requires the reader (critic) to understand the intentions of the author in accordance with the historical circumstances that have produced them. This work can only be carried out through a careful reconstruction of the "author's world"; the society in which he/she lived, his/her present situation and personality (Ricoeur 1970:32-36). The result is a revindication of the particular intention of the text.

This perspective considers the work as the communication of the author's preconceived meaning and interpretation as an attempt to reconstruct this meaning. (Olsen 1990:181). It seeks to define what the author wanted to say, and to identify that as the "correct" or "true" meaning.

However, according to Ricoeur writing from another perspective, "this hermeneutics is not an explanation of the object, but a tearing off masks; an interpretation that reduces disguises"(Ricoeur 1970:30). It is a process of demystification or reduction of illusions and is used as a "tactic of suspicion" (Ricoeur 1970:27). Ricoeur includes Marxism and psychoanalysis in this hermeneutic method.

Some strands in communication studies that have inherited the hermeneutic Marxist tradition analyse the ideology of newspaper texts,

films, TV and radio programs as false consciousness or as an inverted image. In the same way that the literary hermeneutics looks for an explanation of the text in its relationship with the producer and the historical circumstance in which it was produced. These studies seek to determine ideological effects and the manipulation of receivers through analysis of the text. The political and pedagogical task of the critical investigator consists in demystifying the content of the messages and unmasking the intentions of the producer because "when the author has been found, the text is "explained" (Barthes 1977:147).

Both these hermeneutic perspectives, the one which considers that the text reveals a positive word and the one that considers that it hides and manipulates, concede that the text has a value and efficiency to which the reader submits. The point of view attributed to the author works as an end in itself, as a padlock, as a conclusion of the meaning. "Once the author is removed, the claim to decipher a text becomes quite futile. To give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing" (Barthes 1977:147).

The structuralist perspective considers that we have to study works not so much in relation to who produced them, in what historical context and from what cultural inheritance, in order to reconstruct the thought, experience, or intentions of the authors (individual or institutional), but in relation to their internal structure. From them the significance and meaning of the work are immanent.

Semiotic Structuralism is interested in analysing the relationships between segments of a language, whether it be literary, cinematographic, radiophonic, or televisual, conceived as an ordered hierarchy. These languages can be defined by their fundamental processes, the segmentation of minute units of meaning, and the

integration of these units in a higher order, that is to say the meaning (Trnka 1980:14). Meaning, as a criteria of unity, is defined by the functional character of certain segments of the work that brings them together.

In order to analyse a text from this structuralist perspective in so far as the text is considered to be a manifestation of some particular language, one has to firstly determine the system in which the language is to be written. It is then necessary to distinguish the various instances in which a piece of work can be described and to situate them in terms of the structural system. Todorov for example, proposes an analysis of the narrative on two levels, they themselves being subdivided: the story comprising a logic of actions and a syntax of characters, and the discourse, comprising the tenses, aspects and modes of the narrative. He argues that "each element of the work has one or various senses (functions)... (derived from) a limited number that it is possible to establish once and for all" (Todorov 1974:156).

The infinite number of relationships can therefore be reduced to a finite number of functions. The interest is in discovering the rule that operates through the various texts and allows them to be classified. From this point of view, "the universe which is potentially infinite in manifestations of meaning would then be reduced to a species of combined elementary units of meaning" (Mier 1990:43). All the elements of a work could be reduced to a function where there would be no noise or residue. Finally as Todorov points out, "it is dangerous to identify the work through one's individual perception; good reading is not the reading of a "standard reader" but the optimum reading" (Todorov 1974:160).

As part of this general structuralist perspective, semiological and semiotic studies have been developed for the cinema and television,

where the meaning of the work is found in the interplay of internal relationships. In this approach, knowledge of the text is considered an appropriate way to anticipate the 'effects' of meaning on receivers.

FROM THE READER AS A TEXTUAL FUNCTION TO THE REAL READERS

In other currents of literary criticism, derived from hermeneutics, such as the Constance School (Iser and Jauss) and the Structuralism of Umberto Eco, operational definitions have been developed of the reader as a result of a shift of interest from authors and works towards the moment of reception. The types of reader that are described are heuristic constructions. They range from an empirical extreme in which there would be no theoretical construction of the reader, referring only to the real reader, to those reader constructions with no empirical base, as in notions of the ideal reader.

The empirical reader, permits the discovery of the norms of judgement applied to literary works, (or other cultural products, films, television and radio programs, newspapers) in everyday life. The ideal reader on the other hand is a construction based on the structure of the text with no necessary relation to actual readers in particular contexts (Iser 1978:25).

Among conceptions of the reader based on the structure of the text itself, we have among others; the "wanted (claimed) reader" who wants to recreate "the idea of the reader the author had in mind" (Wolff 1971: 141-166 in Iser 1978:32-33); the "model reader" constructed according to the structuralist perspective of Eco; and the "implied reader" as a construction generated by the hermeneutic approach of Iser. I will analyse these last two in more detail.

Eco considers that any author not only anticipate a model reader for his or her text but also establishes one. That is to say, by anticipating a model reader the author creates in a Marxist sense: "The object of art like any other product creates public sensitivity to art capable of aesthetic pleasure. In the way that the production not only produces an object for the subject, but also a subject for the object. Production gives rise to consumption creating objects of consumption, the means of consumption, and the impulse to consume" (Marx 1987:12). Such is the case with what is referred to as "the target audience" within in marketing and advertising. Segments with certain characteristics are described, for example, middle class women aged between 25-50, housewives, characteristics that depict the type of women who appear in women's magazines such as "Cosmos Girl".

Eco then defines the model reader as a combination of textually established conditions that must be satisfied if the potential content of a text is to remain pertinent. (Eco 1981:89). Hence, the infinite potential of a text generates only those interpretations foreseen in its strategy, since, according to Eco, "a text is no more than the strategy that constitutes the universe of its interpretations, which, if not legitimate can be legitimised." (Eco 1981:86).

Likewise, Eco states finally that the objective of the text is to guarantee textual co-operation by confronting the possibilities of aberrant interpretations. In order to achieve the said objective, it is necessary to submit the text to certain rules of coherent interpretation. For Todorov it would be an optimum reading. Eco states that during the process of reception, a loss of information frequently occurs as a result of the differences between the codes the author uses and those employed by the reader. Reading in consequence is considered aberrant, erroneous or at least incomplete when this occurs (Eco 1992: 9-46).

In contrast, Iser's concept of the "implied reader" designs a structure of the text and anticipates and supplies the "necessary" reader. For Iser "the reader's role is to occupy shifting vantage points that are geared to a prestructured activity and to fit the diverse perspectives into a gradually evolving pattern" (Iser 1978:35). The implied reader does not coincide totally with Eco's model reader since the target reader's point of view would only be another perspective that interacts with other aspects of the text.

There are two aspects to the role of the reader according to Iser's concept: the structure of the text as intention and the act of fulfilment. Reading is produced in the tension between both structures in such a way, that "each actualisation therefore represents a selective realisation of the implied reader whose own structure provides a frame of reference within which individual response to a text can be communicated to others. This is a vital function of the whole concept of the implied reader. It provides a link between all the historical and individual actualisation of the text and makes them accessible to analysis" (Iser 1978:38).

Iser's implied reader then, is a wider concept than Eco's "model reader", since, besides considering the reader as a textual function it also includes an acknowledgement of the "real" conditions of reading. With the notion of "the structure of the act", Iser opens up a place for the real reader's horizon of reference, into which the singularity and variety of historical and individual performances of a text are incorporated.

In order to clarify and deepen his reflections on the participation of readers in the process of performing a text, Jauss proposes that hermeneutic analysis to reconstruct the historical processes through

which the text has been accepted and interpreted in different manners by readers in different periods (Jauss 1982:3-45). In order to achieve this objective however, it is necessary to overcome the contradiction between structuralism's inherent analysis of the works themselves and the historical analysis of traditional hermeneutics. His proposal is to integrate the range of inter-literary "horizons of expectations" and the range of social "horizons of expectations", in the analysis of the relationship between text and reader. Jauss also distinguishes two levels of analysis within the reader experience: the "effect" level as "the concretisation conditioned by the text" and the "reception" level as "the concretisation conditioned by the addressee" (Jauss 1982:3-45).

While within both hermeneutic literary circles and structuralist literary criticism, there has been a shift of emphasis from the author and the work towards the reader and the moment of reading, it remains true that the text and the author are still considered the source, centre and origin of meaning, as demonstrated by the operational notions of the reader just described. The theory of the "model reader" has been developed from the starting point of the intention inherent in the text.

In contrast, as we shall see, sociological perspectives have developed a definition of the reader in which the emphasis is placed not on the intention of the text or the author but on the intention - not necessarily a conscious intention - of the receivers or consumers, and on concrete forms of interpretation and use in every day life.

Among notions of the reader current within literary criticism however, there are some with an empirical base. One finds the "superreader" developed by Riffaterre for example. This is a statistical concept that tries by means of a multiplicity of informants "to eliminate the degree

of variation inevitably arising from the subjective disposition of the individual reader" (Iser 1978:30).

For his part, Stanley Fish has developed the concept of the informed reader which defines the reader as a mature person who has complete competence in the language in which the text is written and also literary competence (Iser 1978: 30-31). The "informed reader" like Riffaterre's superreader, could be use as a basis for study of test subjects, capable of observing his or her own reactions in the process of reading with the aim of describing them and controlling them.

Within cultural sociology however, Bourdieu has perhaps done more than anyone else to develop an approach to real consumers, whit the aim of understanding their processes for appropriating cultural products. Bourdieu develops the concept of "class habitus" which he defines as a "system of durable and transportable dispositions or structures which are pre-disposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1980:88). The habitus is a bringing together of basic perceptions, and modes of action that operate to give internal coherence to individual and group practices, of cultural consumption and appropriation. But as Bourdieu says, "the habitus generates representations and practices which are always more adjusted than they seem to be to the objective conditions of which they are the product" (Bourdieu 1984:244).

It is important to point out that unlike other cultural analysis, who reduce the categories of subject and social classes to simple differentiated and hierarchised strata, in his analysis of cultural consumption, Bourdieu introduces the problem of power. He considers that differences in the appropriation of cultural goods and symbols is due to the unequal distribution of key forms of capital, generated

by "the state of power relations between the classes" (Bourdieu 1984:245).

In this light, social agents are distributed in a multidimensional social space understood as a structure of accumulated capitals (economic, social and cultural) produced by previous struggles (encounters, fights). Social space can then be described as a power field in which the agents establish unequal power relationships according to the relative positions they occupy and the capitals they command. Agents' social positions in this sense "are also strategic emplacements, fortresses to be defended and captured in a field of struggles" (Bourdieu 1984:244).

Though agents may travel from one cultural field to another, they carry with them a durable set of basic dispositions -a habitus- which reduces, refines and normalises their choices according to a system of necessities. Therefore, in spite of its efforts to break with from some Marxist tendencies, to place more importance on structures rather than relationships, Bourdieu's perspective does not escape from a vision of power as something that subjects and/or institutions possesses. It considers power as capital incorporated inside subjects in the form of a class habitus or as objective capital within institutions.

RECEPTION STUDIES WITHIN COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Having now briefly introduced the contributions of literary criticism, semiotics and the Bourdieu's sociology of the culture, to the study of reception, this section explores relevant recent developments within communication studies.

In present day argument over the impact of public culture on the sphere of private life, and more specifically as to the power exerted by or the effects produced by the communication media, and the messages they transmit, two opposing tendencies can be identified. On the one hand, there are the studies that maintain that the media have the power to control, and manipulate subjects (Schiller 1993). On the other hand, there are the studies that focus their attention on the power that subjects and collective groups possess to resist and/or subvert the power of the media (Ang 1985, Fiske 1991).

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF COMMUNICATION

In the 'seventies, in Latin America as well as Europe and the United States, mounting criticisms of functionalist theories of the "effects" of the communication media, prompted a renewal of interest in critical theory. These studies used as their starting point the "criticism of mass culture" initiated by the Frankfurt school, together with Barthes's analysis of popular mythologies. These investigations focused their attention on the power of the media. Some based in political economy, expressed serious criticisms of "North American Cultural Imperialism", and of the "domination" exercised by capitalism on peripheral nations and subordinate classes. Other investigations, analysing messages, sought to determine the ideological power that the communication media exercise in addressing individuals as subjects.

In this connection, it is worth noting particularly the analyses carried out in Britain by the group around *Screen Magazine* (Moore 1995:13), and the studies by Armand Mattelart and the CEREN group in Chile (1970). These studies were inspired by the Marxist theory of ideologies developed initially by Althusser (1970), who in his turn was inspired by the psychoanalytical theory of Lacan. From this

perspective individuals become subjects through the mediation of the discourses of the different social institutions, and in particular the discourse of the media.

These two strands in critical analysis -political economy and ideology critic- favoured the analysis of the sphere of production and of discourses as a way of predicting the ideological power of the media over their audiences. The central problem with these investigations, as Moores points out, lies in the fact that "they led to a form of textual determinism which left no room for negotiation or resistance on the part of audiences" (Moores 1995:12).

Similarly, such perspectives overlooked the differentiated consumption of mass cultural products by different subjects in different cultural contexts. Thus, as Moores adds, what is really required is a dynamic inter-discursive model of relationships between the media's texts and the readers - socially situated - who decode them (Moores 1995:12).

Since 1970, in the area of communication studies in Latin America, there has been, albeit incipiently, growing concern with the analysis of reception processes. Initial attempts, include studies on the consumption of television carried out by Mattelart and Piccini in Chile (1974), and some works published in the intellectual space opened up by the journal *Comunicación y Cultura* under the direction of Schmucler (1975-84).

At the end of the 'eighties and the beginning of the 'nineties, inspired by the works of Bourdieu, studies on cultural consumption gained ground, both in Mexico and in Latin America more generally (García Canclini/Piccini 1993, García Canclini 1994, Lozano 1991, Valenzuela 1993). In these investigations, quantitative methods such as questionnaires, were used to describe and analyse the cultural

consumption habits and tastes of different media audiences. In these studies, following Bourdieu, the sphere of cultural consumption is understood as a space of struggle between groups and classes, to appropriate the means of distinction. It is also thought that the relationships of power and the struggles between groups are reproduced by means of the different class habituses which, ingrained in the subjects, are passed on from one generation to another.

"ETHNOGRAPHIC" INVESTIGATION IN THE FIELD OF COMMUNICATION

In the 'eighties, in an attempt to go beyond the sociological and semiological perspectives just mentioned, a series of "ethnographic" investigations, were developed to approach the processes of communication locally. They were qualitative studies - although not strictly ethnographic in some cases - that set out to describe in a "thick" manner, in the words of Geertz (1989:19), the practices and rituals which had accreted around the modern media in the context of everyday life.

Researchers used oral history, interviews, and participant observations, - in order to draw nearer "real agents" in the "natural spaces" in which processes of communication occur. The objective was to understand the insertion of communicative technologies (from radio and television to video-cassette, compact discs, and computers) into daily life (Murdock et al 1992).

It was argued that ethnographic methods offered advantages when studying local social processes, at the level of micro-sociology, particularly for the analysis of everyday practices, since they allowed for the restitution of the complexity in the power relationships that subjects establish with each other.

The aims of audience ethnography have been on the one hand to explain and interpret the new rituals of communication, verbal and non-verbal, which are displayed around the new technologies within domestic contexts. And on the other hand, to describe the forms in which "media contents are integrated into everyday communication practices in complex forms of inter-discursiveness" (Morley and Silverstone 1991:71). There was also a particular concern with what became known as "the politics of the living-room". That is to say, with the power relationships displayed between men and women, and between parents and children, within the sphere of family life in interaction with the communication media (Moore 1995:74).

Instances include, the investigations into family practices of "watching television" carried out by Lull, in the U.S.A. (1990), and in China (1991), and by Morley (1992) and Silverstone (1994) in Britain ; and the studies by Martín Barbero (1992) in Colombia, and González (1994) in Mexico, of the practice of "watching soap-operas", and the place of melodrama as the most popular genre among different groups and classes in Latin America. This surge of ethnographic research has produced many insights but one conclusion is consistent; different audiences, arrive at different interpretations of media products, in different social cultural contexts.

The work of Radway is a paradigmatic example. She focuses particularly on the practice of "reading" novels in general and (romantic) love stories in particular, and the significance they acquire for different groups of women in different contexts (Radway 1987). Similarly the work of Ien Ang and others, analyses from a feminist viewpoint, the diverse "readings" that different groups of women give to North American television series such as "Dallas" (Ang 1985),

"Dynasty" (Press 1990), "Cagney and Lacey" (Gamman 1988, and Clark 1990); and the "pleasure" obtained from such "readings".

By tapping into the memory of subjects, other investigations have utilised the techniques of oral narratives to analyse the history of radio listening in the life of different collective communities. They include the studies carried out by Moores (1986) in Britain, and by Mata (1991) in Latin America.

Investigations into the active participation of children in consumption of the media, also stand out in this field. The works of Hodge and Tripp (1988), and Palmer (1986) both in Australia; and the works of Zires (1983), De la Peza (1983) and Corona (1989) in Mexico, are particular noteworthy. As a starting point, a number of the studies mentioned focus on the "active" role of subjects, emphasising their chances of "resistance" and "subversion" in the face of media's texts, and their "power" to produce new meanings. These studies consider the text as a storehouse of meanings that is not exhausted at simply one sitting. By "reading", the subject, makes relevant to himself/herself the meanings generated by the text, and thus produces new meanings.

By emphasising the polysemic character of messages and the active role of audiences so strongly however, some of these studies (Charles and Orozco 1990; Fiske 1991), have idealised the freedom of subjects and minimised the power of social structures and the media. Some investigations, which are post-modernist in tendency, have idealised the diversity of the messages of mass culture to the point of presenting it as a paradigmatic democratic culture. For instance, for Fiske, the diversity of cultural supply is measured in quantitative terms, such as the proliferation of images in films, and on television channels which can be received from all over the world. This plurality, coupled with

the diversity and heterogeneity of audiences, and guarantees an endless multiplicity of meanings in society, which in turn constitute the "proof" and "guarantee" of "democracy" (Fiske 1991:69).

Murdock criticises this perspective, and considers that "the view of audience members, at first and foremost active consumers, also helps to reinforce the new conservatives' promotion of the marketplace as the fundamental sphere of liberty, and of the freedom to choose between competing products as the core of individual rights. This conception operates to displace the alternative view of audience members as citizens with other entitlements, including rights of access to the full range of information, argument and interpretation they need in order to understand their situation, and to intervene to change it if they so choose" (Murdock 1989:41).

It is therefore important to insist that the enormous quantity of discourses the media offer do not necessarily include representations of all social groups. Similarly, not "every" interpretation or reading is in itself "active", "productive" or "creative". Reading does not in itself or always signify the production of new meanings, nor is it always a subversive activity.

READING AND POWER RELATIONSHIPS

According to Jitrik (1984), reading can be as much a practice of recognition or repetition, as it can be of innovation. In "repetition reading", the subject reads in accordance with what he/she already knows, in the manner of "a reassurance of tranquillity and a certain guarantee of pleasure. In "innovation reading", anything new always implies a certain risk "with the quota of frustration and correlative enjoyment that that can bring" (Jitrik 1984:32).

In general, readings of mass cultural texts - soap-operas, mass-produced novels - are repetition readings. As Radway points out, on the basis of her investigation of romance readers. "...Women have fairly rigid expectations about what is permissible in a romantic tale, and express disappointment and outrage when those conventions are violated... they expect and indeed, rely upon certain events, characters and progressions to provide the desired experience" (Radway 1987:63). Similarly, "Dallas", as Ang (1985) points out, was offered not as an innovative object, but in accordance with the accepted routines of "popular taste", which consists above all in a taste for recognition, for repetition. At the same time and paradoxically, a reading of the same product also may be an aberrant and constitute an act of resistance and subversion.

In her research, Radway found that reading romantic novels was, on the one hand, an act governed by socially learned strategies and conventions that female readers apply to each text as members of a particular interpretative community, but that at the same time, the act of reading itself allows women to resist playing the role that has been imposed on them socially. Women see it as a way of defending their own position, a way of saying to everyone else: "This is my time, my space. Now leave me alone" (Radway 1987:213).

Jitrik, for his part, distinguishes three possible levels of reading: "spontaneous", "indical" and "critical" (Jitrik 1984:41-48), which more or less correspond to the three types of response described by Parkin (1972) as "dominant", "negotiative" and "oppositional". In the first response, the dominant, the subject reads and interprets the text according to the dominant code. In other words, according to the meaning proposed by the text. In negotiated reading, there co-exist a general acceptance on the part of the reader of the dominant definitions, and a simultaneous rejection of their implications. Finally,

the opposing reader decodes the message globally in a manner contrary to that proposed by the text.

According to Jitrik, spontaneous reading, rests on a negation of the arbitrary character of the languages employed, and of the socio-cultural determination of the contents (Jitrik 1984:42). Through these mechanisms the contents are consecrated as truths, and the words as a transparent vehicle. In this case, the reading is not an act of transgression, it does not go beyond the limitations that, in a general sense, the text has imposed on it, despite the fact that the reader believes that he/she is undertaking, by his/her spontaneous reading, an exercise in liberty (Jitrik 1984:44).

When in "spontaneous" reading a clash is produced between the codes and contents of the text, and the codes and contents of the reader which cause a rejection of the meanings the reader managed to perceive through the reading, an intermediate reading, which Jitrik calls "indical", is produced. In this type of reading, the person receiving the text puts a certain distance between himself/herself and the first impression that text produced. This would be a reading of resistance, that holds the text at a distance, and erects a barrier against the force that text aims to impose, but does not yet subvert it. Indical reading is a necessary pre-requisite for active, critical, creative and subversive reading. Nevertheless, it may simply remain at that preparatory stage, suspended.

Critical reading, as opposed to spontaneous reading, would be a reading that recognises the material determinations of the codes and languages inscribed in the text, as well as the mechanisms and procedures of codification that make possible what the text signifies. Critical reading also recognises the multiplicity of contents, and implies a constant exercise of learning and perfecting of the means of

reading, and of the cultural and social competence and knowledge that are brought into play for the production of new meanings. Critical reading would be the "only possibility of neutralising in the very act and at the very moment of reading... the permanent risks of social domination through reading" (Jitrik 1984:48).

As has been shown up to this point, some theorists have made a stand for the creative capacity of the audiences. Other theorists tend to give more weight to the structural restrictions that are imposed on the subjects according to their place in the class structure. Despite the attempts of the majority of qualitative studies on reception mentioned, to: a) consider the inter-textual character of the media and of the processes of reception; b) break with the centrality of the communication media; and c) approach the processes of communication in all their complexity in the natural spaces in which they happen; the media, particularly television, are still considered to be independent variables, and the causal schema of traditional functionalist studies are still maintained. The very design of the investigations focuses attention on one single medium, be it the press, the cinema, the radio or the television, and the direct immediate impact of some of the messages they transmit. These kinds of research consider the response of the subjects, in an immediate direct manner, be it in terms of the comprehension of meaning, or of adhesion to or rejection of the contents proposed on a semantic level by the messages, or according to the forms of appropriation in relation to the social practices they favour.

Some investigations, like that carried out by Zires (1997) into the mythology around the Smurfs that circulated in Mexico in 1982, point towards a new direction. In this study, the causal relationship between the media and its messages, and the responses of the audiences, is broken, and the processes of communication are

approached as spaces of proliferation of multiple senses, immersed in and related to the ensemble of other social practices through which children enter the scene.

THE STUDY OF POPULAR MUSIC WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL STUDIES

The study of contemporary popular music in Great Britain and the United States has shown a slower development in comparison for example to the study of television. Nevertheless, it has been a particularly rich, dynamic line of study, in relation to the work carried out in other geographic regions. In Mexico and Latin America, only a few research projects have been undertaken in this field (Castillo Zapata 1990; Pacini Hernández 1990; Zavala 1991; Savigliano 1995), and some of those works have already been referred to in the preceding chapters.

Research into popular music in the Anglo-Saxon world has demonstrated clearly defined trends. Musicology in particular has been directed towards the study of "classical" music, which is considered both "cultured" and "artistic" (Shepherd 1991:49-74). As a result, popular music has been studied as a cultural phenomenon rather than for its specific musical and aesthetic nature.

Ethno-musicology has taken as its object of research the study of musical expressions peculiar to the urban sub-cultures in post-industrial societies. Similarly it has subsumed studies of folklore, which studies have been orientated towards traditional musical manifestations, passed on orally from generation to generation, and which belong to rural communities. The aim of this type of research has been to rescue those cultural products which are in the process of

dying out because of the impact of new communication technologies (Middleton 1990:127-154).

According to Cohen, the study of popular music in the communication field, has shown the following characteristics: most of the studies have used semiological, sociological and statistical methods, and their principal aims have been, on the one hand, a textual analysis of the songs, and on the other, the processes of production, distribution and consumption of the musical industry. Ethnographic studies, by comparison, which are based on local musical practices, of groups and of individuals, carried out in private contexts, have been fewer in number. The focus of attention in these studies has mainly been on the stars and on professional singers, more than on the majority of groups or amateur singers. With regard to specific population groups, the studies have mainly concentrated on young people and their changing musical practices. Adults have, for the most part, been left on the sidelines, along with the more stable cultural elements that give continuity to the different communities (Cohen 1993:126-27). Finally, and in spite of the effort put into feminist studies, the majority of studies have been orientated towards men, particularly young working-class men, and less importance has been given to the role of women in music production and consumption (McRobbie 1991:1-15).

The study of popular music, and more specifically the study of Rock, as a product of contemporary cultural industries, was significantly boosted by the Birmingham school. This group has made important contributions to the study of contemporary urban sub-cultures in general, and of Rock in particular. Special attention was paid to the study of youth sub-cultures as minority forms of appropriation of the dominant culture (Hall & Jefferson 1976; Willis 1978; Hebdgie 1979).

As a starting point, sub-culture theories establish the existence of a homology between the material living conditions, tastes in music and the combination of activities, worries and distinctive identities particular to each sub-culture, all of which also demonstrate an internal coherence (Middleton 1990:155-56; Longhurst 1995:210-25). In this sense, the forms of appropriation the young working-class people make of the music, were considered to be an expression not only of discontent, but also more specifically of resistance and popular protest (Hall & Jefferson 1976; Willis 1978; Hebdgie 1979).

In this perspective there can be perceived a certain idealisation of the transformative character of said practices of cultural consumption. However, as was seen in the previous section of this chapter, the forms of resistance against the meanings proposed by the cultural industries, and the differentiated forms of use and appropriation made by the different sub-cultures do not necessarily imply critical awareness or revolutionary transformation.

Likewise, the majority of these studies have analysed the sub-cultures looking inward. They have focused particularly on those aspects that distinguish each sub-culture and give each its own peculiar identity, rather than on the aspects that link the sub-culture to whatever surrounds it. On the one hand, the idea of isolation and self-sufficiency of each sub-culture has been generalised, by overly stressing its boundaries. On the other hand, it has generally been considered that subjects find themselves encapsulated within one single sub-culture. This is despite Hannerz's assertion that: "People can be involved with one sub-culture, rather through one role, or as a constellation of some of their roles, and with other sub-cultures through other roles in their repertoires" (Hannerz 1992:72).

From the criticism of the theories of homology in the field of popular music, criticism made by different authors (Redhead 1990; Hannerz 1992; Frith 1996), new approaches have been developed. Some ethnographic studies stand out among these new approaches, because they have begun to pay attention to the study of different musical practices within the context of specific social networks.

Some recent research, such as that carried out by Cohen and Finnegan (quoted by Cohen), and within which body of research this present project hopes to be included, aims to fill in the holes and make up for the deficiencies in the studies mentioned. In order to do this, "a broad variety of music genres is incorporated, but more emphasis is placed upon their historical dimension and upon the role of music within households, kinship groups and wider social collectivities, defined according to factors such as religion, ethnicity and class. Much of the research involves face-to-face interviews, oral history and archival research, but it is ethnographic in that interviews and materials are contextualised in time and space, through observation of relationships, and participation in related activities" (Cohen 1993:129). On the other hand, Willis mentions different practices of creative music consumption which it would also be worth analysing, such as buying, listening to, recording, dancing to, and interpreting sounds, songs and symbols (Willis 1990 quoted by Longhurst 1995:240).

In an attempt to break with the limitations of the various studies of reception in general and on popular music in particular in the area of communication studies, this chapter continues with some theoretical considerations which will be relevant to our empirical study of the ways subjects from contrasted social groups consume, use, appropriate and understand love songs, and in particular, how they integrate the bolero into their everyday practices.

TEXT-CONTEXT RELATIONS AND VARIATIONS OF MEANING

One of the major problems posed by researches of consumption in cultural sociology and of reading in literary hermeneutics, concerns the nature of the relationship between historical contexts and concrete readings. An analysis of text-context connections enables us to include the problem of power in the study of reading processes.

Bourdean sociology considers power as capital incorporated into subjects in the form of a class habitus or as capital deployed by institutions. A more productive way of approaching the problem would be to ask not so much as who possesses power? because it "is never placed here or there, it is never in the hands of someone, it is never appropriated like wealth or goods", but rather how the power is exercised, because as Foucault points out : "power functions and is exercised through a reticular organisation" (Foucault 1992:34).

From Foucault's point of view, power is the consequence of a correlation of multiple forces that are faced in any area of struggle. For him there is no power without resistance, and there is no resistance without power. The subject emerges as a consequence of the paradoxical tension between power and resistance. For there to be subjects, there has to be resistance, one force that opposes another force. From this point of view the problem of power relationships has to be tackled from the perspective of the exercise of micro powers through discourse. Subjects (consumers or readers) are not only subjects of class but occupy distinct subject positions, within diverse social institutions. Together, these constitute a network of complex power and knowledge relationships in which unique strategies of reading-writing, that are not totally conscious, come into play.

We also have to take into account the fact that subjects -authors and readers- are continually moving between social institutions, changing places in space and time, and occupying diverse subject positions of authority/subordination, as men or women, parents or children in the family, students or teachers in educational institutions, those in authority or subordinates in the labour field, or members of a group or strangers. They are subjects who go from the home to the bar, the workplace or the cinema, go alone or in groups. This mobility implies "questioning the absolute character and founding role of the subject" (Foucault 1985:42) as a principle of unitary meaning. The relationships that readers establish between themselves through object-texts vary according to their situation or place in space and the institutions in which they move. Subjects are in perpetual motion in open space.

Subjects have no intrinsic properties that are established once and for all time. Rather they have situational properties which allow a margin of indeterminacy in which the context cannot be saturated and the sense/meaning finds an escape route. The context variants in every speech act rest on the margin of indetermination present in all conventional relationships; a greater or lesser degree of knowledge, ignorance and agreement between the speakers. There is no "pure" context but rather a complex intersection of contexts. (Derrida 1982:309-330).

Within this framework, the reader can be considered as a divided subject spanned by multiple codes, languages and texts; and reading as the moment and place in which all these texts and languages are mixed even though they may be considered incompatible (Barthes 1987: 48-49).

THE DISCOURSE PROCESS

Traditional reception studies have considered the receiver as a definite subject, predictable and established by the author and the work. However, from the perspective outlined here we can imagine, as Derrida suggests in *The Postcard*, "the possibility of a network of communications without an address or addressee in which all mail is addressed only "to whom it may concern " a system that values the noise or the invention above transparent meanings" (Ulmer 1988:160). That is, the average, anonymous reader, can be understood as being the one "to whom it may concern; an impersonal addressee... "Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he/she is simply that someone who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted" (Barthes 1977:148).

In relation to the message, traditional studies conceive the work or product (a novel, a soap-opera, a film) as a discreet element, an indivisible unit that can be isolated from the other works or messages diffused by the media and other institutions. But where does a soap-opera begin and where does it end in order to start the advertising discourse? For example in the case of the discourse of specialised Mexican magazines like "TV Guide" and "TV and Soap Operas", we find interviews with the actors, accounts of the romance of Christian Bach and Alberto Zurita that started with the soap-opera and culminates with a soap-opera wedding and in real life, and expressions of public opinion that change the outcome of the story or affect the duration of the series. Are all these discourses a part of the soap-opera or not? It is difficult to give a categorical answer, to say 'yes' or 'no'. But what it could be asked is where a piece of work starts and where it finishes and then go on to analyse the methodological implications.

Given that we have seen the apparent unity of cultural objects crumble. One way of approaching this in a more understanding and flexible way would be to consider cultural production itself as a text. While the 'work' refers to a finished object, a consumer object, whose secret has to be deciphered and the activity of the reader is reduced to revealing the hidden meaning of the work, the 'text' refers to the readings or to be more precise, reading-writing as a job, play, production, practice. The text proliferates, multiplies and is disseminated through reading (Barthes 1987: 73-82).

The text is a distinct way of approaching the message. Whereas the work acquires a meaning in itself or in relationship to the person who produced, the text is written starting from the point of view of the reader be it your average reader and/or critic a (researcher). The text is not therefore a closed unit. Every text is absorption and transformation of a multiplicity of other texts. Every text is already in itself an inter-text. The notion of text, or more properly, of inter-text or discourse breaks with the linearity in which notions of the message and the work are inscribed. The text is a knot in a network, a point of arrival and the beginning of a polyvalent relationship (Ducrot/Todorov 1972:400).

The text has no determined or determinable unique origin, it does not reproduce itself horizontally and hierarchically, but multiplies itself. Neither does it have a single end, or a conscious communicative intention. It is irreversible, there is always a word which precedes it. In the text the networks that constitute it are multiple like its access points. When a past song, cinema film or television show are retransmitted, they acquire distinct and new meanings which go beyond the original intentions of the author. The reader brings to the text new knowledge. One sees in it what the author was unaware of and transforms the text into an up-to-date product. The reader

contrasts the text with the distinct readings that have been made up until the moment of retransmission, and explores new meanings generated out of the moment in which he/she carries out a current reading.

All this is possible thanks to whatever language or code, be it semio-linguistic or not, that can free itself from its author and implies that there is a possibility of it being repeated, reproduced in the absence of the person that produced it, as well as who it was originally destined for. Once in circulation, whoever reads it can reconstruct the code and decipher the text even though it does not necessarily keep the original meaning (Derrida 1982:315-316).

In the 1970s as Mattelart pointed out in the film "The Spiral" during the time of the Popular Unity government in Chile, the film "Z" by Costa Gavras was considered revolutionary in a working class area, while it was treated as a detective story in a high class area. That is because, a syntagma can be separated from the utterance that it initially produced, without losing the possibilities of its meaning and can even acquire new meanings that graft it into another chain of meaning. Such is the case for example with irony, parody, polemic, and the reply. Significant gestures in any language, these elements constitute a machine that produces meanings and causes the author and the context in which it was produced to disappear. But this does not prevent the text from working and lending itself to new readings or being rewritten.

READING MECHANISMS: THE NEVER ENDING READING

As Bajtin points out, in the sense that all discourse understanding is changed with a reply, every listener at some point is a speaker and

"every speaker is, by his/her nature and to a large or small degree, a replier: he/she is not the first speaker who may have interrupted for the first time the silence of the universe and he/she is not the only one who presupposes the system of languages he/she uses given that he/she has the presence of certain previous enunciation which are his or her and other peoples' with which his/her statement establishes all kind of relationships (supports them, pose problems for them or simply presupposes the listener is aware of them). All statements are a link in a very complex chain different from other statements". (Bajtin 1982:258). Reading then is always a speech act that the reader produces internally or that he/she externalises. and can be an immediate response or a delayed one.

In this section, in order to explain the process of reading further, I would like to take as a starting point Derrida's criticism of Sassure's argument that "the signified and the signifier are related as if they were two sides of the same sheet of paper" (Ulmer 1988:133) For Derrida, the signified and the signifier do not function as pre-established pairs but separate continually and write forming multiple combinations, and the nature of the two languages consists of this. As Derrida points out: "Every sign, linguistic or non linguistic, spoken or written (in the usual sense of this opposition) as a small or large unity, can be cited, put between quotation marks; thereby it can break with every given context, and engender infinitely new contexts in an absolutely non saturable fashion.. This does not suppose that the mark is valid outside its context, but on the contrary that there are only contexts without any centre of absolute anchoring" (Derrida 1982:320).

The reader takes a certain number of elements of the discourse of books, radio, cinema, television, educational institutions, families and social situations and names them, arranges them, or integrates them

into a singular, discontinuous and heterogeneous discourse that manifests different kinds of breaks.

Reading then is like, editing a film. According to Eisenstein the pioneers of cinema discovered the editing properties of a film while they played with pieces of film. "this property consisted in the fact that two film pieces of any kind, placed together, inevitably combine into a new concept, a new quality arising out of that juxtaposition" (Eisenstein 1948:14) and "the juxtaposition of two separated shots by splicing them together, resembles not so much a simple sum of one shot plus another shot -as it does a creation. It resembles a creation - rather than a sum of its parts- from the circumstance that in every such juxtaposition, the result is qualitatively distinguishable from each component viewed separately" (Eisenstein 1948:17). In order to produce a reading text the subject puts together different texts. As a result, a new text which is different to the text-tutor, is produced.

The collage notion taken from visual arts understood as "the transference of materials from one context to another" and the notion of cinema editing as "the dissemination of these materials in the new setting" (Ulmer 1988:127), serve us as a metaphor for the operations that the reader undertakes when he/she reads photography, cinema, television, radio. This is a revolution produced in the era of mechanical reproduction. The subject imitates the processes of the mass media that produces simulated versions of real life and the world through the procedures of collage and film editing. In the process of reading, meanings are produced through the medium of language and the textualised subject, transformed, cut and joined together (edited, constructed, added to, combined, related to, organised) with other discourses producing new juxtapositions.

The mechanics of collage are an attack on the organic growth model and its supposed harmony, unity, linearity and conclusion. Collage proliferates in all possible directions. The effects of meaning are not produced as an immediate and lineal reply to a stimulus because the text tutor and the reader subject enter into contact with something that is already a collage. Rather we are taking about a plurality of arrangements coming from distinct areas of culture, not a universal text but a plural one. The reader subject is not an innocent individual that precedes the text, he/she is a multiple subject, a plurality of other texts. The text reading is the result of a multidimensional interaction between text and reader, a plurality, one against the other. The task of the reader consist of transferring and moving systems and putting into play the collection of codes that constitutes him/her.

Reading as a process of production of meanings and is therefore endless. However, it is not a matter of free association. It is determined by the languages and codes of those who bring into play the interaction between text and reader, signs of signed, voices that are woven into the text-tutor and which the text-reader updates. Reading operates according to the mechanisms of collage through which the reader subject is integrated into the reading text which consists of fragments of other texts, formed by the repetition of stereotypes, of forced clauses, key words, tone of voices, gestures, body movements.

CHAPTER VII

APPROACHING THE BOLERO AUDIENCE

The previous chapter offered a critical review of the different approaches to the study of media audiences, and outlined the theoretical starting point that informs the present study. This chapter describes the methodological strategy used to study the forms of interpretation, use and appropriation. Specifically, this research proposes to analyse, on the one hand, the forms of consumption and use of the bolero in two social classes; and on the other, the inter-relationship between the bolero's loving codes as disseminated in public spaces and personal love stories, as a part of the private, intimate life of the subjects.

Studying culture in a mega-city, such as Mexico City, confronts the social researcher with a host of methodological problems, and it is important that these should be resolved. One element to be considered is the heterogeneous, multi-cultural character of Mexico City, a city where indigenous and colonial traditions co-exist with the very latest in communications and information technologies. The present-day make-up of the urban space is the result of the rapid process of industrialisation, and of the demographic explosion the country has experienced during the last forty years. Throughout this period, the different local cultures, that together make up Mexico City's heterogeneous and multi-faceted urban mix, were being built up in the context of the confrontation between the traditional cultures of the rural immigrants and the urban cultures produced by advanced capitalist development and the globalisation of the economy.

Mexico City has become a hostile city, in which most of the inhabitants retreat into their own little area, and would like to forget about the existence of the big city. Nevertheless, as García Canclini points out:

“the imbalance generated by irrational and speculative urbanisation is “compensated for” by the communicational efficiency of the technological networks” (García Canclini 1995:69).

A study of what is on offer culturally in Mexico City, as determined by different research projects, demonstrates that there is a permanent tension between strategies of cultural integration and homogenisation, and the processes of cultural dissemination and diversification (García Canclini & Piccini 1993; Fadul & Solis 1995:67-90; Zires 1997).

From this current research project, the observation can be made that the availability of boleros seems to demonstrate the same behaviour pattern. On the one hand, the cultural industries offer several different bolero products, aimed at different sections of the public; on the other hand, the cultural industries also try to unite the scattered fragments of the urban fabric and the cultural diversity of the city's inhabitants around the bolero as a symbol of national identity. Likewise, the results of the analysis of boleros on offer at theatres, bars and dance-halls, allow the observation to be made of how the cultural supply in the city “reproduces the segmentations and segregations within the population, as begotten by the inequality in income levels, education and the residential distribution of the inhabitants” (García Canclini 1995:66).

Despite the research tools developed by the different social sciences, none of the social sciences individually is capable of addressing all that is currently happening in the city as the result of a sedimentation of a combination of processes due to different causes. Consequently, in order to be able to study critically the inter-relationships of the global and local cultural processes in the life of the city, what is required is a combination of the telescopic view of the censuses, surveys and questionnaires used in sociology, and the intimate angle of interviews

and participatory observations as used in anthropology (Version 1994: 4-9; García Canclini 1995:78).

Several different information collection tools will be used in the second part of this project. To map the social and cultural location of subjects, a questionnaire was used asking them questions about their socio-economic conditions, and about their exposure to, and consumption of, boleros, as well as about other practices of cultural consumption (see appendix 4). To discover the concrete ways in which subjects appropriated the bolero, group interviews were held with a total of 40 people from two contrasted areas in Mexico City -El Olivar and La del Valle-. Four groups were constituted: one group of seven men and another of eleven women from "El Olivar", and one group of twelve men and another of ten women from "La del Valle".

The combination of the global approaches of sociology and demography, together with the local approximations of anthropology, were used with two fundamental aims in mind. In the first place the intention was to demonstrate to what degree the subjects' private life was conditioned by the wider structures of society. The second aim was to articulate the meanings the subjects themselves attributed to their own practices based on the social and cultural conditioning they had received from life in the city.

This chapter explains the criteria used in the selection of the subjects, the instruments used to collect the data used in the study, outlines the conditions in which the questionnaire on cultural consumption was applied, and describes how the group interviews were carried out (see appendix 5).

CRITERIA USED IN THE SELECTION OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF STUDY

In the first part of this study, it was clearly established that the bolero is an eminently urban musical expression: it is the nostalgia of the nascent modern city, and its ways of talking about love. The bolero's apogee (1940-1950) coincides with the first stage in the country's industrialisation, a process which took place in 80% of the whole of Mexico City.

Given the eminently urban character of the bolero, the criteria used in the selection of areas of study were as follows:

1) The socio-economic map of Mexico City was taken as the starting point (W. Ilsa 1992).

2.a) Colonies were chosen that are particularly urbanised, and were built up principally during the 40's and 50's. It was considered important that the subjects chosen should be inhabitants of the city; in the case of subjects between the ages of 40 and 54, inhabitants since birth, and in the case of subjects older than 55, inhabitants at least since their infancy.

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2.b) Recently formed colonies of people migrating from the fields, colonies built up from the 70's to the present day, were excluded (see figure 8.1).

2.c) Colonies which have kept up a semi-rural character were also excluded.

3) Two colonies with contrasting socio-economic levels were chosen, one from the B-C income level group and one from the D-E income level group (W. Ilsa 1992).

3.a) The highest income level group colonies, representing less than 3% of the city's population, were excluded, as were the marginal community colonies made up of irregular settlements, and the unemployed who live in conditions of extreme poverty.

4) The choice was made of colonies that are notably residential, rather than factory zones or commercial areas.

5) Colonies were chosen which, in addition to meeting the above requirements, were also close to where the interviews were to be held, so that access should be easier for the subjects involved.

6) Even though the colonies finally chosen, "Del Valle" and "El Olivar", are relatively near each other, each one keeps its own autonomy separate from the other. They are both part of the same city, but both fall within different political delegations (administrative divisions).

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

With the aim of recruiting the subjects in the shortest time possible, and of having the appropriate infrastructure in which to conduct the interviews, the professional services of a market research and public opinion centre, were contracted. This centre had an extensive list of names, and asked each person approached to supply at least two more names of people possibly interested in this type of research.

The centre was in charge of the recruitment of subjects and the formation of the groups. For this research, both male and female

subjects were requested, between the ages of 40 and 60, and belonging to two distinct social classes: middle-class and working-class. Four homogeneous groups were formed, each consisting of between 7 and 12 people with the characteristics mentioned earlier. In addition to the requirements of age, social class and gender, the centre was asked that the subjects recruited should not have taken part previously in any other group sessions, so as to avoid having subjects who were "professional interviewees" in market research. Similarly, it was also a pre-requisite that the subjects should not have previously known one another, so that they should all feel able to talk with less inhibitions about their personal experiences.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE GROUP INTERVIEWS WERE HELD

The interviews were held in an office in the south of Mexico City. This had the necessary facilities to guarantee audio and video recording of sessions without distracting the attention of those interviewed. The interviews were held in a Hessel room, with the microphones and camera hidden. All participants were informed that the session would be recorded.

The four group interviews were held in May 1993. The interviews with the women were held in the mornings, and those with the men in the evening after working hours. During the sessions, those interviewed were offered coffee, soft drinks and biscuits. The interviews with the two groups of women and with the men from "El Olivar" were held on the first date they were convened. The formation of the group of men from "La del Valle" was only possible at the third attempt, due to problems such as the football championships and the rain, which meant there was not a sufficient number attending on the first two dates set.

The interviews each lasted one and three quarter hours, and were subsequently transcribed in full. Before beginning each group interview, the questionnaire on socio-economic conditions and cultural consumption was completed in writing by those interviewed. The questions referring specifically to the songs, their composers and singers, served to familiarise the participants with the theme to be dealt with in the interview.

In keeping with the objectives of this research project, it was considered pertinent to form homogenous groups according to gender. In this way the project aimed to avoid the mechanisms of censure and self-censorship that usually operate when people express themselves in front of members of the opposite sex. It was thought there was a high risk that neither group would express themselves openly in mixed groups, the men because they might think the love themes dealt with in the bolero were "a woman's preserve", and the women because they might adopt a submissive posture of resistance, and keep quiet in front of the men. Thus, the topics addressed during the group interviews, referred to what men say when they are among men, and what women say when they are in the company of other women.

And for this reason, it was considered prudent to have interviewers of the same sex as those being interviewed, in order to maintain the group's homogeneity with regard to gender. Hence, the services of two professional interviewers were contracted, one a man and the other a woman. The interviewers were chosen by the author of this project. The selection was made of people with wide experience in the conducting of focal groups, experience in both market studies and public opinion studies, as well as in academic research of a social character.

In order to ensure that the interviews were all carried out in the same way, and to guarantee compliance with the objectives of the research project, the following control mechanisms were established:

- a) The researcher responsible (this project's author) drew up a guide in common for the group interview. This guide was discussed, clarified and modified jointly with the interviewers (see appendix 5). Both interviewers followed the strategy previously agreed upon.
- b) The researcher responsible and the off-duty interviewer also acted as observers (hidden behind the mirror in a Hessel room).
- c) The observers were able, if the need arose, to intervene during the course of the interview, by means of written communication with the interviewer on duty.

During the recruitment process, everyone was given the same information. People were invited to participate in a group session to find out their opinion about romantic music. They were told that that information had been requested by a client, and that the information would be kept confidential and anonymous. As the subjects had to go to where the interview was to be held, they were offered transport so that this should be no obstacle to their participation.

This research project considered the services of the recruiters, interviewers and interviewees to be a job of work, and in recognition of same a payment was established. The middle-class subjects were told they would be given a present, and at the end of the session they were each given a radio-alarm clock. The less affluent were offered the equivalent of a day's wages for their services, and this was given to them at the end of the interview.

It is important to point out that this in no way prejudiced the carrying out of the work. At the beginning of the interviews with the groups of men, a certain tension could be observed between interviewer and interviewees. In the establishing of the setting, the participants asked for a clarification of the research aims. Once this initial tension was overcome, the participants seemed to forget that they were in an interview situation, and the conversation began to develop spontaneously. The women, on the other hand, immediately entered into a conversation that flowed naturally. At the end of the interview, all the groups expressed regret that the time had drawn to a close, and said they had enjoyed the meeting as if they had all known each other all their life.

GROUP INTERVIEW STRATEGIES

To comply with the proposed objectives of the present study, the group interview format was chosen because, as pointed out by Fontana and Frey: it "is essentially a qualitative data gathering technique that finds the interviewer/moderator directing the interaction and inquiry in a very structured or very unstructured manner, depending on the interview's purpose" (Fontana & Frey 1994:365).

The strategy followed in the group interview consisted of asking all the participants to recount the story of the relationship they considered to have been "the love of their life". The other questions put by the interviewer were aimed at encouraging those interviewed to describe the different practices, rituals, times and spaces of courtship and seduction, in relation to romantic music, and to the bolero in particular (see appendix 5).

At the end of the interview, a recording of a selection of musical fragments of different types of boleros, was played to the group, and

those interviewed were asked for their opinion of the music. To select the songs on that recording, the most well-known boleros, particularly those that touched on different love themes were used. Boleros about happy or reciprocated love were chosen, as well as boleros about uncertainty, unrequited love and burnt out love. Also chosen were boleros representative of different styles, interpreted by trios or small cabaret orchestras; boleros by soloists or groups of singers, men and women (see appendix 6).

The interviewer's role was moderately directive in order to ensure that the desired themes were addressed. At the same time, the interview guide was sufficiently open so that the subjects felt free to relate their personal experiences.

The questions were deliberately sufficiently general and ambiguous in character, in order to achieve a double objective; on the one hand, placing the people interviewed within the research field of interest, and on the other, "promoting spontaneous discussion, structured from their own subjectivity" (Baz 1993:63).

The group interview opened up the possibility of generating a space for interaction and conversation, in which those interviewed communicated with each other as well as with the interviewer. Consequently the format allowed a relaxation of the tensions between researcher and subject that are often generated in an individual interview.

By conducting group interviews and eliciting life histories, I hoped to generate accounts that would illuminate the different ways that subjects interpreted, used and appropriated the bolero, in relation to their sentimental education.

THE LIFE HISTORY AS A NARRATION OF REAL EVENTS

A life history is a tale governed in general by the social conventions of narration, and in particular by the rules of interview in which the subject produces his/her discourse based on questions put by the researcher. Even though, as oral discourse, a life history is a fragmentary discourse, very often disjointed and repetitive, it still falls within the scheme of a narrative.

Recounting one's own life, or parts of it, is producing a text governed by an autobiographical pact. It is a pact in which autobiography is defined as an act of enunciation in the first person, and in which the subject of the enunciation is, at the same time, the principal character in what is enunciated. The subject who is speaking reveals himself/herself in at least three different positions: "the real-life interview; the subject who constructs himself/herself in the story and the narrator of the story" (Burgos 1993:152).

Each of these subjects has a place in the narrative structure to which the life history adjusts. As a participant in the narrative code, a life history "abides by certain laws, a retroactive and retrospective temporal structure, a vision of the past, a chronology of events" (Robin 1993:182). For there to be narration, there has to be an initial conflict that unleashes it, "something that happens and that alters the predominant order..." (Burgos 1993:163), something that provokes the need to recount one's own life history. From that moment is developed the action of the story that culminates in an outcome, whether that be the re-establishment of the predominant order, or a rejection of the norm and the implantation of a new state of affairs. Different characters take part in the events related, characters who are enrolled within a set social context.

At the moment of relating some aspect of his/her life, the subject seeks to give coherence and continuity to his/her existence. The subject experiences internally a contradictory process of concord-discord which controls the selection of certain "narratable" events, and thus produces a synthesis because "what is happening is the structuring of the disjointed events of a life with the aim of shaping it into a better presentation or configuration" (Burgos 1993:159). This process is not carried out "freely". Rather it happens in accordance with the rules of a specific narrative code, depending on whether the person wants to make a love story, a crime story or an adventure story out of his/her life. The narration unfolds within the tension sustained between individual memories and memory that is collective or socially formed by the different narrative codes mentioned.

The narrator tries to build a significant, coherent structure that gives meaning to his/her existence, in such a way that his/her life acquires, from the point of view of the present, "a totalised vision of the events of the past" (Burgos 1993:157). A life story is an unfinished, provisional, partial discourse which is organised and given new meaning in a particular way, according to the conditions of enunciation: of a time, within a specific space and in front of certain, particular interlocutors.

Even though they are singular events, these stories are related according to certain social conventions. The story will adopt different forms depending on the moment the main character is going through. Group thinking emerges in a group interview (Fontana and Frey 1994:365). This represents no particular problem for this present research, given that the point of interest is not primarily to draw near to the identity of the subject himself or herself, but rather to the discourse of a social group; to the "social rumour" that constitutes collective memory, and of which the subject is a bearer (Robin 1993:183).

THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERVIEW ON THE PRODUCTION OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STORIES

When an interview is the detonator by means of which those interviewed produce their respective autobiographical tales or life histories, the stories are inevitably partly constructed as a result of the tension that exists between the researcher and the person studied. Hence the interview situation itself significantly determines the stories the subjects relate. In an interview the rules of the "autobiographical story" pact are mixed with the rules of "dialogue-style contract", which is organised by the question-and-answer structure of an interview. In that relationship a power struggle is set up between the interlocutors, a struggle that manifests itself in the shape the resulting tale takes. The story's shape does not depend totally on the narrator, but also on the people for and to whom the story is told, and the demand for the story (Bertaux 1993:137).

From the outset interviewer and interviewee establish an implicit contract; there is something the interviewer wants to know, and, by taking part in the interview, for some reason the interviewee has agreed to talk about it. The interviewer's questions are directed towards the objectives of the research, based on which some hypotheses have been formulated as a kind of anticipation of the interviewee and the possible answer, image, representation the researcher has from and of his/her interlocutor.

In the interview situation, the interviewer imposes the theme, establishes the framework of the conversation and directs it towards a given objective. The interview begins with a request of the kind "tell me about such and such aspect of your life", and immediately the story device is instituted, that discourse that appears to be free and open, but which is really not in fact, given that "there exist certain implicit

cultural norms and models that govern the spontaneous production of said narration" (Burgos 1993:154).

The questions put by the researcher, "although as open as possible, do not follow the immediate interest of the narrator" (Burgos 1993:150). However, by means of the narration, the interviewee tries to impose his/her own point of view until he/she manages to free himself/herself to a greater or lesser extent from a strict dependence on the situation of the interview. Similarly, the interviewee forms his/her own hypotheses about the interviewer, anticipating his/her desires and intentions, forming an image of the interviewer, and making this image the addressee of his/her discourse, in such a way that "he/she integrates and absorbs (the interviewer) into the world of the narration impeding the interviewer's role as implicit reader" (Burgos 1993:158).

The narration is the result of the negotiation and power struggle between the participants. According to Goffman's (1986) micro sociological perspective, as in any verbal communicative exchange, in an interview, there is a constant negotiation between the participants, who are permanently defining and re-defining the situation, the framework or background of the communicative interaction; "framing" in Goffman's words. As Zires points out, "according to Goffman the conflict is a constitutive part of the process in which the participants struggle to impose their own definition or re-definition of the situations" (Zires 1997:58-59).

THE STATUS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

Recently, qualitative social research in communication has begun to use autobiographical stories more extensively as a source of relevant information mobilising them for example, in drawing up a history of

the communication media from the perspective of its audiences (Moore 1995, Mata 1991).

More generally, two orientations can be distinguished in investigations that have used autobiographical material, depending on the value attributed to such information. Firstly, there are those investigations interested in the meaning of the discourses produced by informants. Secondly, there are studies interested in the contexts to which the discourse makes reference (Bertaux 1993:141-142). This second focus is underpinned by a need to authenticate what is 'real', and forgets the narrative procedures by which the object to be analysed was produced. From my point of view, autobiography, demonstrates the impossibility of reconstructing reality itself, since that reality can only be expressed as a memory, and as a representation. In this sense, it can be argued that, rather than offering direct information about collective or individual social behaviours, autobiography is a form of interpretation. Consequently, this thesis is interested in taking the discourse of those interviewed as an interpretation of their living reality.

The discourses produced by subjects about their own life, are reconstruction of events that occurred in the past, and which are preserved in the memory as images. The events narrated in a life history, are not "real in themselves", rather they are fictions, forms of representation of that reality, as it were "narrated reality", analogous to the discourse of history or of newspaper chronicling, as opposed to the "realistic" tales of fiction which never actually happened but which could have happened (Aristotle 1990; Kristeva 1972, Barthes 1972).

In all narrative production there is a creative work of plot construction. The narration of "real facts" always has elements of fiction, whereas fictional tales to some degree contain "realistic" aspects (Ricoeur 1995a:155). As Robin points out, this is due to the fact that "a text,

whatever it is, does not directly have anything to do with the extra-textual, but rather always with textual contexts, with "social discourse" which is going to incorporate into the text in a specific manner, modifying it, elaborating on it, deforming it or focusing on it, in summary positioning itself before the text" (Robin 1993:183). Discourses tend to focus the meaning on stereotyped cultural forms that shape collective memory, as ways of crystallising an imaginary that is socially constructed (Ricoeur 1995a:156).

In a group interview, "the events" and "the behaviours" narrated by the subjects have no value in themselves. Rather they acquire their value at the time they are selected and recounted by the subjects, who say them and give form to reality as a "narrated reality", as an "act of enunciation". Empirical events acquire their value in and because of the discourse of the subject under study, who "confers on the subject the authenticity of experience, without regard for its historical reality" (Benveniste 1971:77).

The criteria of truth, validity and authenticity of the discourse are not established by a coincidence between the fact related and its context, but rather by the manner in which the narrator represents his/her own story in front of others and to himself/herself. What the subjects say constitutes the fundamental data of research. The data for analysis is made up of the discourses produced by the subjects under study, as a group of cultural codes and super-imposed languages, complex symbolic systems that have their own rules, symbols and syntax, and which are indicators of the subject's own cultural and linguistic framework, which the researcher must try to interpret "in the (cultural) context" in which they are registered, in accordance with the social rules and patterns that make up each culture.

It is important to point out that the researcher's interpretation of the discourses obtained from subjects, by means of the interview device, is always reflexive, the reading of a reading, the interpretation of an interpretation. Thus the interpretation made by the researcher during encounters with others, and the work he/she does in writing, "is not only a mere generalisation of the experience, but a creation of meaning" (Mier 1994:5). Hence the task of the researcher, rather than pursuing a positivist enterprise in search of a "truth", or of a "correct" scientific perspective that reveals a reality that was hidden, is always an interpretation, a construction of the real, one point of view among several. All interpretations, all points of view imply ethic-political definitions, a taking up of positions, emplacements and displacements with defined orientations, in a field of forces. To the extent that social study is the production of meanings, it is necessary that the researcher explains the position from which he/she makes his/her reading, and the tools of interpretation employed.

GUIDELINES FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE GROUP INTERVIEWS

Within the group dynamic, the stories of each subject serve to motivate and stimulate the other participants to relate their own stories. The narration were interspersed with questions, interruptions, changes of theme, as well as with the comments, opinions and value judgements made by the different participants.

When analysing the transcripts, the stories about "the love of (their) life" were made up into whole units, although they had been produced in a disjointed fashion by each subject during the interview. Each narration had an internal logic of order, imprinted on it by the narrator, which reached beyond the deviations and interruptions to which it had been subject during the dynamic of the conversation.

As a first step, the verb tenses in the discourse were identified. Then two levels of analysis were established, the enunciation level, that referred particularly to the conditions of production within the group interview setting, and the level of the analysis of what was actually enunciated, in other words the stories of the love life of the subjects.

THE ENUNCIATION LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

This level refers especially to the conditions under which the discourses were produced, as acts of enunciation which referred to the specific nature of the group interview as a device. Throughout the four interviews, there was a continuous analysis of the different positions adopted by the "I" voice in the alternating game that was set up between the speaker of the enunciation and the subject of what was spoken in the enunciation.

THE "I" VOICE

First, the "I" voice was analysed in the present, as the speaker of the enunciation. In particular, the different roles of the subject were distinguished, depending on the two distinct frames which the situation of the interview included. Also analysed were the effects produced by this double frame in permanent negotiation.

THE INTERVIEWER/INTERVIEWEE RELATIONSHIP

First of all the acts of enunciation in the here and now were distinguished, acts in which the subjects were engaging in dialogue with the interviewer. On this level what can be called the "interview effect" was analysed, the result of the device that implied a power relationship in which the interviewer directed, orientated and led the group work towards certain objectives set out by the research project. The ways in which those interviewed demonstrated interest in and co-operation with the interviewer were analysed, as well as the conflicts

or forms of resistance, and criticism of the interviewer or of the way in which the interview was conducted.

THE NARRATOR-LISTENER RELATIONSHIP

Secondly, those interactions in which each narrator led the interviewer, and others of the group's interlocutors, while narrating his/her love story, were identified. This relationship referred to the autobiographical contract conventions included within the device itself. On recounting their respective stories to the group, the subjects became narrators while the interviewer and other group members became listeners. The different ways in which each narrator recounted his/her story for the physical group of interlocutors were analysed, the way in which the narrator sought to keep open a channel of communication (phatic function), and hoped to receive group approval (conative function), or, if not approval, at least confirmation that the discourse had been understood or considered credible.

THE SINGULAR VOICE OF EXPERIENCE

On this level the "I" voice, as an expression of singular experience, was analysed. The "I" as the subject of the enunciation was identified with the "I" of what was enunciated, as the main character in a story that took place in the past. The "I" spoke about himself/herself as a character in the story being recounted. By analysing the stories, an approximation was made of the way in which the subjects interviewed remembered and reconstructed their singular, unrepeatable love experience.

THE NARRATOR'S VOICE AND OTHER VOICES

In addition to the "I" who played a leading role in the love story, other voices who appeared as distinct personages in the subjects' stories,

were also identified. These included both those in love and "the others", whether they were parents, or other subjects who interfered in the loving relationship. This was done by re-reading the interview passages in which those interviewed reproduced what those personages had said, either directly or indirectly.

THE VOICE OF COMMON SENSE. THE "MUST BE"

There was also a third type of "I" analysed, which was manifest in the value judgements by means of which the subjects became spokesmen for the "must be" voice, for the moral discourse that sought generalisation. Through an analysis of the "they say" 's or the "they used to" 's, it was possible to identify the way in which the "I" integrated with the universal voice of common sense, with the discourse that referred to custom, to social norms, or to moral, medical or religious wisdom, as discourses that "made law" and imposed themselves as universal, dominating wisdom.

In this case, an analysis was made of the way in which the narrator moved from a position in the present or past, to a position outside of time; a position which integrated present, past and future times into the eternal, the lasting, the absolute, the law. Analysis was also made of the way in which the voices of singular experience, uttered in the present or past, juxtaposed themselves, entered into contradiction with each other, and sometimes converged with the voices of "must be".

The analysis of the emergence of the different voices in the discourse, allowed the interviews to be seen as a field of forces in which power relationships were expressed between the different participants, real or imaginary, as well as the conflicts between different conceptions of loving norms depending on the different classes, generations and genders.

THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS OF THE ENUNCIATION CONTENTS

In relation to the content of the stories produced by those interviewed, analysis was made of the personages in the stories, understood as "subject-places", on two levels:

I.-On the level of actions, investigation was made of what the female and male subjects actually said that they had done, as an expression of the social and discursive norm. From there it was possible to extract the loving rituals that prescribed what those in love and "the others" could and should do, and the rituals that indicated what could not and should not be done.

II.-On a second level, investigation was made of the attributes the narrator ascribed to the personages in the story, mainly those in love, and the parents. In other words, these were the adjectives attributed by the subjects of different sexes, for distinguishing men from the women.

As will be seen in the following chapters, the analysis of attributes and actions together allow a determination of the subject-places that characterised female and male personages, and distinguished the one from the other, in accordance with the forms prescribed in the stories.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

The purpose of the questionnaire was to map the basic socio-cultural characteristics of the subjects in this research. The working assumption was that subjects separated by gender, age and different living conditions, would interpret, use and appropriate the bolero differently. Another starting point was the idea that the forms of initiation and sentimental education of men and women were different

in different classes. Consequently it was deemed relevant to include in the questionnaire a group of questions that would allow the living conditions of the different social classes to be described and distinguished. The questionnaire also included a group of questions related to patterns of cultural consumption -of boleros specifically .

INDICATORS OF SOCIAL CLASS

This thesis used Bourdieu's perspective, that "a class or part of a class is defined not only by its position relative to production, where class is recognised by indicators such as profession, income or even level of instruction, but also by a certain sex-ratio, a determined distribution in geographic space (which is never socially neutral), and by a group of auxiliary characteristics which, as a matter of tacit necessity, can function as a principle of real selection or of exclusion, without ever formally being enunciated (as is the case, for example, with belonging to a certain race or sex)..." (Bourdieu 1991:100).

On the basis of this perspective, certain indicators were used to identify the social class to which the subjects interviewed belonged, and with which they shared socio-cultural practices and visions of the world. Among the class indicators the following were considered:

a) Level of family income. This was determined by the number of multiples of the minimum wage earned, and by the possession of certain consumer goods such as a car and electrical goods, television, radio, tape-recorder, cassette-player, CD, etc.

b) Another indicator considered was the type of dwelling and the area in which the subjects interviewed were living, both at the time of the interview as well as when they were aged between 18 and 25 (before marrying or living away from the parental home).

c) With regard to the type of job and position held, the aim was to determine the subject's position in the chain of command, and in the taking of decisions at work. To determine whether the subject was upwardly or downwardly mobile, the type of job held by the subject's father and grandfather was also considered.

These indicators together allow an approximate measure of the material resources at the disposal of subjects and their likelihood of access to the different media and spaces across which the bolero is spread.

d) Schooling. In order to determine the current class level, the maximum stage of study the subjects had reached was considered important. To determine whether a person was upwardly or downwardly mobile, with regard to class, the education level of the subjects' parents and grandparents was also considered. This indicator confirmed cultural capital as a fundamental factor in the determination of tastes, and of different ways of appreciating and symbolically appropriating the bolero.

e) Type of family. Another important element in shaping a subject's sentimental socialisation and initiation into loving, was considered to be the role of the family in the control and overseeing of the various practices of courtship and seduction. Hence the questionnaire included questions about the civil status of the couple, family size, whether it was a nuclear or extended family, and the frequency with which they got together with parents and children, in order to infer the type of family.

This thesis argues that there was a difference between the loving practices of subjects who belonged to the more traditional families, and

those coming from more modern families. The more traditional families were the extended families with a larger number of children, closed in on themselves, and with which the subjects shared the greater part of their social and recreation activities. In contrast, the more modern families were characterised by being nuclear, small, and open to people from outside the family circle, with whom subjects shared the greater part of their social and recreation activities.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE BOLERO

Gender is taken here as a sociological variable, not a biological one. This viewpoint originates from the idea that sexual differentiation is constructed by means of sentimental education, much more than by biological differences. In Mexico, traditionally, there have been a different and opposing, forms of sentimental education for men and women.

THE RELEVANCE OF GENERATION

This study started with the assumption that links between subjects and the love song differ according to age. I was particularly interested in those adults formed couples who remembered that event as something from their past. Hence adults between the ages of 40 and 60 were chosen. On the one hand this group was chosen because they have the capacity to see events at a certain distance, and to make judgements about them. On the other hand, it is important to note that it was precisely when these adult subjects were young that the bolero had its heyday.

QUESTIONS ABOUT SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES

Questions related to different aspects of cultural practices were included in the questionnaire. One group of items referred to the organisation of free-time, patterns of cultural consumption and use of the communication media. The subjects were particularly asked whether they took part in any sport, whether they liked listening to recorded or live music, whether they went to museums, parties, went dancing, or went to any musical or sporting events. I also investigated how much time they spent listening to the radio, watching television, or going to the cinema; which stations and radio programmes they listened to, which channels and types of television programmes they watched, and what type of films they liked.

Another group of questions was designed to tap the knowledge subjects had about bolero programmes broadcast by the different media. They were asked what type of music they most liked, as well as which songs and singers they preferred. In order to determine the level of their bolero knowledge, the subjects were presented with a list of singers and asked whether or not they had ever heard any of them. Likewise they were given a list of boleros to see whether they remembered the songs' composers and singers, together with a list of films in which the bolero played a leading role, to say whether they had seen them and whether they remembered the films' actors and directors.

Taken together, this material allowed an estimation of the degree to which different subjects were involved with bolero, ranging from those who only listened occasionally to those who even sang and played some instrument. This study supposes that the different forms and intensities of cultural consumption help to cement different links with the bolero, and differential representations of loving (see appendix 4).

CHAPTER VIII

MAPPING RESPONSES

As a starting point for this research, the socio-cultural locations of the subjects studied were considered as a fundamental factor in explaining the interpretations, uses and appropriations the different subjects made of the bolero. This chapter will describe and situate the groups studied, in the two contrasted areas of "Del Valle" and "El Olivar", within Mexico City.

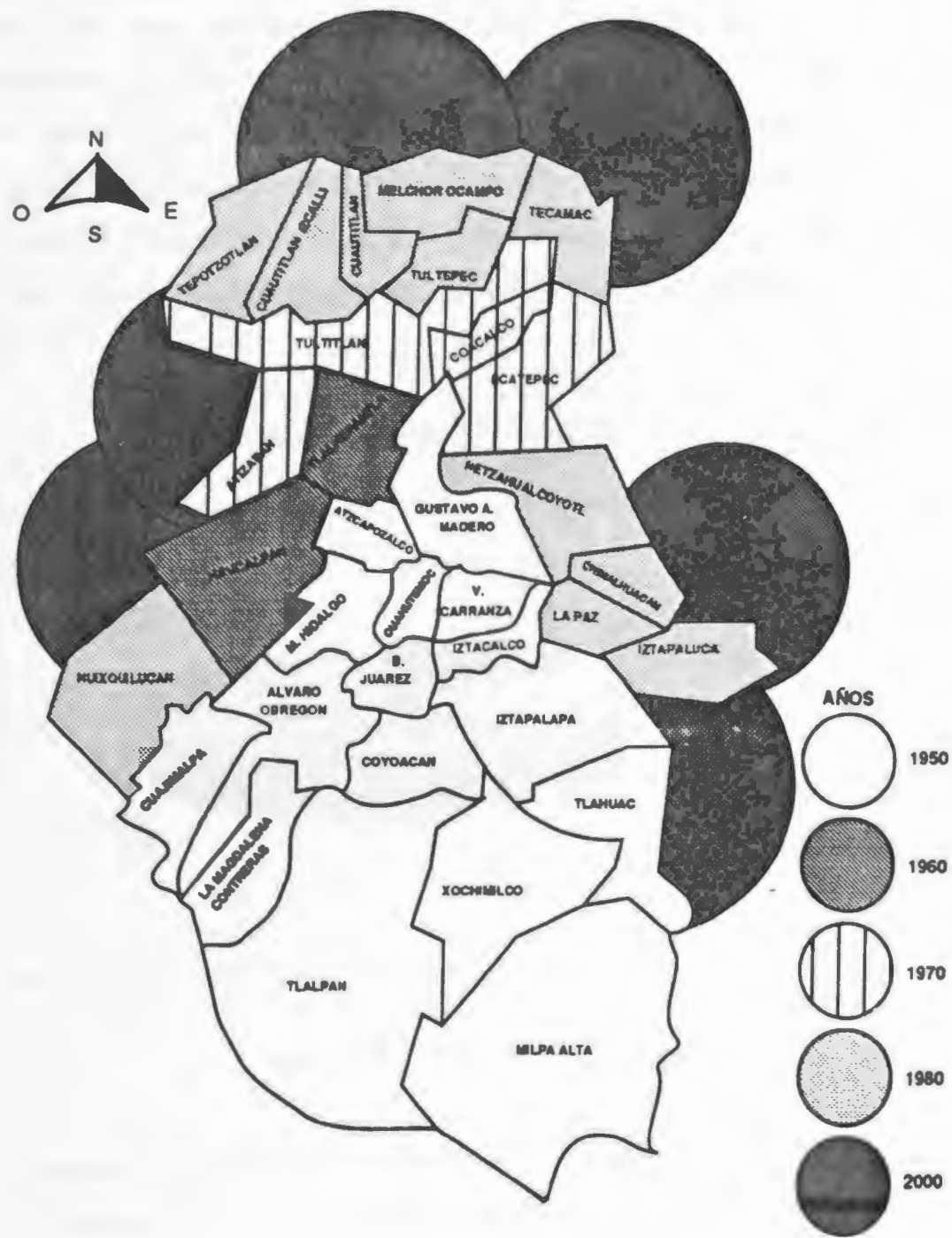
The information about the individual subjects, obtained by means of the questionnaires and interviews, was complemented and contrasted with general statistical data about the social groups to which they belonged, with direct observation, and with descriptions of the urban spaces in which they lived.

MEXICO CITY

The Metropolitan Zone of Mexico City is made up of the Federal District, in which there are 16 delegations (administrative divisions) with a total of 8,235,744 inhabitants, plus 17 of the municipalities in the State of Mexico with a population of 5,937,676 inhabitants. According to data from the 1990 general population census, Mexico City was one of the world's largest. The urban stain was made up of 14,173,410 inhabitants, gathered together in 2,572,528 homes, each with an average of 5.5 people. The number of homes with a radio was 2,289,550, whilst the number of homes with a television was 1,995,121 (W.Ilsa 1993).

Figure 8.1

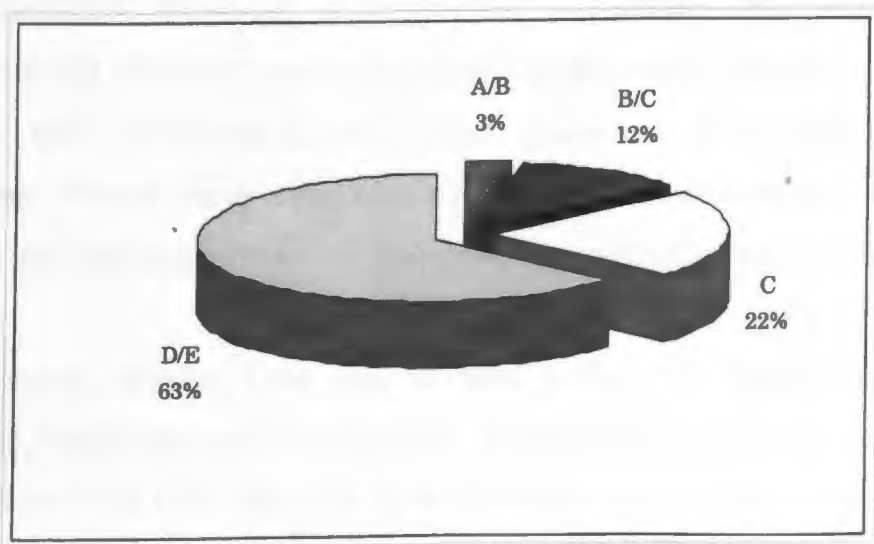
MAP OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND THE METROPOLITAN ZONE



Source: W. Ilsa 1992.

In this study, the reference used was data from the 1990 general population census (INEGI 1994), and information from the marketing research map of Mexico City and the Metropolitan Area (W.Ilsa 1992). The latter establishes that in Mexican Society which is markedly stratified, socio-economic levels of this enormous city show radical differences. The map mentioned divides the population into four groups, according to family income. The results show that 3% of the population fall into the A/B category. 12% of the population fall into category B-C1, with an income greater than ten times the minimum wage³⁹⁵. Category C includes 22% of the population, and category D-E includes the largest number of people with 63% of the population (see figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Socio-economic groups of Mexico City.



Source: Wilsa, 1992

The Delegations (administrative divisions) of *Cuauhtémoc* and of *Venustiano Carranza* are the City's oldest, and make up the Historical Centre of Mexico City. For the most part they have ceased to be

³⁹⁵ Approximately USD 1,400 in 1993.

residential areas, and have been converted into commercial areas with government offices and banks.

Starting in 1950, the northern and eastern delegations (administrative divisions) began expanding. In the 70's, these areas underwent a period of uncontrolled, anarchic growth. Now, in the words of García Canclini, "the urban stain has spilled over into areas where there are no major roads... demographic, industrial and commercial expansion have multiplied peripheral foci of development which have spread to join other cities" (García Canclini 1995:61).

The southern and western areas of the city have grown more slowly and more harmoniously. In the 50's, the western area grew, but moderately, as a result of industrial development. The Delegations (administrative divisions) of *Xochimilco* and *Milpa Alta*, which were originally old *Nahuatl* townships, have grown more slowly, and some regions still maintain a semi-rural character with farming-type activities. Within these delegations (administrative divisions), there is a noticeably greater cohesion around the delegation's own centre.

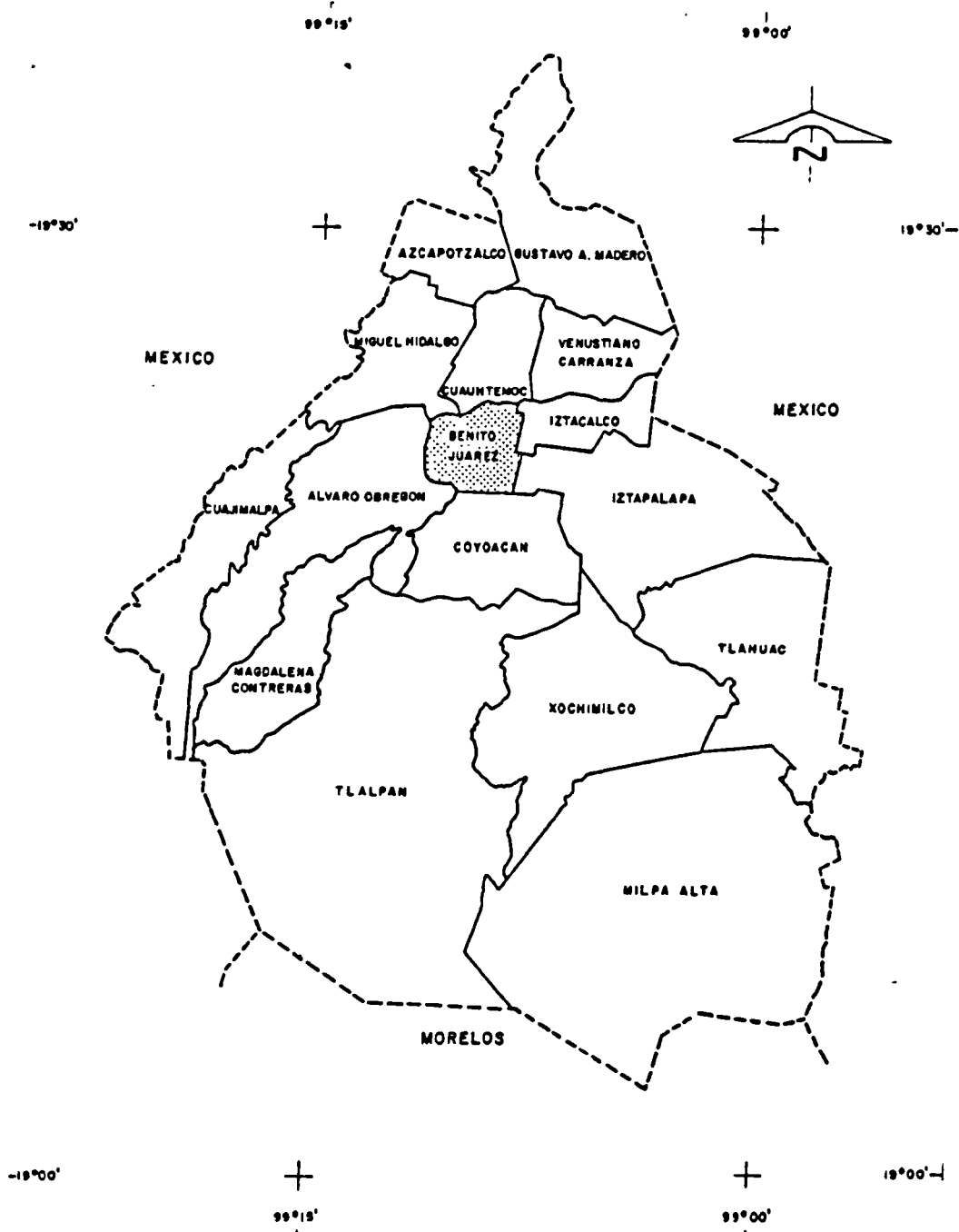
In summary, Mexico City can be said to be the sedimentation of different, coexisting cities. As García Canclini points out, "in addition to the Historical City, the city of monuments and colonies that testify to the weight of the centuries, and the industrial city, unfolding since the 40's, there is also a globalised city, interconnected by the world networks of the economy, finance and communications" (García Canclini 1985:69).

"LA COLONIA DEL VALLE"

"La Colonia del Valle" is situated in the Delegation of *Benito Juárez*, in the centre-south of the Federal District of Mexico City. This Delegation

represents 1.78% of the total surface area of the Federal District, and has one of the highest levels of population density with 4.95% of the city's population living here (INEGI 1994a:13). In the 1940's and 1950's, the Delegation suddenly filled up as a result of the accelerated processes of industrialisation, and urbanisation. The various colonies that make up the Delegation developed according to the strictest of planning.

Figure 8.3 "Benito Juárez Delegation"
GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL BOUNDARIES



Note: Geographical and statistical boundaries do not necessary coincide with those political and administrative.
Source: INEGI Census Mapping (1994a).

The Delegation is completely urbanised, and has all the major services; water, electricity, drainage system and telephones. The public transport system consists of 15 underground stations. In addition, there are eight major axis roads that cross the Delegation from north to south, several others that cross from east to west, and four that cross diagonally.

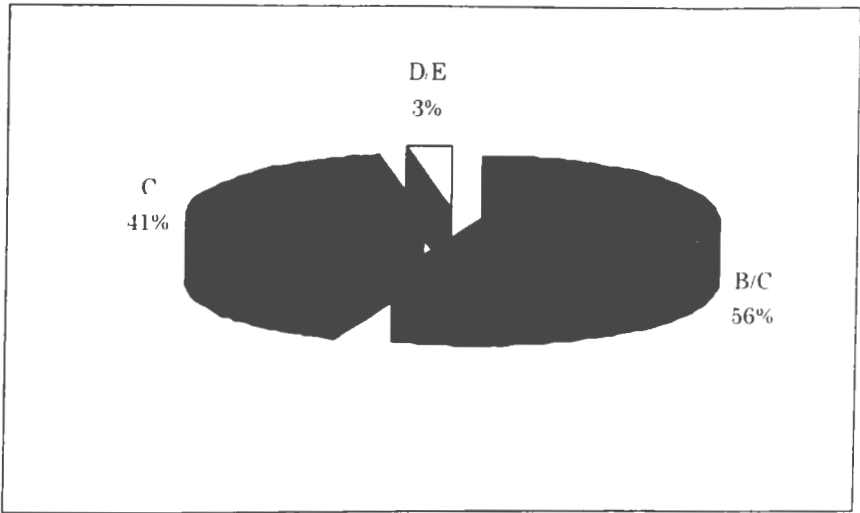
The urban landscape of the Delegation is characterised by wide, tree-lined streets, which are well paved. Blocks of flats predominate (72.11%), a smaller percentage of detached houses (25.85%) with private gardens, and the remaining percentage (2.04%) unspecified. The majority of the houses and blocks of flats have been well finished, with brick walls (97%), tiled roofs (94.6%), and covered flooring (75.3%), features which are not found in all the Delegations of the Federal District (INEGI 1994a:27).

Benito Juárez Delegation is quite a homogeneous zone as regards the socio-economic characteristics of the population. The local population's level of education is higher than the average for the Federal District as a whole. There is only a 1.7% level of illiteracy, as opposed to 4% in the whole Federal District. 80.6% attended post-primary education (INEGI 1994a:45-46).

56% of the population of *Benito Juárez* Delegation belonged to groups B and C, enjoying an income level more than thirteen times the minimum wage³⁹⁶. The majority of "La Colonia del Valle's" inhabitants are not big capitalists, owners of industrial or commercial companies, nor do they belong to the group earning less than three times the minimum salary (N\$ 1,500.00), except for a very small number.

³⁹⁶ Approximately USD 1,800 in 1993.

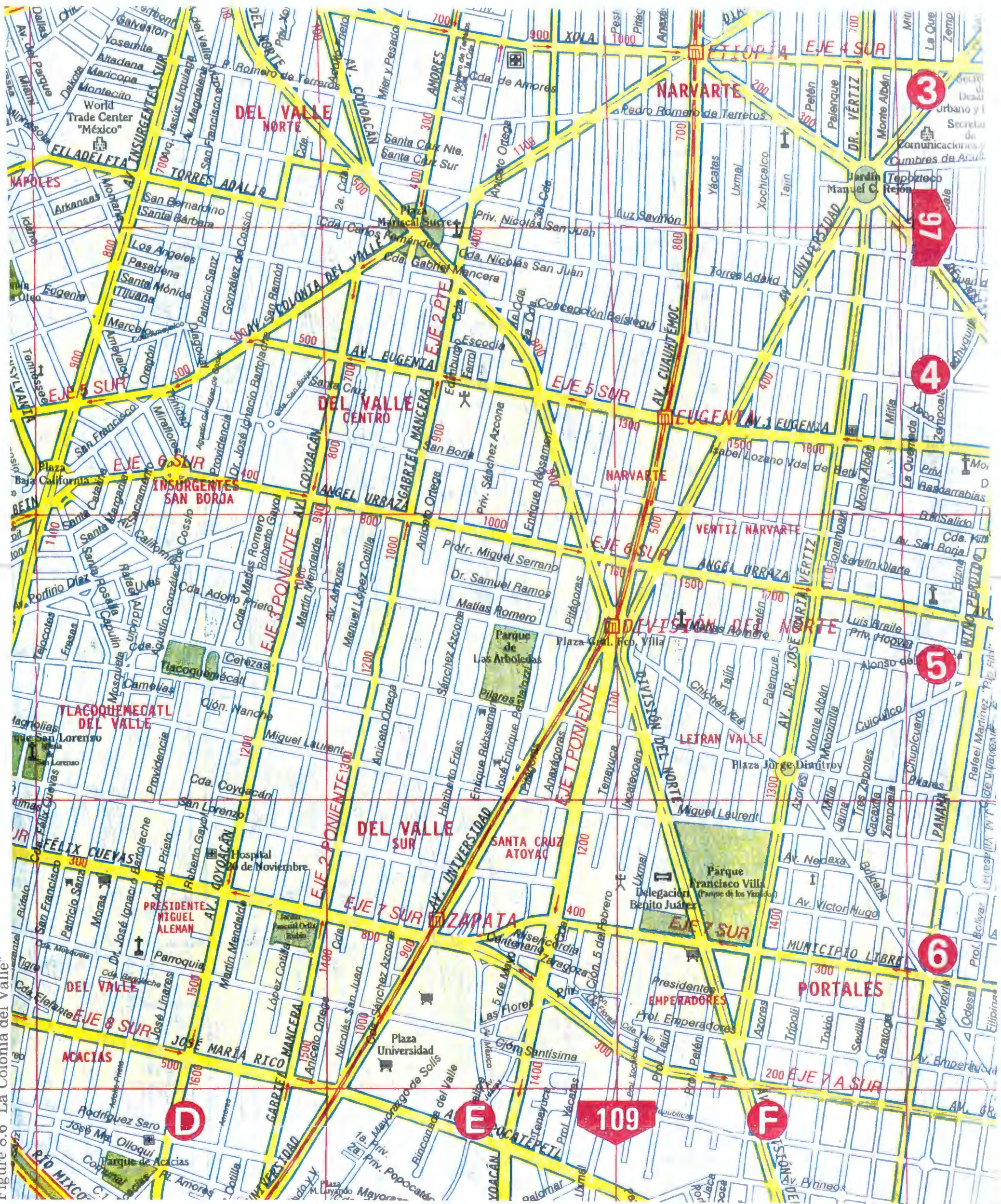
Figure 8.5 Socio-economic groups of "Benito Juárez Delegation"



Source: Wilsa, 1992

“La Colonia del Valle” is adjacent on its east side to *La Colonia Vertiz*, where the diagonal avenues mentioned above cross, forming the Riviera roundabout, where the dance hall *Salón Riviera*³⁹⁷ is to be found.

³⁹⁷ This dance hall was described in Chapter 5, and mentioned in the interviews as a meeting place for people from this area, as will be seen later in this chapter.



At its western extreme, *Insurgentes Avenue* separates *La Colonia del Valle* from *La Colonia Napoles*, a commercial area with substantial branches of the major banks, exclusive boutiques, large shopping centres, supermarkets, department stores belonging to the country's largest chains such as *Liverpool*, offices, 4-5 star restaurants, but not quite at the level of luxury to be found in the *Zona Rosa* or the areas of *Lomas* or *Polanco*.

Figure 8.7 Shopping Centres in "La del Valle";



Liverpool.

Foto: Ma. José Gadsden.



Liverpool.

Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

Although “La Colonia del Valle” is predominantly a residential area, in recent years some of the large houses have been converted into offices offering a variety of professional services. They include, travel agencies; building societies; law, engineering, architects, accountants' practices; doctors' or psychologists' consulting-rooms.

Figure 8.8 Working areas and transport facilities in "La del Valle";



World Trade Centre and Siqueiro's *Poliforum*. Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

There are several large churches such as *El Corazón de María* (Mary's Heart) and *Santa Mónica*, built in a modern architectural style, and the small church of *Tlacoquemecatl*, all of which are Roman Catholic, and are set in tree-filled parks.

There are also several private fee-paying schools, with a good reputation for basic and higher education, and in training for various professions. Examples include the *Instituto México* and the *Centro Universitario México* (CUM), boys' schools run by the Marian Brothers; *La Universidad Motolinía* a girls' college run by nuns; and *El Colegio Suizo* (the Swiss Highschool) a lay, mixed, bilingual (Spanish and German) school run by foreign teachers. *El Colegio Suizo* has private sports facilities, that are also open to fee-paying members, called *El Club Suizo* (the Swiss Club).

Figure 8.9 Schools in "La del Valle"



Foto: Ma. José Gadsden



Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

The "La del Valle" groups studied, belong to the 12% of Mexico City's population with family incomes of between N\$ 5,000.00 and N\$ 15,000.00 a month³⁹⁸. These families have at least two cars per family, one car the latest year's model and the other 3 or 4 years old. Those interviewed came from small families, five members on average, and are owner-occupiers or live in rented accommodation of between 250 to 350 square metres, in which there were at least six rooms.

³⁹⁸ In 1993, this was equivalent to between USD 1,500 to 2,000 per month.

Figure 8.10 Housing in "La del Valle"



Fotos: Ma. José Gadsden

This variety of spaces allows the different family members to diversify their work or recreation activities, without interfering with one another. In these homes, there were two or three radio and television sets, which, in addition to receiving the ordinary transmission signals, also received extra paying services such as *multivisión*, *multiradio*, *cablevisión*, or satellite television or radio. The families also had video-cassette recorders, record players, and compact-disc players.

The men studied worked mainly in the administrative field, working outside the home as civil servants of middle or high rank, small businessmen, or were self-employed in one of the professions. In their free time, they said that they played various sports such as tennis, water-skiing, parachuting, among others.

The women studied were all housewives. They had domestic help in the home, whilst they themselves looked after their husband and children, went to the gym, to do yoga or aerobics, met with their friends to play cards, took courses in psychology, cookery or decorating, visited their families, or engaged in voluntary social service activities.

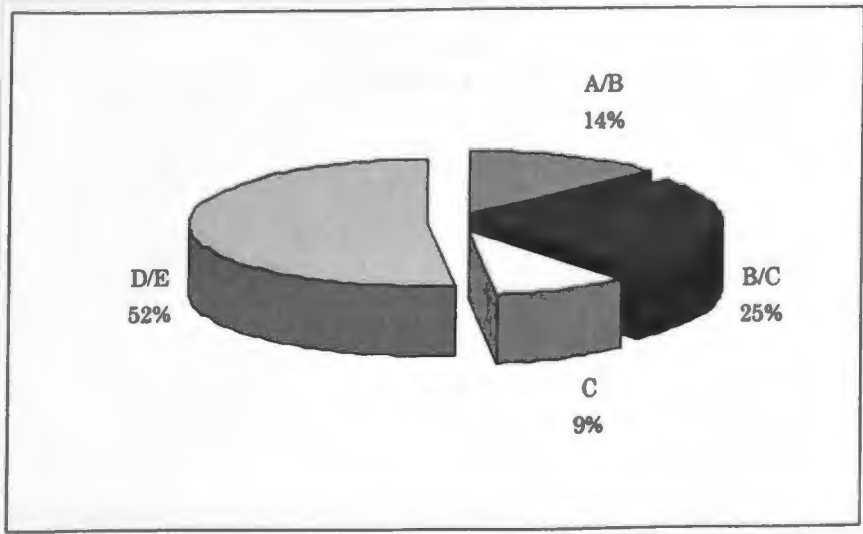
Although these groups had undertaken higher education, they differed from liberal intellectual groups of the same educational and income level in their cultural and political practices. In contrast to those who were politically progressive or held to a liberal ideology, the groups studied were characterised by their religious and political conservatism, which showed itself in their attitudes against the "moral and sexual disorder" of the younger generations. They belonged to tightly-knit family units, with whom they shared their social and recreation activities. They occasionally met up with friends, who were generally old family friends, old school friends from the private schools to which they, or their children, all went, or sometimes colleagues from work.

“LA COLONIA EL OLIVAR DEL CONDE”

“La Colonia El Olivar del Conde” is in *Alvaro Obregón* Delegation, in the south-west part of the Federal District. This Delegation covers 6.47% of the total surface area of the Federal District, and is home to 7.8% of the city's population (INEGI 1994b:13-21). According to INEGI population information, *Alvaro Obregón* Delegation has a lower population density than *Benito Juárez* Delegation. In the 40's and 50's, some areas of *Alvaro Obregón* Delegation, such as “El Olivar del Conde”, were the object of disorderly growth because of the irregular establishment of housing, due to rapid migration from the countryside to the city.

Alvaro Obregón Delegation is a region of stark social contrasts, with exclusive colonies that house 14% of the Delegation's population, and which lie adjacent to proletarian colonies of scarce economic resources, that represent 52% of the Delegation's population, among whom are the inhabitants of “El Olivar del Conde” (INEGI 1994b and C.W.Ilsa 1995).

Figure 8.11 Socio-economic groups of *Alvaro Obregón* Delegation.



Source: Wilsa, 1992

Figure 8.12 "Alvaro Obregón Delegation".

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL BOUNDARIES

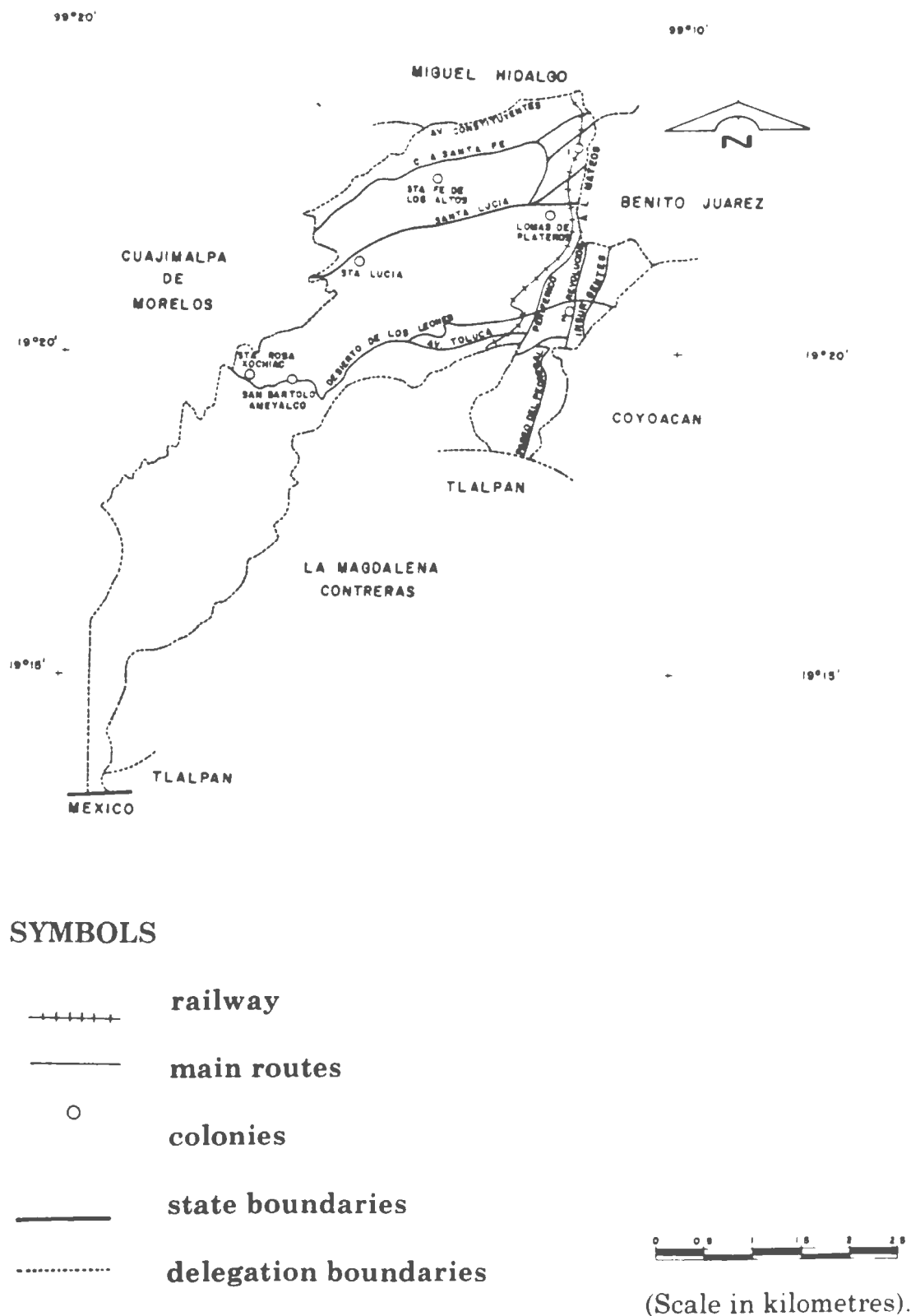


Note: Geographical and statistical boundaries do not necessary coincide with those political and administrative.

Source: INEGI Census Mapping (1994b).

Figure 8.13 “Alvaro Obregón Delegation.”

MAIN TRANSPORT ROUTES



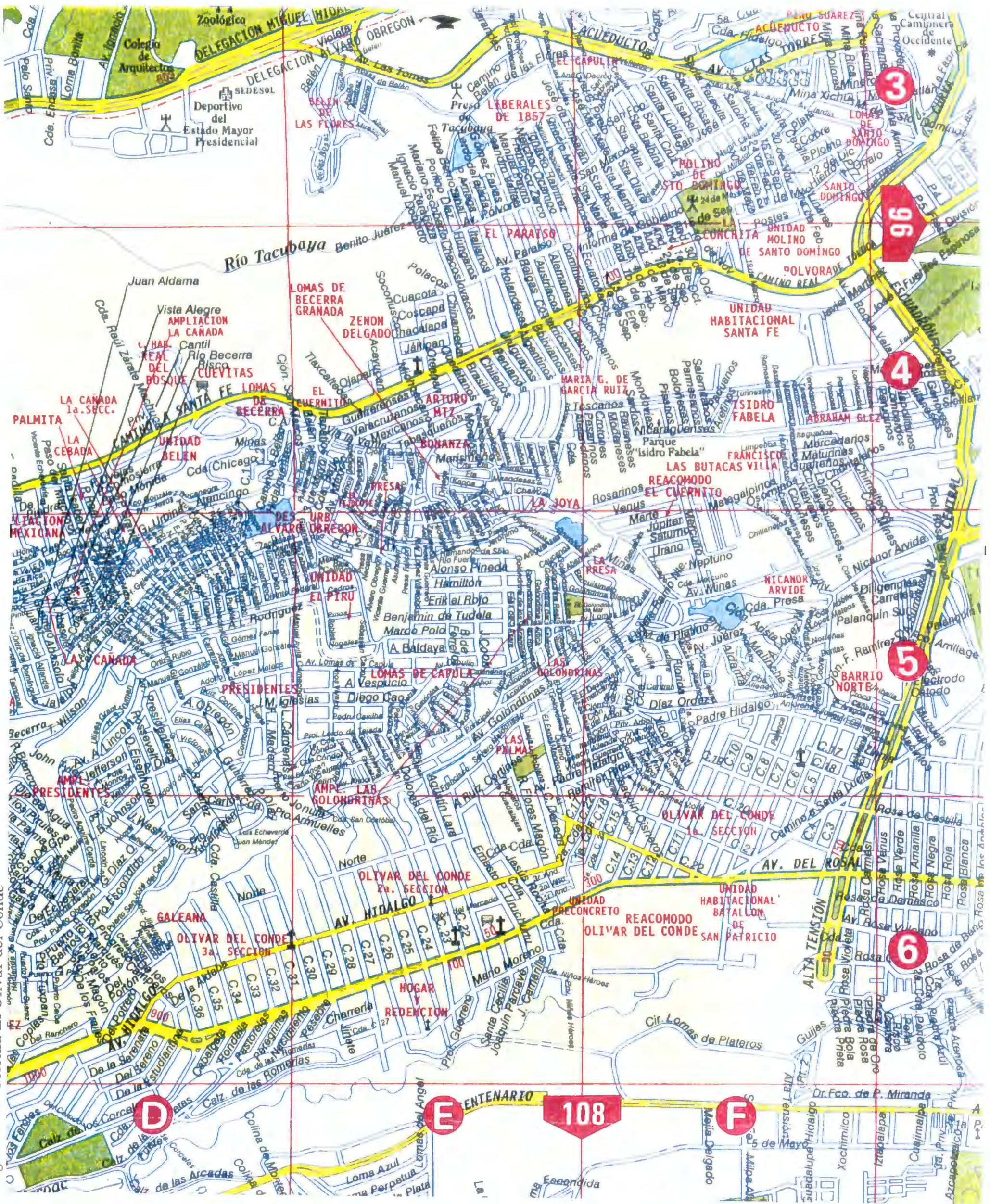
Sources: INEGI Topographic Map 1994b
Guía Roji, Map of motorways of the Federal District (1993)

In this area, which borders on the Delegations of *Tlalpan* and *Coyoacán*, are colonies such as *El Pedregal*, *San Angel* and *Las Aguilas*, where some of Mexico City's wealthiest citizens live. Separated by ravines and large, uninhabited stretches of land, there are also colonies where some of Mexico City's poorest citizens live. Middle-income groups only exist here in small numbers.

Alvaro Obregón Delegation has three main avenues which cross from east to west, and three others which touch the area obliquely in the part that borders on the Delegations of *Benito Juárez*, *Coyoacán*, and *Tlalpan*. It does not have any underground stations (INEGI 1994b:6). The means of public transport most used in the low-income areas is either the bus or "*microbus*"³⁹⁹, and in the residential areas private cars.

³⁹⁹ Microbuses are owned by the drivers, but operate as part of the public transport system. They are organized into routes under the supervision of the Federal District Government. This system has come to substitute for state-owned public transport.

Figure 8.14 "Colonia El Olivar del Conde"



"El Olivar del Conde" is to the west of the *Periférico* Ring Road, between *Santa Fe* Avenue and the road that leads to the *Desierto de los Leones*. The road to *Santa Lucia* is the main road that runs through it, on which public transport buses and minibuses⁴⁰⁰ run. This avenue is lined with mechanical workshops, spare-parts shops, small businesses, miscellaneous *tortilla* shops, ironmongers', blacksmiths' and paint shops.

In the narrow, side streets, all full of potholes, badly paved or some with no paving at all, one sees dogs, and children playing football in the middle of the roads converted into provisional football pitches. On both sides of the road there are houses that the people have built themselves, some neighbourhoods or detached houses are made up of rooms that join together without corresponding to any pre-determined plan.

The public market is in the middle of the colony. Next to it is a council housing estate made up of four-storey blocks of flats and a shopping centre which comprises one small bank, a cinema and video centre, among a few semi-abandoned commercial premises.

Although 95% of all houses in the Delegation have brick walls, in the proletarian sections such as "El Olivar del Conde" one still sees roofs of sheet metal or cardboard, 15.1% and 7% respectively, of all the houses in the Delegation. 65% are houses with cement floors, with no covering (INEGI 1994b:27). Illiteracy here is 4.9%, higher than the Federal District average of 4%. Only 61.6% of the inhabitants have post-primary education (INEGI 1994b:45-46).

⁴⁰⁰ See note 5.

Figure 8.15 Working areas and transport facilities in "El Olivar"



Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

Figure 8.16 Shopping facilities in "El Olivar"



Fotos: Ma. José Gadsden

The colony also has a *Conasupo* milk depot, where milk is sold at subsidised prices, on presentation of a government-issued card, to low-income families with small children. There is also a Bimbo depot selling very cheaply the bread that has been removed from store shelves. The colony has one state primary school and one state secondary school, both of which are free.

Among its main meeting places the colony has one half-built Roman Catholic church with its dispensary on one side and a Protestant church, the neighbourhood centre, some canteen-bars and a branch of "Alcoholics Anonymous".

The sports facilities are public and consist of two basketball courts, the goals of which stand on the ground, at the foot of electricity pylons. Even though *El Desierto de los Leones*, one of Mexico City's most important nature reserve parks, is in the Delegation, "El Olivar del Conde" is a totally deforested area with no gardens either public or private, and only one or two trees.

The groups studied in "El Olivar" come from families earning between N\$ 1,500.00 and N\$ 2,500.00⁴⁰¹, and belong to the 63% of Mexico City's population with least income. The majority of those in this group do not own their own car (only one member of this group interviewed had a car and that was more than 15 years old), but use public transport to move around the city.

As regards level of education, 50% of those interviewed had not finished primary school, and the other 50% had not finished secondary school.

⁴⁰¹ Equivalent to USD 400-700 per month in 1993.

Figure 8.17 Schools in "El Olivar"



Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

Figure 8.18 Housing in "El Olivar"



Foto: Ma. José Gadsden

The men work outside the home as workmen, government and private companies employees, or as self-employed mechanics and builders. The women look after the home. They themselves cook, wash and iron the clothes, do the cleaning, and look after the needs of their husband and children. None of them said she did any sport, gymnastics or yoga.

The families, mostly of six members, parents, children and occasionally a grandmother, live in council housing flats, or in houses they themselves had built, of approximately 45 square metres, and consisting of three rooms. The scarcity of space forces the children to interact with the neighbours in the street. It also makes family interaction difficult, and causes problems as to the use of the media of communication the family may have.

All the homes had both radio and television with access to public service channels, and only a few also had a video-cassette recorder and cassette player. None of them said they had a compact-disc player. Social and recreation activities are shared with family members and friends who mainly come from the same colony in which they live.

The following table, 8.1 summarises the main differences between the both areas studied in this research.

TABLE 8.1 MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE AREAS

	"Del Valle"	"El Olivar"
Situation within Mexico City	"Benito Juárez Delegation"	"Alvaro Obregón Delegation"
Socio-economic Groups	B-C	D-E
Schools	Private	Public
Level of Education	Highschool & College	Primary School
Public Transport facilities	15 Underground Stations, eight major axis streets, wide well paved streets.	Buses and Microbuses. One Main Road. Narrow side streets, badly paved.
Means of Transport	Private Cars	Public Transport
Working Areas	Travel Agencies, Building Societies & Consulting Rooms	Different Kinds of Workshops.
Services	Banks, Supermarkets, Department Stores, 4-5 Star Restaurants and Fast Food Branches as Mac Donald's, Private Sport Clubs	Public Market, "tortillerias", baker's and butcher's shops, popular restaurants as "torterias" and "taquerias"
Housing	Houses of 250-350 m2	Houses of 45 m2
Communication Technologies	Public and Private Services	Public Services

CHAPTER IX

THE BOLERO AND EVERYDAY LIFE. CULTURAL PRACTICES AND MUSICAL PREFERENCES

Drawing on the information gathered from the cultural consumption questionnaire and the group interviews, this chapter analyses the place that the bolero occupies in the everyday life of the subjects.

In both groups studied, from "La del Valle" and "El Olivar", the principle contact with the bolero was, on the one hand through the mass media mainly the radio, records and the television, and on the other in face to face communication situations. On the television, contact with the bolero had been through different music programmes such as *La hora azul* and *Un poco más*, and through 40's and 50's films either hired on video cassette or shown on television, such as *Nosotros los pobres*, *Quinto patio*, *La mujer marcada* and *Aventurera*, among others. Both the men and women interviewed, from both groups, clearly identified the radio stations that transmit boleros: *El Fonógrafo*, *Dimensión 13.80*, *La nueva nostalgia*, and *FM 103.3 Fórmula romántica*. They all said that they listened at least occasionally.

EXPOSURE TO THE BOLERO IN "LA DEL VALLE"

In the two "La del Valle" groups, bolero consumption was restricted to the private world. This is not particularly surprising given that these groups said that they dedicate their free time to activities with family and friends, and proffered their home space to public places. They did not go to the cinema, theatre or musical shows, nor did they go dancing at cabarets or dance halls. For both the men and women of "La del Valle", the bolero is especially linked to serenades, and they identified boleros principally with trios: *Los Panchos*, *Los Dandys*, *Los Tres Ases*,

and *Los Tres Caballeros* who were successful in the 50's, and with some soloists, such as Marco Antonio Muñiz, who sing trio boleros in serenade style.

In general, these groups did not know the authors or singers of the more bohemian boleros in the cabaret style of the 30's and 40's, except for Agustín Lara whom they identified perfectly. In their conversations, they emphasised singers and composers of different periods, such as Pedro Infante and Pedro Vargas (1940-50), Javier Solís and Armando Manzanero (1960-70), Juan Gabriel, Luis Miguel and Mijares (1980-90).

For all those interviewed, the bolero, rather than being a show put on by specialists, was considered an object for personal use, a tool which helped them create a romantic atmosphere, in the different rituals of courtship and seduction. They saw, the bolero as a type of music which allowed them to participate actively, whether it was simply singing as part of a group or playing an instrument. They mentioned that they entered into contact with the songs orally in this situation.

The men of "La del Valle" displayed a more erudite knowledge of songs, composers and singers, than the women. This cultural capital was accumulated through their more active role in the rituals of courtship and seduction. They had to sing them to the women, or, failing that, employ someone to sing on their behalf. Because of this, they needed to know a repertoire of possibilities from which to choose a few appropriate songs, at the opportune moment.

For their part, the women demonstrated pleasure and interest in the bolero linked to their own love life. From their passive position, they particularly remembered the words of those songs which had been dedicated to them on some occasion. Although they identified the music

as something close to their experience and well-known, their ability to remember the titles of songs, the composers and singers was significantly less than that of the men.

EXPOSURE TO THE BOLERO IN "EL OLIVAR"

Both the men and the women said they had listened to the bolero on the radio, and occasionally on cassettes. They also mentioned hearing it at home and at get-togethers with friends. They considered the bolero a rhythm to dance to. It is pertinent to mention that for the groups from "El Olivar", their free-time activities were not restricted to the confined space of home or family. The dance hall was mentioned as a meeting place that held a particular importance for them. In the dance hall, the bolero was simply one more rhythm along with *danzón*, the *cha-cha-cha*, *mambo*, *cumbia* or *group tropical music*. However, they distinguished the bolero from the rest of the music mentioned, as being slower and cadenced, which imprinted on the dance a more romantic character, and invited them to dance "cheek to cheek".

The individuals in this area mentioned bolero singers who were unknown, to respondents in the other area. They included the orchestras of Enrique Jorrín and Luis Arcarás, Acerina and his *danzonera*, and Celio Cruz, all of whom occasionally sang boleros to dance to. In their talks, these groups also referred to dance halls such as *Los Angeles*, *El California*, *El Floresta*, *El Esmirna* and *El Salón México*. *El California* was analysed in a previous chapter, as a paradigmatic example of those dance halls.

Although of less importance, for the "El Olivar" groups, the bolero was also considered a romantic song par excellence, linked to the serenade and their experience of love. These groups also mentioned bolero singers such as Julio Jaramillo, and some trios, for example *Los*

Tecolines and *Los Tres Ases*. These groups had no knowledge of cabaret bolero either.

For the women of "El Olivar", knowledge of the bolero, rather than being a semantic, conceptual knowledge of composers and singers like encyclopaedic knowledge, was expressed as a knowledge that passed through the body. Hearing the bolero, produced in these women an impact that released a chain of emotional reactions. In the group interviews, when they were presented with a selection of song fragments, the women displayed these reactions as in the following dialogue:

- "Ah! That is very beautiful, it also makes one sad, it embarrasses me....."

- "It opened your heart, didn't it?..."

- "It's not worth crying....."

- "I'm not crying, I just remember....."

- "She's going to cry....."

The bolero moved them, by evoking feelings and emotions in the same way that a flavour or a perfume may bring back certain memories. For them the bolero was a musical, emotional, tactile and bodily experience.

THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH THE BOLERO WAS APPROPRIATED

In the two areas studied, both men and women said that they had appropriated the bolero in different ways, that they listened to it as background music while they did other things, or as a tool in the different rituals of courtship and seduction. According to those interviewed, the bolero helped to create a romantic atmosphere, which was shared with a partner in intimacy. In the talks it was also

mentioned as a vehicle of communication, which formed part of rituals like the serenade or dancing.

LISTENING TO BOLEROS

With the massive expansion of new recording technology, listening to music has become an everyday activity that accompanies different activities that the various people carry out throughout the day and throughout their life. Those interviewed said that they chose different types of music according to their mood, the type of activity they were engaged in, where they were, and the people they were with at different moments.

CRITERIA AND CONDITIONS FOR CHOOSING MUSIC TO LISTEN TO

In general, both the men and the women, in both areas studied, agreed that the type of music they chose depended on their mood at the time.

"According to the mood you find yourself in, you look for the music that you like at that moment" (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

The choice of music to listen to however was not always a free, individual act, but the result of negotiations with the family members with whom one shared the home space, or with friends at parties or get-togethers. They also mentioned that, on occasion, their neighbours' music invaded their space and imposed on them what they had not chosen.

Members of all the groups studied, recounted conflicts over the music they were going to listen to, principally at parties or in public places. It is pertinent to mention that in each group this conflict was presented in different tones.

"If we are talking about listening, we have two options, music we have the opportunity to choose, and what is imposed on us, the family and not only the family.....the places where one goes where one has to tolerate whatever is being played....and one has to put up with the children" (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE")

"It's strange, because let's say in your opinion they're tops....but there are people with you who do not like it, and say "put on something else"....so you have to take it off" (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

Among the "El Olivar" men and women, the conflict over which music they want to listen to at home, shows itself more acutely, because of the more restricted dimensions of the houses.

"If you want it as background music, and you don't want to disturb the others, you have to find a way to be alone....then so that I can listen to the music I like, I have to be alone, in the car looking for the music I like..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"The only way is to go into your room and put a tape-recorder in there...." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

"In the day time my grandchildren do not give me a chance, the young ones win....I can only have the radio from nine onwards, until one or two in the morning....(SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

Those interviewed also mentioned that between teenagers and adults, music had become a special weapon through the appropriation of family spaces.

"Sometimes at family get-togethers, you can put on some music, then the young ones arrive

and start saying....do you want to get rid of us? or, take that music off! and put on their really strange music, and you don't even know whether it is music or noise.... until the grandchildren of 8 or 10 go and put on the record-playerand they put on the music they like...." (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"My son puts on songs that I don't understand, I say " put on the one by Julio Jaramillo for me" Ay! he goes to bed and leaves me alone....or I fall asleep with his..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"As you say, to listen you have to be a group like now, roughly contemporaries.....so that we more or less agree" (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

THE BOLERO AS BACKGROUND MUSIC ACCOMPANYING OTHER ACTIVITIES

The people interviewed from both areas, both men and women, all said that they listened to music, particularly boleros, as background music whilst doing other things, whether work, relaxation or recreation.

"In the office....you listen to soft music to work to, if you are at a get-together well a little more lively....if you are alone well classical music at full volume...." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"This type of music - the bolero - is for listening to alone or as a couple or to dance to...." (OLGA, 57, "DEL VALLE").

The women interviewed from the "La del Valle" group, most of them housewives, said that they did not work outside the home. Their work as they themselves described it, did not involve physical work. They had domestic servants for that. This group attributed a tranquillising effect to the bolero, which they considered positive and suitable for the type of activities they engaged in.

"If you are euphoric, agitated, this is what I put on, this calming music, and I settle down to a nice rhythm for doing whatever I have to do...." (SUSANA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"The melody does not agitate you, it keeps you calm, because many times your thoughts are on other things, you are worried about an illness, but in the end it calms you, that's what happens to me...."(CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The women of this social group said they listened to romantic music as background music, while they engaged in recreation, for example when they met with their friends to play cards:

"We are a group who play every week.... we always put on any station... and we like this radio station very much because it's music of our times....romantic music..." (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

The men of the "La del Valle" group said they listened to romantic music, mainly when they were in company, either with a group of friends or in a courtship situation with a person of the opposite sex:

"I like hearing it when I am together with friends at a party, or alone with a woman" (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"On some occasions at parties with friends, we too choose romantic type records...." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

The men mentioned that, with friends, romantic music brought on nostalgia, brought back the old times, when they used to court girls:

"Just as my namesake says, I like it when I am having a drink, when I am playing dominoes.... as background music or

remembering unrequited love....where you say you could have been happy...perhaps...in a critical situation, instead of going to have a drink, which you can't so often anymore... you lock yourself up at home...you become romantic.....you become spiritual.... or at a get-together with friends.....you begin to re-live those times, don't you?...at least I do..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

For the men, romantic music helped to create a romantic atmosphere, and favoured a meeting, as a tool in the process of courtship and seduction:

"This music...excites me, makes me more effusive...when I want to be effusive....it depends on the person...when I am alone I don't want to be effusive...I end up feeling bad, don't I?" (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

The "La del Valle" men emphasised the contents of the songs, they considered the bolero as words that came true in a special way, as an expressive, communicative function of their feelings:

"This type of music... was conceived with feeling...to say things..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"To express something..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

According to the opinions of those interviewed from this area, both men and women, the bolero was music that expressed and interpreted loving feelings in a way that no other type of music managed to express so clearly:

"I don't know about today... what song are you going to use to get someone to fall in love, not with rap I don't think...I want to find a romantic song nowadays.... something for a

lad of 20, 25 say, perhaps a bolero would be suitable, don't you think so?" (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

Both the men and the women said that using romantic music in this way in moments of relaxation, helped create an atmosphere with their partner, after a day at work. The dimensions of the houses in this group, allowed them to have private, intimate encounters.

"And the one who most like this music is my wife, and she puts it on at whatever volume she fancies, and we both listen and there's no problem..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"It depends a lot on when one is going to listen to the music, don't you think? for us, if my wife and I are together....our classical music records generally, from time to time we put on some romantic music..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"I for example, that music, when my husband returns very tired, sometimes he arrives late, he puts on his "Los Panchos" records and sits in the darkness listening to them, as happy as anything, and I am doing something else, and then I walk in and sit with him, and I listen happily with him, but for myself, if I have to choose for myself, I prefer other types... I began liking the trios because he likes them so much..." (MARIA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

In addition, the "La del Valle" men also mentioned listening to boleros in the car, after work:

"It all depends on what sort of a day I've had at work, there are times when one says "I'm going to relax" to soft music, which carries one along with it...it takes me an hour to get home from work..." (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Romantic music... at home, no, in the car, when I have to pick up my wife from work, I always have that station on, she really likes this type of music...At home there is no time to put on the radio, or one arrives and the first thing one does is to put on the television...the silly box the thing that is sitting there talking to itself...which no-one is even watching but it's on..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

Peaceful, romantic music, they said, helped them as background music when they are working at home:

"I like bolero music.....when I have to work at night, if I have to work out a budget, something like that...I listen to that sort of music" (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

The women from "El Olivar", all of them housewives, said they had music on while doing the chores. This group said that, to do housework to, washing, cooking, they preferred tropical music which is more rhythmic, light-hearted and cheered them up:

"When I am doing the washing I put on one type of song, when I am cooking I put on another type, and when I go to bed I watch soap operas.... I hear the music, and when I hear my music it excites me and I work harder, because the music encourages me, it makes me happy and everything ...There I am doing my housework to my music, not very loud so that only I can hear it...." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

In the opinion of the women of "El Olivar", bolero music was too melancholy, it made them depressed, which is why they rejected it.

"It makes me sad, it makes me very sad....it really depresses me..." (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"It brings back memories....that's why I don't like to hear it.....because then I start remembering that he used to sing to me like that, even married he sang that song to me....that's why I don't like it..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

That is why, for these women, romantic music was for the evenings, after work. Because it did not go with the type of activities that they were engaged in, they considered it a type of music that depressed and prevented them from working:

"I like listening to a bit of everything now and againromantic music in the evenings...by Pedro Infante... in "La Consentida" (The Favourite One), then they play it on 92.9 for us to dance to, before it was Tropi Q... there they play everything..." (GUADALUPE, 57, "EL OLIVAR).

"I hardly ever listen to romantic music...I like Julio Jaramillo, Los Tecolines, Los Panchos, Los Tres Caballeros ... but...it makes me very sad...it depresses me...I feel tired.....sleepy.....I go to sleep, and no-one gets anything to eat!" (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

THE BOLERO'S IMPORTANCE IN THE TWO STUDY AREAS

The four groups of individuals studied, men and women from both areas, agreed on a liking for listening to boleros, even though it was not the first choice for any of them. All of them ranked it number two in preference. A taste for bolero music crossed social barriers, and the divisions of sex and age. In comparison with all the other types of music mentioned on the questionnaires and in the interviews, the bolero was the music they knew most about. All of them liked it and played it.

Although both men and women, from both areas, liked the bolero, each group had a different way of appropriating it, according to different criteria of aesthetic values. Men and women from the same area, shared the same musical tastes. In contrast, each area differed from the other in the views they expressed about different types of music.

"CLASSICAL MUSIC" AND A TASTE FOR THE BOLERO AS A DIFFERENTIATING FACTOR AMONG THOSE INTERVIEWED FROM "LA DEL VALLE"

All those interviewed from "La del Valle", both men and women, mentioned the bolero as their second favourite, after classical music or international instrumental music. In general those interviewed from this area did not like ranch-style music, tropical music or heavy rock, according to what they said:

"Tropical music is very difficult to listen to...this modern "salsa" and all that, simply no, it's not possible to listen to it..." (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

"I listen to classical music, not much...a little American music... a bolero from time to time, something light, ranch-style on occasion, very little, tropical no, I don't like it...That's what I listen to..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"I listen to this type of music...trios...boleros...a little ranch-style...music in English from the old times, Sinatra, Paul Anka, ballads...classical music too....it all depends" (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"You hear romantic music on the radio and end up saying What beautiful music! but when you hear what only sounds like a noise you turn round and switch it off and nothing happens..." (OLGA, 57, "DEL VALLE").

According to the women of this area, the bolero and classical music are gentle forms of music, which help when thinking, and are suitable for the type of activities they are involved in:

"Now that I'm a full-time housewife, I don't do anything, I lay the table and that type of thing, and then I relax, I finish quickly, I listen to music, I write...I begin to listen to this music - bolero - and then I change to Mozart..." (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The men from the area, for their part, also said that they listened to music while doing other things, relaxing mainly, away from the workplace. They said that they preferred classical music when they were alone:

"When I am alone, when the music is only for me, when I am not sharing it with anyone, then I usually put on classical music... it depends on the emotion of the moment, or on what I'm going to do..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

Both the men and women said that they enjoyed listening to classical music. In their conversations they described it as a "select" type of music, of "artistic" quality as opposed to other types which they characterised as vulgar, of little artistic value. Their choice was a strategy to distinguish themselves from teenagers on one side, and from other social groups on the other. A taste for the bolero was associated with "classical music" as a mark of distinction.

In these groups, those interviewed placed a high value on distance and contemplation as aesthetic criteria. It was considered vulgar for music to talk about sex openly:

"Nowadays, they think 'this' is everything....all songs are related to sex... so

they don't know what romanticism is...."
(FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE").

They valued romantic music as an instrument of verbal communication, and their musical judgements referred equally to what the words said, and the way of saying it, metaphorically or directly, poetically or in a vulgar manner:

"The bolero used to have words that appealed to people of a certain stratum, of a certain cultural level...the language...that the bolero had is to my way of thinking, a more poetic language, more romantic, than the present-day language of Mexican pop music...with a very limited vocabulary, with allusions that are not romantic or indirect on the contrary..."the sheets have the perfume of your body..." they are direct things...a colloquial language and with much less quality..."
(RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

Rhythmic music such as tropical music, was considered of poor quality, as it was experienced through the body and did not involve verbal language to any significant degree. It did not challenge the mind or exercise the thoughts. They valued aesthetic pleasure which implied distance from the object, its contemplation, more than immersion in the tactile pleasure of rhythmic music to dance to.

"Music, the music with words, had to pass first through here (indicating the head) ...in great contrast to today's music which enters through the skin and shakes the muscles, and in which the brain hardly takes part... nowadays music, especially tropical music, is directly associated with things related to the bed, the pillow, sex..." (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

In accordance with these aesthetic criteria, ambivalent attitudes arose with regard to the bolero, in the face of which they showed closeness

and a certain distance at the same time. In this group they considered that the bolero was appropriate for, and indeed had used it for serenades. However as music to dance to at parties, they considered it vulgar and naive, the expression of another generation, another social group. For dancing, those interviewed from "La del Valle" preferred U.S. music:

"For us the bolero wasn't so important, because it was flashy...it was more the done thing to say you liked U.S. music rather than the bolero...the bolero was considered a bit passé, a bit inferior...it was for serenades....but not for parties.....the silliness of youth.....I am only now beginning to appreciate boleros..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

Love matters in these groups were considered a female domain, romantic and showy. The men from "La del Valle" considered the high voices of the trios a little effeminate:

"I felt they were...a little unmanly...because of the whiny voice which trios suddenly put on..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

RHYTHMIC MUSIC FOR DANCING AS A FACTOR OF IDENTIFICATION IN THE "EL OLIVAR" GROUPS

The men and women interviewed from "El Olivar", all remarked that they liked listening to boleros as a second choice, and that their first choice was tropical music or ranch-style music. They differed from the "La del Valle" groups in that they did not like to listen to classical or international instrumental music, which they considered boring:

"I like the songs of the Bukis...Bronco...The Temerarios...The Lizarraga... The Sonora Santanera...Miky Laure and his Comets...The Northern Tigers...ranch-style...very much" (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"I like The Sonora Santanera..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"I like tropical music...on Radio AI..." (ISABEL, 40, "EL OLIVAR").

"Now as environmental music there are people who don't like it, or instrumental music...and they say 'this music puts me to sleep' (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

In this group they all said they preferred rhythmic music, which made them feel they wanted to dance, wanted to move their bodies, music that was explosive emotionally. In contrast to the "La del Valle" group, their aesthetic criteria reflected a greater appreciation of establishing a bodily link with the music, more tactile and aural, rather than verbal and rational. Because of this, whereas those from "La del Valle" used the bolero mainly for serenades, the men and women of "El Olivar" preferred it as music to dance to, and valued it for its rhythm, as a form of bodily expression, more than for its words.

THE MODERNIZATION OF THE BOLERO AND ITS EXPANSION TOWARDS A YOUNGER AUDIENCE

In the 'sixties the trios were displaced, and had to bring themselves up-to-date and compete with rock. The "La del Valle" women mentioned that they had liked Manzanero's boleros as youngsters. They said they hadn't liked trio boleros at that time, because they seemed like music from another generation, old-fashioned, but that as adults they had begun to appreciate this type of music.

"I didn't used to like trios...the music of Armando Manzanero and the Beatles was the music I put on the record-player, Elvis Presley...it is now that I like them, but in my youth I didn't..." (SUSANA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

They mentioned the current resurgence and modernisation of the bolero boosted by fashionable singers such as Luis Miguel, who have given it a new prestige among the younger generations:

"Our children are singing the songs that we used to singthey were incredible songs that will last forever..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"Those themes are coming back...Luis Miguel is bringing them up to date...I remember my mother and father talking about some songs that had been popular in their time and then became popular in mine... they are themes that never go out of fashion..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"Look... Luis Miguel's compact disc which only has boleros, let me tell you that it was released on 20th November, and by 31st December it was the year's best- seller, its the same music and all the young people are singing it...and you hear it everywhere" (MARIA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

THE SINGING AND PLAYING OF BOLEROS AT PARTIES AND GET-TOGETHERS

Attending parties and family get-togethers regularly was a practice that 100% of those interviewed, both men and women from both areas, said they did. At least one member in each group, said they played an instrument, mainly the guitar. Nevertheless, whereas those from "El Olivar" preferred dancing, those from "La del Valle" ended up singing.

"I am old now... but I love dancing... whatever party I go to...I know everyone, because we only go to family parties...and if no-one asks me to dance...I ask them..." (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

The men and women of "La del Valle" remarked that, at parties with relatives and friends, very often someone played the guitar while everyone else sang. What they normally sang were boleros, and the get-together usually turned into a musical soirée:

"In different groups it often happens that someone brings out a guitar, that a brother sings very well, or a cousin... and they all start to sing...one enjoys it... one remembers...begins to live again" (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"In various get-togethers I have had to date, there's always someone who plays the guitar and starts the singing" (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Even now at the get-togethers we have as parents...there is always someone who brings out a guitar in the end..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

All those interviewed, claimed to recall their musical knowledge when they got together to sing. In amateur singing, imperfections were both allowed and enjoyed. The subjects who took part amused themselves by means of gestures, body movements, looks, feelings that come together and disperse as effects of collective memory. Thus the distance between composers, singers and audience is broken down, and the bolero circulates horizontally and diagonally.

"I have a brother-in-law who likes playing the guitar, and he also likes singing...and when there are big get-togethers he starts playing his guitar and everyone starts singing...out of tune and everything...but everyone sings..." (SUSANA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"Imagine...it's one of my illusions... having had a bit of a "gift" because when I go to these get-togethers with music, I feel I am myself, I feel happy, and I would have liked to

participate more, but I never had the chance, the outlook of having a voice... perhaps not even the ear to be able to sing in tune... but I feel content..." (LUCERO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

Singing boleros at gatherings of relatives and friends, was an activity that the "La del Valle" groups mentioned doing. On these occasions, so they said, people sang for the simple pleasure of singing, as a play exercise, in which they displayed a bodily dexterity for modulating and projecting the voice, with the aim of producing a certain sound in harmony with the other voices and instruments:

"My daughter is fifteen years old, then she says to me "let's make a duo", because she and I at get-togethers ...my parents sing, my brothers sing, so fortunately my children are used to it, and I love it, so with my daughter we sing first and second voice...then we get mixed up...but we sing a lot..." (FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE").

According to the "La del Valle" men, singing at a gathering also had a communicative function. Singing a bolero to someone as an expression of one's sentiments, was part of the rituals of courtship and seduction :

"Formerly we were a group of six, eight people... there was the sister of one of them, and we were girlfriend and boyfriend...and she loved the fact that I was there with them...I didn't play any instrument, but I liked singing very much and she liked me to sing her two or three songs...we spent many happy times together..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

THE BOLERO AND THE RITUALS OF COURTSHIP AND SEDUCTION

In the different groups, they all talked about serenades and dancing as integral parts of the rituals of courtship and seduction. It is pertinent

to mention that those from "La del Valle", both men and women, assigned more importance to the bolero for serenades rather than for dancing. In contrast, those from "El Olivar", again both men and women, saw the bolero more as music to dance to than for serenades.

DANCING

Men and women, from both areas, mentioned "go dancing" as a ritual of courtship and seduction, in which romantic music, bolero music in particular, played an important role. According to their accounts, "going dancing" implied concerted action, displacement to the meeting place, and was circumscribed within a determined space and time. The men and women from both areas, distinguished different types of public or private spaces for dancing.

"Parties were going to dance halls, or they were also gatherings of relatives... or friends..." (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

In meeting places, both public and private, although there was "controlled" access, people's selection criteria were different for each site. In public places, it was necessary to comply with certain, explicit, general requirements of age, dress and conduct, and implicit criteria of social class. In private places, a personal invitation was required. The ritual act of "going dancing", carried certain risks and threats for the participants. In the conversations of men and the women from both areas, it was made clear, albeit implicitly, that in the ritual code of dancing there were social rules that established restrictions and prohibitions.

Dancing was initiated by the masculine action of "asking a girl to dance", as mentioned in the following extracts:

"First, up I came well "shall we dance?"... to ask the girl to dance...then I invited the girl and went out onto the floor to dance..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"We came up to them with a certain decency, certain manners, "would you like to dance with me?" (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

They described how the man had to choose between the women available, and the women had to wait to be chosen. The women from both areas all used the passive voice in their statements: "I was asked to dance".

As they recounted in their conversations, the women were exposed to the male gaze when they went to a party, like consumer products in a showcase, for the men to choose which they liked best.

"So, there we all were sitting us girls, suddenly I turned around and saw two tall young men, one blonde and the other dark, coming up to me, but I said "they're very handsome, I don't think they're coming for me" and the dark one approached me and asked me to dance with him..." (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The women interviewed, from both areas, expressed the difficulty of finding a partner to dance with, being deprived of the chance to ask, and of the possibility of resorting to diverse strategies - more or less affected gestures, style of dress etc. - to attract attention, if they did not have to pay the consequences:

"If you were wearing socks, there wasn't anyone ever going to ask you to dance, there you were...just sitting..." (SUSANA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

As was made clear in the conversations of all those interviewed, just as the women ran the risk of remaining seated throughout the whole party if they were not asked to dance, the men also ran the risk of being rejected when they asked a girl to dance.

"She sort of measured up a person...I imagine that she thinks... and if not then she says it..."not now no, next time" (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

Once on the floor, the man had to set the rhythm and lead his partner. The woman had to know how "to follow", "to allow herself to be lead". In this contract, dancing implies two abilities different but interdependent, one - the feminine position - submissive, subordinate to the other - masculine function.

According to the accounts of the men and women of both areas, the meeting that dancing produced, was socially ordered and hyper-ritualised, so as to protect the participants from an embarrassing situation. There were numerous resources, such as the highly coded manners, "reserves of messages to which subjects can turn when they find themselves in which they have to maintain an exchange, even when they have nothing to say" (Goffman 1991:105).

"Remember the dialogue: "You study or work" don't you?, that was the way to open a conversation with a girl, classic...because one could talk, sir! now try to talk...It was a gentle music, a gentle rhythm, cadenced, which allowed one to dance and talk even with one's partner..." (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

From what those interviewed said, it is also possible to deduce the possibilities that the dance offered to the participants, such as finding a boyfriend or girlfriend, meeting people, having fun, as will be detailed below. Interviewees from both areas, mentioned that the

dance allowed an approach and bodily contact that were prohibited in other forms of face to face interaction such as conversation:

"You danced cheek to cheek, what is more it wasn't even necessary to talk, simply by dancing, the approach was sometimes more than enough..." (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"Dancing used to be better before, didn't it?...because you danced with your partner, like this cheek to cheek... it was nicer, more romantic, you felt the affection the other had for you..." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"We went to the party...we met there...we danced cheek to cheek and all that...and then each one went home..." (CATALINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"Before you went to parties and you danced cheek to cheek, didn't you?...and there you took advantage of the embrace..." (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

According to those interviewed, from both areas, at the dance there existed the tacit understanding that all those who went did so with the intention of dancing. This contract implicit in the situation, like the meeting, contained and protected the participants from misunderstandings and reduced the risks of rejection.

Within the space marked out for dancing, it was legitimate to speak directly to a woman and invite her to dance. It was also socially acceptable for women to reply to these masculine advances, and agree to dance with whoever asked them so that they should not be judged negatively.

Although in general terms the general ritual of "going dancing" was described by all the groups interviewed, in each area there were significant variations as will be detailed below.

THE RITUAL OF "GOING DANCING" AMONG THOSE FROM "EL OLIVAR"

The men and women from "El Olivar" mentioned dance halls of great popularity such as *El California*, *Los Angeles*, *El Esmirna*, *El Floresta* and *El Salón de México* as places they used to frequent.

"To dance one went to the Mexico , the Floresta...you go to a dance hall, to Los Angeles or to the California... and did people dance there!...those who knew how to dance and those who didn't, just go and see..." (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

"We went dancing to the Floresta, to the Finca Yolanda, to another that was in Pensador Mexicano Street ... different places..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

These places fell into their category of "public" places, but "decent", "familiar" and "elegant" too. One had to dress appropriately and behave correctly. These 'proper' places were implicitly distinguished from morally unsuitable places, set apart from the family institution, vulgar and common, the spaces of prostitutes and lovers.

"I was taken dancing, there was a dance hall there in Tacuba, the Floresta, for dancing...lovely...you weren't allowed in there with pop-socks, nothing, there you had to go decently dressed, and the men in suit and tie and everything, or else you didn't get in. It was a decent dance hall, it wasn't public, even though it was public, but not just anyone got in" (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

"Before it was familiar and one went dancing...very nice...because as one went well-dressed and everything and you went in, and the dancing was really decent..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"Still nowadays dancing is familiar, there is lots of security, lots of security personnel..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

The interviewee from this areas alluded to the dangers in the proletarian neighbourhoods in which these dance halls were to be found, such as the colonies of *Portales*, *Guerrero* and *Tacuba*.

"Now what's dangerous about the California is outside, most of all the area which is very dangerous, but inside it's O.K., there's a lot of security..." (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"Outside there are lots of taxis, as soon as you walk outside you take a taxi..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

The "public" places mentioned, were characterised as having "dances" organised in them, which were open to all who complied with the general pre-established requirements. These spaces opened on certain days, especially at the weekend, according to previously fixed schedules.

This social group also mentioned parties, dances and evening functions, that were organised in other types of places temporarily adapted, for example sports centres, which were less formal than a dance hall.

"I lived here in El Olivar before, and in those days they used to put on dances, get-togethers in one of the houses, and we would all go there every week to dance, every week there was a dance or if not, we went looking for parties

street by street, to see where we could get in as gate-crashers. We went in, we danced, lots of friends and well yes..." (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

In this conversation it was made clear how impersonal and anonymous meetings in public places were, and what strategies people from this area used to gate-crash parties without being noticed. These practices were opposed to the selective practices of those from "La del Valle", as will be seen further on.

Both men and women from "El Olivar" attributed two distinct aims to dancing. On the one hand it was considered a purely recreation activity, with value in itself, to "go dancing" for the simple pleasure of dancing as it were. At the same time they also considered dancing a courtship and seduction ritual. Both dance halls and the other evening functions were frequently mentioned as appropriate meeting places for choosing a partner to marry.

The men and women from "El Olivar" gave more importance in their talks to dancing as physical and bodily dexterity, and to the musical, rhythmic dimension of the love song, to the bolero in particular, more than to the words of the songs, or the content, which referred especially to serenades.

Their conversations referred repeatedly to an ability to dance, and to dancing as a bodily activity which has a recreational, aesthetic character, and as such has a value in itself. For them, dancing implied a general knowledge, a competence and physical ability which required practice and dexterity.

"Love is totally apart...when one went dancing, one enjoyed dancing...if one had the good fortune to meet a girl all well and good...if not, well one danced and came away

happy, one went at the same time for the sheer love of the music, as the gentleman says, if it's my turn good, if not good too. One went looking for places that were better, so that one didn't only go to one place..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

"When one didn't know how to dance well, we tried hard. That is, we tried to feel the music... one just went with the aim of enjoying oneself, or to tournaments, as they called them, with the prizes they gave for dancing..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"We danced "danzón"...in the Salón México we almost won a dance contest" (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

Dancing, for the men and women of "El Olivar", as well as having a value in itself, also had a value on the "marriage" market. Dancing was considered a ritual, a tool, an element in the sequence, in the process of courtship and seduction.

"There were two different forms... one was to go along with one's partner, logically one had invited her beforehand..." (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"In part one already took along one's girl..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"In part you took along your net to cast... to see what it brought in..." (FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

Those interviewed mentioned that, once the contact had been made, dancing allowed the beginning of a close, intimate relationship separate from the others at the gathering:

"There then followed a sequence, if you were in love, with a danzon or bolero, as the gentleman says, there was a way of

communicating with her and telling her...if you could sort of dance well then the girl got excited too..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"When you danced... you gave the girl the chat, as the gentleman says, to see if you managed to form a relationship..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

According to the men, in the game of seduction, those who knew how to dance had a comparative advantage over those who did not. Knowing how to lead, conferred prestige on the men who had mastered the art.

"To win over a girl, you had to dance well..." (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

"And to keep in with your partner... you had to do it well..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

As can be appreciated from the following comments made by both the men and women from "El Olivar", the men who did not know how to dance were at a disadvantage compared to those who did. As a last resort, to remain in a position of power in front of the ladies, a man had to allow the woman permission to dance with another man. The subordinate place of women before men was made very clear.

"He didn't dance, but then they went to say, "will you allow me to dance?" "yes, of course", decently I dance with whoever asked me to dance, and I danced..." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"Then...sometimes he would get angry...because when we went to parties, well I like dancing...and then, um, I was asked to dance, then I danced even with two lads and he got really angry...well he didn't like dancing...he took me to parties..." (ALICIA, 41, "EL OLIVAR").

"We went to parties, didn't we, but I didn't like dancing, and I would say to her "go ahead, dance"...I stayed sitting there..." (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

"I don't know how to dance really, but she does, so I give her the chance to go and dance her feet off, but decently..." (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

THE RITUAL OF "GOING DANCING" AMONG THOSE FROM "LA DEL VALLE"

Whilst for the men and women from "El Olivar" public dance halls were appropriate meeting places for establishing relationships, for the men and women from "La del Valle" suitable places for finding a partner were private parties such as weddings, fifteenth birthday parties, and gatherings of relatives and friends.

At family parties, in particular offered a guarantee of meeting "known people", "decent people", phrases that concealed a selection criterion which signified, essentially, "people from the same social class". There appeared to be a strong rejection of the impersonal practices of the groups interviewed from "El Olivar".

"The parties were very healthy, they were parties that enchanted me because you went to have a good time, to dance, to be with the one you loved... with your friends...they were very personal... not like discos..." (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"You had dances every week with people you knew...at a dance where everyone knew each other you were not going to flirt..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"When I was a secondary-school student, we organised evening functions where there were lots of friends of both sexes, I used to take my

sisters along, somehow that was where we learnt to dance..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

At the private parties, respondents stressed that there was rigorously controlled access. Not just "anyone" got in, an expression that served to refer to people belonging to a lower social class. Because of this exclusion, parties were considered appropriate places for finding a suitable marriage partner.

"All my girlfriends have come from familiar groups, never an unknown person..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"The parties ...were very familiar...there were no discos..." (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

The "private" ambit was ruled according to family calendars. Parties were held at set dates, times and places, and restricted to specific subjects.

"Fifteenth birthday parties with waltzes, chamberlains and everything, were very common then, so we took advantage of being with the boys, and our chamberlains were the boyfriends, at the rehearsals in the evenings one took advantage and there you would see us with the boyfriend..." (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

The private dances mentioned were generally social celebrations. These were characterised as being gatherings which were called "under the auspices of, or in honour of, some circumstance valued by everyone...the participants arrive in co-ordination and leave in the same manner...preparations are made beforehand...there is a certain specialisation in the division of the functions ...The event in its entirety is seen as a unitary, transmissible act" (Goffman 1991:186).

The men from "La del Valle" said that they occasionally went to dance halls but in their comments they were careful distinguish the "high class" places from the others. They went to the "high class" dance halls with their girlfriend, and to the others to meet a lover, or as men would describe her, "his bit on the side" or "his friend for the occasion".

The "La del Valle" men mentioned *El Normandie* and *El Barbarela* as "higher class" cabarets, as distinguished from dance halls of lower status, like *El Riviera*, *El Ciro's* and *El Maxim's*, where tea dances were organised.

"I used to take my girlfriend out dancing to the Normandie or the Barbarela, a night spot where it was acceptable to be seen with one's girlfriend, as it were...." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"When there was the chance to go to the Normandie or the Barbarela, or any of a series of places of a certain level, they were expensive, weren't they?... " (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

Tea dances were described by the "La del Valle" men as public places that they used to frequent, to have fun and to dance:

"There were dance halls that put on tea dances on Sunday afternoons... they were afternoon functions... there used to be dance halls like the Riviera, there used to be a place in Las Lomas, the Bugambilia...El Ciro's...."(ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

Those interviewed considered tea dances unsuitable places for meeting girls with whom to start a relationship that was "serious", stable and durable. In those spaces, they went looking for another type of woman, suitable as a lover, to have fun with and to do with her whatever was prohibited with a girlfriend and future wife:

"For me the tea dance, excuse me but it was with the lover...and if you could have a lover it was there you would find one...that's my experience of tea dances...for my tastes tea dances were not weighty ties...that is to say, I lived them, I tried them out, when I felt bored on a Sunday, and wanted to meet other girls, you went to the tea dance at the Riviera, at Maxim's, the one in Las Lomas, there you could find a sure relationship, but it wasn't serious, she wasn't the girlfriend, she was the lover..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"Two or three dates at most, and if I saw you again I didn't even remember..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

THE SERENADE

The "El Olivar" men talked of the serenade collaterally. A serenade for them implied enormous risks of being rejected, due to the frequent opposition of the girls' families to the relationships, as they explained it in the following extracts:

"Sometimes they were offended, because they were asleep, or because "... this isn't suitable for you...he's drunk..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

"They emptied buckets of water over you...the girl or her mother...or her brothers...you were singing your serenade when suddenly whoosh..." (FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

In contrast, in the comments of the "La del Valle" men, the serenade took on a fundamental importance. Those interviewed described the ritual in all its parts. They talked of the use they themselves had made of it as part of their courtship strategies, and of the importance it held for them as a meeting place for men, and a chance to spend time with friends.

For the "La del Valle" the serenade was one more element in a series of acts orientated towards winning a girl's heart. The position in the series that the serenade occupied however varied according to the different strategies of those in love. For some it opened the way. For others it signified earning merit and showing interest. The least confident took the serenade when they were already sure of receiving a positive response. The serenade which one took to a girlfriend was a gift, a way of flattering her.

"The serenade, or 'the cock', was... not so much a declaration... it was something that opened doors a little for us... perhaps..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"It was the beginning, it was earning credits, so that they saw that one was interested..." (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"The serenade was a preamble to winning over the girl, afterwards you turned up with an orchid, a bunch of flowers and then you invited her out dancing, that was my normal sequence..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"Me, well first the flowers, and when she was almost caught, a serenade, and an invitation out dancing was normal..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"Yes, for me when I was sure...because some friends made fools of themselves...the girls didn't come to the window... which was a sign that they weren't interested in you..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"More than winning over the girl it's more of an ornament, isn't it? if perhaps you already have her won over, but to make her feel good, to flatter her..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"It was to win her over and to flatter...you had your girlfriend, but you said, now I want to be

a bit better with her..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

According to those interviewed from this area, the serenade ritual included a certain type of song, of greeting to begin with, and different songs to take one's leave. The theme of the rest of the songs was chosen according to the motive and feelings the man in love wanted to express.

"If I remember, in those days we used to use, when we took a serenade... to begin with that, I don't remember the name but it went "awake my sweet love..." and to finish "goodnight my love..." yes, that was the last one..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"Also like the gentleman said, there was the classic leave-taking moment, however there was a singer in our band of friends... he used to retire singing a cha cha cha, with the Martians... but that was like a joke..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

Those interviewed said that the serenade was pursued for a variety of reasons, to keep in with her, as a declaration of love, of despair, or to beg for forgiveness; as can be clearly seen in the following dialogue:

"It depended on the type of songs you chose...there were songs that said plainly "I adore you", "I love you", "I worship you"...and there were subtle songs...most of all because of the type of language...."

-"Yes, there were songs that were really verses of love..."

-"No, and there were totally insolent songs as well, serenades taken by those who had been singed...burnt..."

-"Yes, that said "I don't care a hoot that you don't love me..."

-*"I am not a "golden Coin" (A saying in Spanish that means I can't please everybody)..."*

-*"Yes, yes because there one form to express the great resentment of "you didn't take any notice of me", "you are not interested in me..."*

-*"Yes, revenge..."*

-*"Be seeing you, but there you have your three songs, right..."*

-*"Or the gentlemen who took mariachis to her house to beg for forgiveness..."*

However, for the "La del Valle" men the serenade was first and foremost a party for men, a "Night on the Tiles", the culmination of a binge. At the end of the partying, and with the warmth of the alcohol, those in love remembered their respective girlfriends and felt the urge to express their feelings.

According to their accounts, in the serenade the man circulated, went out into the street at night, facing the dangers of the city, met up with his friends and celebrated with alcohol.

"It was, I think, the pleasure of being together as a group, of finding an excuse to have fun, because we all enjoyed it...it was in the 1950's...then it was twice or three times a week, because in the group I was involved with, whoever didn't play the harpsichord...played the guitar, sang, played the maracas, the güiro...and if not, to keep everyone else company...reinforced the float of Santa Maria Insurgentes, and well thereabouts it worked out really well...they were some really fun times..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"Stag parties were another opportunity to top off the get-together or party taking the

serenade to the bride and to the respective girlfriends of all those at the stag party..." (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

An important part of the ritual was practising singing and playing music as a recreational activity. The ritual culminated in singing below the window of the serenaded. The serenade included a combination of collective activities and a division of labour. While some sang, others played instruments, and those who didn't know how to do either made themselves responsible for the transport, or for the instruments. All these activities favoured group integration and complicity among the members:

"Part of the gang's customs was what the gentleman said, among friends to play the guitar, sing and take the serenade, with those who really sang well, even though some of us also sang badly..." (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"In my time we had a group of lads, a pianist who played by ear, very well, we used to go to his house, take the piano out onto a pick-up, and there all together, those who played the guitar, those who played the güiro, or who made a noise, well off we went, we managed to get about 20 lads together in the group" (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"It was a very important period of my life from the occupation point of view, from the cultural point of view ...we used to get together sometimes to sing them and sometimes to rehearse them..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"I had, as my father described it... artillery ear...I cannot sing for anything, not even in the shower...I was the organiser in the group...I jumped over the walls into the gardens and connected up all the equipment...sound equipment, all that, the

light was stolen... all of that was my responsibility in the group..." (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"Sometimes 3 or 4 friends went, one was going to give a serenade... to keep the friend company... it was spending time together, whatever you like to call it, wasn't it?" (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

The women from both areas talked about serenades in accordance with their socially prescribed place in the ritual. In the various interviews, it was made clear that the men exercised a clear position of power and domination over women, by a double mechanism of censure and closure. Censure was exercised in the ambit of speech, by the expropriation of words from the woman, and of the possibility of taking the initiative of expressing her desires and feelings in song. The second mechanism, closure, regulated the circulation of people within a given space. Women were restricted in their opportunities to move about in public areas, particularly "the street", and relegated to enclosure within the private area of the home. The woman was therefore the endpoint in an act in which she had not even participated, or at least not in the same way. A woman could not go out into the streets at whatever time, she had to be home early.

Whilst the lads went partying, the girls were "sleeping peacefully" in their beds, enclosed within the security of their home, under the watchful eye of their parents. The women waited at home, where the serenade would be received. Although their activity was reduced to listening, switching on the light as a sign of acceptance of the gift, or leaving the light off as a sign of rejection, within this simple gesture resided the woman's power; as will be seen in the following statements:

"Before, they stood at the corner and three or four friends began to sing, very nicely...."did

you hear, they are singing to me...wow and how I go out..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"There are times when they really don't come out, but the next day a phone-call, what's the matter? "I'm so nervous, I can't do anything for thinking about that serenade, it was so beautiful" (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"I told her "listen to what they are saying to you...switch the light on and everything..." (LUCERO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

THE BOLERO, ORAL TRADITION AND THE CONSTITUTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The "La del Valle" men demonstrated a greater linguistic competence, and were therefore more explicit in their talks than the women from the area, and noticeably more so than either the men or women from "El Olivar". In contrast to the other groups, they spoke of recalling the words of the songs, which they shared with the group as something that remained sharp in their memory, as will be seen in the following extract:

- "I remember that they played a trick on me when we sang at a gathering, on the one hand they flattered me but on the other they offended me, "you sing badly yet you know all the songs". So, yes, I have a good memory for the words..."

- "Yes I remember the songs..."

- "Me just a tiny bit, nothing more..."

In their conversations, they also mentioned the fragmentary, dispersed character of their knowledge of the songs:

"When we go on trips, we begin all the songs but afterwards, to finish them!....it's a problem" (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"Perhaps one remembers 60-80%...a good part...but you definitely recognise them..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

This group also talked of the collective, mnemotechnical mechanisms by which they remembered songs, reconstructing them within the group:

"Most of all you have to start hearing them and there comes the memory..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Also at some get-together or other where one starts singing, one begins to remember, and we are going to sing this one and out pops another one over there, and so let's sing that one..." (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

Those interviewed mentioned the need to exercise the memory, and repetition as a necessary tool for storing and retrieving the songs:

"As I don't practise, I forget them...then I hear them again and I remember most of the words...but sometimes suddenly I get stuck and I can't give any more..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

According to what those interviewed said, the bolero incorporated into the memory is not remembered like knowledge learned in an encyclopaedic fashion. Rather it was a practical piece of knowledge which was generally remembered within a group, in fragments, or in relation to situations which in their turn referred to certain frames and detonated associative chains:

"Yes you remember the songs, but perhaps not so much the composer of the words or music, but I think... that one remember various titles..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

In their talks those interviewed spoke of the fundamentally oral character of the transmission of the songs, as anonymous words, a mechanism by means of which the name of the composer is erased in the process of circulation:

- "Before, when a record was released, they didn't do what they do now, put who sings and who wrote it, before they only put who sang it..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

- "They didn't honour the composer..." (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

- "Now yes...by law..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

These interventions allude to a process of anonymisation which spoken, sung discourses undergo. The bolero in daily use loses the institutional profiles of the work that refers to a writer, to be converted into words, melody, rhythm, which then unite with other songs to become incorporated into the general rumour of anonymous, common discourse.

Although in this group they reflected more on the character of their practices, as an exercise of abstraction and rationalisation, they were less willing to talk about their feelings.

As can be seen in the following extracts, they frequently avoided talking about the connection between the bolero and their own love relationships. They said that boleros, rather than reminding them of any person in particular, reminded them in a general fashion of a whole period in their life:

"In my case I feel that memory, more than of the girl in herself, to whom the serenade was taken, is of the time, of our youth..." (JOSE, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"Rather than associating them with anyone in particular, it's an agreeable sensation...a song let's say by Alvaro Carrillo...or those you really like...bolero ones...I don't necessarily have to identify them with a person... it's more important to enjoy the song...awaken a sensation...to associate it with someone in particular I think would be to take away from the song itself" (Javier, 56, "DEL VALLE").

In this group they spoke of the bolero as an "aesthetic" object, separate from their personal feelings, as a form of block to the free expression of their love sentiments.

THE BOLERO, MEMORY PROMPT AND SYMBOL OF THE LOVE RELATIONSHIP

Boleros, as has been seen in previous chapters, express the different sentiments of love, despair, jealousy, happiness and sadness. In contrast to the "La del Valle" men, who were reticent when it came to expressing their feelings and more inclined to rationalisation, the "El Olivar" men, and the women from both areas studied, showed a greater tendency to talk about their feelings and concrete experience. In the group interviews, these groups mentioned different boleros that they particularly remembered, and identified with love situations they had experienced at some stage. Some of the songs held a special significance, represented or symbolised a significant relationship for them:

"Romantic music brings back memories for me...that's why I don't like to hear it...because I remember he used to sing to me like that then...even married he sang me that song..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

"She left me and there was the famous song that 'the last night that I dreamt of you'...I only have to hear it and, oh my! I sob my

heart out that I still remember..."
(FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

"I don't know, it happens like this, with the song "Señora bonita" (Beautiful Married Lady) and many songs...that link more or less to a memory that one has, at least it happens to me, What do you know?...everyone is different, aren't we? Each person has a different memory...." (Arturo, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"I think that all of us in our great or little romanticism...there are details that make us remember someone in particular...I remember a girlfriend I once had...I was hopelessly in love with her, I think she was the woman I have most loved...I remember her with that song that Olimpo Cárdenas and Julio Jaramillo sang: "Nuestro Juramento" (Our Troth)..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

These extracts affirm that the bolero constitutes a support for memory, as a symbol that represented the object of a person's affections. Individuals reconstructed his/her lives by means of memories which were evoked by a given song.

"Those songs that "swear", that "without you"... when I hear those songs I remember my first serenade... with that boyfriend... and he always sang to me: "Swear to me that even though much time passes, you will not forget the moment in which I met you" (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"He used to whistle that song to me, that "Sin ti" (Without You)... Sometimes he sang me "Caminemos" (Let's Walk)... The songs he sang to me yes I do relate them with what was happening to us at that moment... because "without you I cannot ever live and to think that you will never again cease to exist" and the other "no, I cannot think that I loved you, it is better to forget that I suffered, I cannot conceive that everything is over" and

expressions like that make me remember that a love like that didn't come to anything" (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"They used to play a song then which was called "flor de margarita" (Margarita Daisy), "he loves me, he loves me not, he does, he doesn't, he does" that's how I felt with him because he paid me a lot of attention but he never actually proposed, and so that type of music reminds me of him a lot." (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

As will be noted in the talks quoted, the men interviewed from "El Olivar" and the women from both areas studied, related their personal histories from the point of view of certain stereotyped figures which belonged to a rhetoric of loving, and which the culture offers them as a way to remember and reinterpret the disordered events that go to make up their lives. Thus the experience of identifying with a song was stripped of its peculiar nature, and became confused with the stereotype.

These subjects extracted the exceptional acts from their experience, and incorporated them into collective memory so as to give meaning to their existence. In these verbal discussions one can appreciate that, through the bolero, people codified and relived certain states of their love experience; feelings that the song evoked, and the individual expressed in emotive formulations of nostalgia for a love or a person.

PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES BY SOCIAL CLASS, IN THE FORMS OF USE AND APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO

Taking the results of the research together, we can now sketch out in a table (table 9.1) which synthesises the principle differences between the two social groups in their relations to music in general, and the

bolero in particular. These differences are the products of the subjects identification with their class position, and the process of distinction with regard to the other social classes.

TABLE 9.1 USE AND APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO BY SOCIAL CLASS

	"DEL VALLE"	"EL OLIVAR"
CLASS COMPOSITION	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS
FAVOURITE MUSIC	CLASSICAL/EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN	TROPICAL
ORIENTATION	COSMOPOLITAN	LOCAL/NATIONAL
SENSORIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BOLERO	AUDITORY: LISTENING, SINGING	TACTILE: DANCING
AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE	RATIONAL	CORPORAL
MAIN PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT	PRIVATE PARTIES	PUBLIC DANCES

As it can be seen in the table, as regards class composition, the "La del Valle" subjects belonged to middle-class sectors, which, as Bourdieu puts it, are to be found in "the central and middle region of social space", and are characterised by their quest to reach the position of the dominant groups that retains "cultured culture", and to distance themselves progressively from the workers, the bearers of popular culture (Bourdieu 1988:347).

The groups of men and women from "El Olivar", on the other hand belong to the working classes. According to Bourdieu's point of view, the popular, or vulgar, taste of the workers is defined as "negation" of the "legitimate taste" of the dominant classes. These tendencies in class "tastes", were confirmed in the interviews, as will be detailed below.

The subjects from "La del Valle" showed a cosmopolitan orientation in their taste for European "classical" and American music. When they mentioned their taste for classical music, they referred to composers

such as Mozart consumption of whose music has become popular. They also mentioned Plácido Domingo the opera singer, who, from their point of view, has raised popular Mexican music to the level of the "classical". Their explicit preference for "classical" music, and their rejection, also explicit, of "vulgar" music, revealed their character as aspirants to the dominant "cultured" culture.

The subjects from "El Olivar" identified with popular culture. They manifested a rejection of "classical" music as being boring and foreign to them, and showed a nationalistic, local orientation towards tropical music, which they classified as being part of them, being Mexican and Latin-American.

The contrasts between the "La del Valle" and "El Olivar" groups, were also manifest in their differentiated sensorial relationship with the bolero. Those from "La del Valle", related to the words of the bolero, to the bolero as a vehicle of communication. Similarly, they revealed that they had a more distant, rational aesthetic experience. Those from "El Olivar", considered the bolero to be principally a dance rhythm, and established a more tactile, auditory relationship with it. For them, the bolero signified a space of physical encounter with their partner, and an aesthetic experience that was physically closer and corporal. These findings confirm Frith's thesis, where he maintains that "the high/low distinction doesn't really concern the nature of the art object, or how it is produced, but refers to different modes of perception. The crucial high/low distinction is that between contemplation and "wallowing", between intellectual and sensual appreciation, between hard and easy listening" (Frith 1996:114).

Another aspect which displayed a clear difference between the groups, was their different selection of places of entertainment. For their fun, the subjects from "La del Valle" preferred the "exclusive", hence

"excluding", spaces of "private" parties. The subjects from "El Olivar", tended towards "public" spaces, places "open to everyone" to which they had free access, and which allowed them collective participation in a popular party. This strong distinction between private and public can be seen as a demonstration of the privileged position the "La del Valle" groups occupied in social space in contrast to the socially disadvantaged situation of the "El Olivar" groups.

The differences found between the two social groups, with regard to the forms of exposure to, use and appropriation of the bolero, fit well with Bourdieu's perspective, according to which there exists "a dependency of aesthetic disposition on the material conditions of existence" (Bourdieu 1991:51).

Nevertheless it is important to point out that the different forms of appreciation of the bolero are not a mechanical reflection of said class conditions, but rather the result of different musical practices. The bolero, as a love song, implies textual determinations of a generic character, different from epic songs such as the *corrido*. Moreover, in each ritual act, the rules of use for the bolero are different. The determining contexts are multiple and variable.

The distinction between mind and body implicit in the stories related by the subjects, not only refer to material living conditions, but also to the different forms in which the subjects reconstructed their aesthetic experience, by means of the story.

This assumes that, as Frith puts it, "to enjoy music of all sorts is to feel it...." and, at the same time, "musical pleasure is never just a matter of feeling; it is also a matter of judgement" (Frith 1996:115).

However, as we have seen in the interview extracts the forms of use and appropriation of the bolero do not depend only on social class determinations. Gender was revealed to be another major determining social condition. The contradictions between men and women, in the groups studied, demonstrated a trans-class character. In other words, the division of female and male roles were constant in the two social classes studied, as will be observed in the results laid out below.

PRINCIPLE DIFFERENCES BY GENDER IN THE USE AND APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO

The main differences attributed to the different genders, in their forms of use and appropriation of the bolero are synthesised in table 9.2

TABLE 9.2 USE AND APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO BY GENDER

	MEN	WOMEN
PREFERRED USES OF THE BOLERO	COURTSHIP AND SEDUCTION TOOL	BACKGROUND MUSIC FOR WORK AND CONVERSATION
SERENADES SPACES	GOING OUT (PUBLIC)	WAITING AT HOME (PRIVATE)
SERENADES ROLES	SINGING (ACTIVE)	LISTENING (PASSIVE)
DANCING ROLES	ASKING A GIRL TO DANCE LEADING CARRYING, (ACTIVE)	WAITING SEATED BEING LEAD/FOLLOWING (PASSIVE)

According to the results of the interviews, it was clear that men, even though already married, considered the bolero mainly, although not exclusively, as a tool in the rituals of courtship and seduction. The women on the other hand, mentioned the bolero most of all as background music for their work or conversation. This difference in the preferred uses of the bolero, between men and women, is principally due to the fact that, whilst the men maintained that they were still active in the conquest game, the women said they had left

such spaces because of the obligations they had taken on as wives and mothers.

In the group interviews, female and male places were defined in accordance with the social norms that regulated the different rituals of courtship and seduction. Whereas in the serenade, men were assigned to a public space (going out in the streets), women were assigned to private spaces (waiting at home). Similarly, men were assigned the function of singing, or dedicating a song to the girl sung by someone else, but in his name (an active role). In contrast, women were assigned the role of listening, and of receiving the song that was dedicated to them (a passive-receptive role).

In the case of the dance ritual, men were assigned the active roles of taking the initiative and asking the girl of their choice to dance. For their part, the women said that they had to wait seated to be chosen. Once the dance had started, the men were assigned the (active) role of "leading" the women, whilst the women were assigned the passive role of "following" the pace set by the male. The distinction between female/male roles, which is expressed very superficially in this chapter, will be described in all its nuances and in greater depth in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X

LEARNING TO LOVE; THE BOLERO AND SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION

In the face of the interviewer's request to recount the story of the love of their life, those interviewed habitually adopted a structure that assigned primary roles to the two in love (he and she), and to the parents. They organised the story according to a conventional narrative sequence, which was structured around four moments: the meeting, the proposal, the conflict and the denouement, whether it culminated in the union or separation of the two in love. However, as will be detailed later, men and women draw on different feminine and masculine archetypes, and different ways of addressing and resolving conflicts.

Across all four groups, masculine and feminine roles in a love relationship were characterised metaphorically as a battlefield. To enter into a relationship with a woman was described as "conquering a girl". The couple relationship was thus established in the tension between two opposing forces; the man fighting to possess the woman, who in her turn always tried to resist the masculine attacks.

The "desiring" man, is conceived and described as a sexual machine, trained to harass, pressure, always pushing, and going forward orientated to getting what Schopenhauer would describe as "the only thing" that interested him about women which is to say, possessing them sexually (Schopenhauer 1993:103), as is clear from the following expressions:

"I think it's a question of whether the man can and the woman wants" (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"The question...to begin going out and to see how far one can go...sometimes the first time one could and well great..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

In the comments of both men and women from both areas studied, the only legitimate, normal love relationships are those established between a heterosexual couple. There was disapproval of the diversity of sexual practices, and possible types of couple. Indeed in the two groups of women, and in the "El Olivar" group of men, homosexuality wasn't even mentioned.

Only among the "La del Valle" men, was disapproval of homosexuality explicit. It was considered an illness, compared to a congenital deformity, like a sort of monstrous act:

"those things used to be totally hidden...like when a mongol child was born into a family" (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

The "La del Valle" men talked about homosexual relationships in disparaging terms, they considered its public, open expression a scandal:

"before you didn't hear about it, it wasn't so notorious, they were very anonymous...but it existed, it always has..." (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"but in a much smaller proportion I think... it wasn't so blatant..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"I don't remember that we identified even one of my friends as a queer, or any one of the girls as lesbian...starting about 15 or 20 years ago they started being identified, that so-and-so is a queer, but proven and that such a girl

a lesbian, watch out! ..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

MASCULINE PLACES, THE SUBJECT FUNCTION

At the action level, in the different stories told by the men and women from both "La del Valle" and "El Olivar", the men had to adopt a subject function. As in the bolero, he had to take the initiative, he called, defined, evaluated and qualified the women. The place of the masculine subject was defined by the active voice, and by actions such as declaring himself, proposing marriage, asking the woman to dance, inviting her to the cinema, the theatre or to dinner, giving her flowers, collecting the girlfriend from school or work, walking her home, taking her the serenade.

The men said that they developed themselves in public places, like the street and work:

"Men, in professional life, because of their obligations...with greater freedom, with greater obligation...intellectual growth is greater...exposure to the environment forces it...the women no..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

FEMININE PLACES, THE OBJECT FUNCTION

According to the stories told by both sexes from both areas, in a love relationship, the woman was obliged to accept in a special manner the function of object, and as such she was the addressee of the subject's action. The feminine subject was defined in the passive voice, expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun "me". The subject was converted into the object which suffered the action of the verb. This action was executed by the masculine agent:

"He dropped me at the door of my house..." (OLGA, 57, "DEL VALLE"); "he whistled it to me...he sang to me...he came to see me with a rose..." (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE"); "he asked me for a red sky..." (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE"); "he asked me to dance with him..." (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE"); "he invited me out..." (FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE"); "he came to the house looking for me...he asked me if I wanted to be his girlfriend..." (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR"); "so another lad spoke to me...he brought me a serenade" (BELEN, 43, "EL OLIVAR"); "he took me to the cinema...dancing..." (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR"); "he took me to parties..." (ALICIA, 41, "EL OLIVAR"); "he invited me to the cinema...he took me to the evening functions..." (GUADALUPE, 57, "EL OLIVAR").

However this sharp division of roles in relationships between men and women, was frequently lived out by the actors as conflict. According to what both the men and women from both areas said, the social norm reacted with violence against those subjects who didn't respond to the desirable masculine or feminine profile:

"Much as I wanted to ask her to be my girlfriend, I never had the nerve to do it, and when I finally found the courage, another guy had beat me to it..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"If he cannot find the courage to say anything to me, I will have to leave him because in truth I don't like this situation at all..." (FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE").

According to the interviewees, both timid men (femininised) and "audacious" women (masculinised), suffered the violence of the social mandates imposed on them. For the former, the social imperative was

that they had to speak. For the later, that they had to be quiet, wait and repress their desires and feelings:

"It was awful for me, dreadful...obviously he never said "come with me", nor "I'm going to marry you..." (MARIA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"It was like that for six years...I already said "this lad has no guts" he paid me a lot of attention, but he never proposed to me" (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The implicit norm prescribed that the woman should not take the initiative. As a consequence, if the man didn't speak, she had to resign herself to losing him, face social censure and herself speak out, or, as a sort of mid-point, look for indirect strategies to produce the desired conduct, by means of a threat or an implicit declaration, as can be seen in the following extracts:

"He didn't say anything until one day I said "you know what I think I'm going to the United States" and then he came one Saturday to tell me that we would get married" (FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"The first girlfriend I had...one day I arrived ...and she gives me a kiss...my goodness! what's the matter?...but I was already inside and couldn't leave..." (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

The social norm subordinated the individual, and placed him/her in a position of obedience or disobedience. The woman who "spoke out" or who adopted the active position, transgressed the norm and became "masculinised". In conversations with the women from "La del Valle" this manifested itself in comments of self-censure in which the transgressive conduct was qualified by the women themselves as authoritarianism or madness:

"I'm a bit authoritarian in many things...I kissed my husband because he didn't have the courage, so I gave him a push..." (FLOR, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"I with my temperament did crazy things, I went to Veracruz to see whether I could see him in the street, and if not I phoned him at his home. It was the height of daring in those days!" (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

MASCULINE ARCHETYPES: FROM ABANDONER TO ABANDONED

The men from the two areas studied, worked with different archetypes of the masculine subject in love. Among the "La del Valle" men the image of a *Don Juan* who conquered and abandoned women prevailed, whereas the "El Olivar" men talked of the type who was abandoned by inaccessible women, as will be seen below.

THE MASCULINE ARCHETYPE IN "LA DEL VALLE": THE *DON JUAN*

In what was said by the "La del Valle" men, men were given the mobile function of conqueror, an individual who moved around, who advanced, who travelled, and his role was to impose, dominate, subjugate. The archetypal figure was that of *Don Juan*⁴⁰², and his equivalents in today's cinema; the pilot, sailor and soldier.

"Me, my life has been very DonJuanesque, I always had the thing of conquering women...I remember girls, I saw them, I liked them and I conquered them...I could tell you of so many girlfriends..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

⁴⁰² The *Don Juan* figure is a recurrent one in Mexican films, as was seen in the previous chapter.

"I used to travel a lot, I spent 13 years travelling all over Mexico, the U.S.A., Canada and Central America... Hence during those trips...I had the chance to meet a Swiss girl ...an English girl...work trips that turned into honeymoons..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

For the men from this area, the "ideal" type, the model to follow, was described as:

"a super Don Juan, ugly enough to hit God, ready for a fight, and a confidence in himself and really sporty, a good body, well-built and likeable..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

According to their accounts, once *Don Juan* had obtained the desired object, he loses interest and has to start a new search, a new adventure. In accordance with the *Don Juan* myth, reconstructed in the tales of "the love of their life" as told by those interviewed, men were orientated towards many love objectives, and collected different women who satisfied their different and changing needs:

"well if it's not everything you want, well look for what will satisfy those pools, those empty spaces..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The masculine individual in love in these stories, was constituted by means of the "conquest", because a male's prestige was founded in collecting the greatest number of women. The *Don Juan* myth is opposed to a single love for one's whole life:

"We all came to the conclusion that no-one falls in love only once..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"Normally I remember that when I felt I was in love, it wasn't only with one, but with several...not lots, but with those I fell in love with, I felt it was that "first great love"...and

there were various occasions..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Each person who nourishes you and whom you nourish in some fashion, I feel that, at that moment, that person becomes the love of your life, don't you think so?" (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

Faced with the risk of being trapped and losing their freedom, the men avoided as far as was possible a matrimonial promise that would tie them to only one woman:

"I began to change girlfriend when I thought I had to get married..." (ENRIQUE, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"I didn't last long with girlfriends...when I felt they wouldn't progress...well there they died...it was more practical..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

THE MASCULINE ARCHETYPE IN "EL OLIVAR": THE ABANDONED ONE

What came out of conversations with the "El Olivar" men was that they considered the love of their life to be the woman who abandoned them, or who for some reason they never got and whom they were never able to marry, either because she went off with another man, or because of family obstacles.

"I still think of her... even though it was seven years ago ... I went there again and whistled at her...no, she didn't even notice me..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"I have three daughters, and I gave one of my daughters the name of my girlfriend, of my first love... and if she were to come along I would go off with her..." (FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

Love for the unobtainable woman in this perspective remained alive while the mundane tension of conquest-resistance continued. To obtain the love of a woman was then paradoxically to lose it. As in the bolero, for this group, love was experienced in its absence, it was lived as a lack, as an emptiness.

"As well, just as the gentleman is saying, well the same happened to me, and I cried and I turned to the bottle... and then they still say to us "Look how I take you". (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

The men from this area implicitly expressed their respect for inaccessible women, in such a way that from their talks it could be inferred that they considered that if they entered into a relationship with a woman, the man triumphed and the woman lost by being subjected, swayed. In contrast, where no relationship was established, the woman triumphed and remained the eternal object of desire.

"Me, with the really true love of my life, I didn't marry her, with the second yes, with first no, because she went off with another man, and I was left looking at the ones that remained..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

Paradoxically, in accordance with what the men from this area said, to the extent that the love of their life is that woman they do not get and not the woman with whom they are living, it must be concluded in some way, implicitly, that on winning the love of one's woman, the relationship loses its charm. This appeared implicitly in this group, whereas the "La del Valle" group made it explicit.

MASCULINITY FROM THE FEMININE POINT OF VIEW

The women from both "La del Valle" and "El Olivar" agreed with the men from both areas, on the characterisation of the intrusive

behaviour of the man and the feminine response of resistance to his attacks.

"He made plans for us to be together, and I no, I no longer wanted to see him...He wanted to share everything, live together, without marrying... Well that wasn't my idea..." (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"On one occasion he wanted to go further, I told him "no little boy, you know up to here" "no but look..." "no pay attention, no, I was brought up in one way and I am going to have to carry it on until the end..." well from there he knew that with me well nothing..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"I became afraid of that which I began to want ...he wanted to do "other things" to me in the corn field... that was enough I didn't love him any more..." (BELEN, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

THE FEMININE ARCHETYPES: WOMAN "SAINT" OR "PROSTITUTE"

The men in both areas studied and the women from "El Olivar" classified feminine subjects in love, in accordance with two opposing archetypes. At one pole stood "saints", idealised and inaccessible, objects of masculine desire, who through marriage are transformed into de-sexualised beings, wives and mothers.

At the opposite pole, all the men and the women from "El Olivar" characterised the other type of woman, implicitly, as "prostitutes" because they adopt subject positions and they are active sexually. This type of woman, it was considered, has questionable morals, is a threat and unsuitable for marriage. For their part, the "La del Valle" women, although they also had an idealised vision of the "romantic", expressed

some criticisms in the face of the dominant social definitions of feminine and masculine roles.

FEMININE PLACES AS SEEM BY THE MEN FROM "LA DEL VALLE"

As has just been mentioned in the previous section, among the men from "La del Valle", the masculine image of *Don Juan*, who got about and conquered a lot of women, was positively valued and conferred prestige. In contrast, as will be seen below, women who went out with many men were considered by them to be women "of the moment", for fun, who could not be taken seriously for marriage. In essence these women were considered prostitutes. The evaluative axis was displaced from a practicalities, from efficiency in the conquest in the case of men, to an ethical sense in the case of women, in which they were evaluated as good or bad morally according to their sexual conduct.

The "La del Valle" men specifically distinguished two types of woman, and qualified them explicitly as "conservative" or "liberal", and implicitly as "saints" or "prostitutes", as the following extracts affirm:

"They are classified as liberals and conservatives...so that it should not sound so bad..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

The image of the "decent" woman appeared repeatedly in the stories. She was "always" obliged to resist masculine attacks, until she managed to persuade him into a marriage agreement. The girlfriend and future wife in this context were considered chaste and pure, fundamentally de-sexualised, in accordance with the bolero metaphors of "angel" and "queen".

"With the girlfriend, in our day, it was holding hands and kisses and to be royally treated, the places to learn about sex, the majority either we learnt in certain places or

with the servants, unfortunately, that was broadly our education..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

In the conversations of both the men and the women from this area, female resistance to male attacks was valued. While the women proudly maintained:

"I was sort of unpleasant, rather rude..." (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"We were expected to play hard to get ..." (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

For their part the men affirmed:

"I consider that we married, I think everyone, this is the general rule, we married who cost us a lot of trouble in winning over, because it cost us a lot of trouble, the others came and went" (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"I have had to talk to my daughters about what I, as a man, thought about the one who was going to be my wife, and who were going to be my "occasional" friends, those who go with anyone, those who arrive whenever and remain until death, the first to arrive and the last to leave. And the others arrive a little late, they make one wait and early "let's go, look at the time", and well I liked these things very much, and feel that they give one an image of fantasy in the male-female relationship..." (RAMON, 57, "DEL VALLE").

The behaviour of 'serious' women, inaccessible, and who made you beg, offered for men the necessary guarantees that they could fulfil the role socially attributed to them as guardians of the home. The women who were to a degree "masculinised" who went about, like "foreigners", the "outsiders", or those who entered into relationships with "outsiders", were classified as "liberals", "mad" and therefore unsuitable to be a

wife, guardian of the home and guarantee of "purity" of the line, as is expressed in this dialogue among the "La del Valle" men:

- "There have always been girls in the groups who gave more..."

- "The girls who went to dances and allowed outsiders to enter into relationships with them, we have them catalogued...they were on the black list..."

- "The outsiders...the occasional friends...they hooked up for a while and then you never saw them again..."

The "liberals", "outsiders" and "foreigners", were women who had many characteristics socially considered masculine virtues, such as independence, initiative, audacity and mobility. The men of this social group rejected and admired them at the same time:

"Relationships with foreigners are a sensational game..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"foreigner...really pretty...blonde...exuberant..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

However, although those interviewed from this area claimed that they were attracted to independent, light-hearted, amusing women, they said that for marriage they preferred women who were not so pretty, serious and boring. Beauty was considered a risk to the security of the couple:

"She was a flirt up to a certain point... she got on with everyone and well it made me really angry..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"My woman is not so sporty, never mind, she doesn't know how to swim...She was good-

looking and my wife simply has other values..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

The men from this area, according to what they said, ended up looking down on women who submitted to their expectations. Women stopped being attractive, according to them, stopped being an object of desire, and turned into wives and mothers, as some of them expressed only too clearly:

"Afterwards she didn't go to parties, she didn't like them...she didn't smoke, didn't drink, didn't dance...parties with the lads started, I had to go alone, and then well with a little girlfriend..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"If they didn't mature and evolve on the intellectual plane, they didn't have the same value they had then... some continued really wrapped up in the professional field...they are still single and more or less continue maintaining themselves...but the majority no...they lose their charm..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"Then they begin talking to you about tomatoes and about nappies buddy...then forget it..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

Paradoxically, according to the men from "La del Valle", female independence although attractive to them, was also a threat. Due to female, economic independence, the men began losing the power and authority they used to exercise over women; as was made clear in the transcript that follows:

-"Women nowadays...they are brought up to be independent ...this gives women a confidence which allows them to consider divorce more readily..."

-"Send man to the devil..."

"Then they say 'I'm not going to depend on you and I can manage economically'..."

The female function was defined not only by the lexemes: passivity, resistance, subordination and dependence, that have been seen up to now, but also by the lexemes: beauty, purity, flirting and vanity, will be seen below.

According to the "La del Valle" men, before marriage a woman had to be pretty and to have a good body in order to be a suitable object of desire. Women were expected to achieve and realise their beauty by dressing well, using make-up, diet and aerobics, but always in moderation.

"The first thing I notice about a woman is her face, then her body, speaking of the physical, and obviously with the relationship you go exploring or finding out some other details which make you like the person more..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"I liked her... very pretty...demure...impeccable...a flirt up to a point..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

The men from this area also considered women superficial and vain:

"Flatter them...that is very satisfying for them, and to some extent one is morally obliged to satisfy this vanitybut it's only vanity, isn't it?...but they are women"(LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

FEMALE POSITIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE "LA DEL VALLE" WOMEN

The "La del Valle" women demonstrated in their comments an idealised image of woman separated from her sexuality. In no case did they refer to women disparagingly. They talked of themselves as romantics, idealists and ingenuous:

"In myself I'm romantic...there are songs that can sometimes even make me cry..."
(YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"When you are young you are more romantic, you believe everything anyone says...they promise you the sun...they sweeten your ear, then you let yourself be carried along..."
(OLGA, 57, "DEL VALLE").

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, the conversation of the women from this area made explicit the fact that the social norms, which prescribe behaviours such as passivity, silence and submission, represented violence against them. Hence some "La del Valle" women expressed their resistance against complying with that role, and in some cases mentioned that they had transgressed the norm at some point in their life, or at least had expressed indirectly that they lived in conflict with its imposition⁴⁰³; as will be seen in the following extract:

"I had a lot of male friends, I was a little feminist, and I always used to say "why do boys have the right to feel more important?..."
(CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

⁴⁰³ This aspect was studied in more depth in the section on the differentiated constitution of female and male individuals.

FEMALE POSITIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE "EL OLIVAR" MEN

According to what they said in the interviews, the "El Olivar" men agreed with those from "La del Valle" in their idea of what women ought to be, although there were differences of tone which will be analysed later. From what they said, it can be inferred that they consider that women should adopt a passive position in front of man, be submissive and modest, and that there 'proper' sphere of female action was the private world of the home.

The "El Olivar" men distinguished between women as having a good or bad heart. The former were loyal, the latter traitors. In the words of the bolero, *¿Quién iba pensar que una mentira tuviera cabida en un madrigal?* (Who would think that a lie would fit within such a beautiful madrigal?)⁴⁰⁴

"It depends on the heart of some, there are some who are frail and others no...I didn't believe there are women who cheat, but yes there are ..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

Likewise they considered that women should orientated themselves to having only one love:

"If she fails with one, then I agree....but if she is going to have another and another...well that's too much, that's hiding something..." (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"I was looking for one who wasn't like the others, because I saw them with first one then another" (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

⁴⁰⁴ MARQUETI Luis, *Amor que malo eres..Op. cit. (b) p. 78*

Women, in the opinion of the "El Olivar" men, had to wait for the male initiative, otherwise they were qualified negatively.

*"Before women were more reserved, now no.."
(FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").*

"Now ...pure feminism well disguised and they even say 'do you want to be my boyfriend?'...now they just launch themselves!" (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

In this area the men considered that the woman should never show her desire, nor even think of herself as a desiring individual, with the risk that not her femininity but her moral integrity would be in doubt. In the men's tales, married women should abandon the spaces and practices of seduction and behave in a different way, as they were now off the marriage "market". As such, the mother had to give up being desirable, change her style of dress, stop going to public places such as dance halls:

-"With the wife one goes to dances, but family ones..." (ISAC, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

-"You are not going to take her to the California now..." (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

For them, simply the presence of a woman in a public place means "she is going round offering herself" as the following phrase expresses:

*-"It's like let's say, here's some meat..."
(ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").*

-"No and wives, now they don't dance with young lads, they say this madman is going to knock me down..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

*-"Now they don't even feel like it..."
(FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").*

The paradox was this. If the wife remained desirable for her husband, she would be desirable to all other men too, and as such a threat to the stability of the home. For the same reason, her natural space of development was restricted to work in the home, family get-togethers and private parties. The "El Olivar" men - as was seen above with the "La del Valle" group - considered that it was a danger to the stability of the marriage if their wives worked outside the home:

- "Many married women work, and well working..." (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

- "They blame women for being unfaithful, but it is also the man's fault...if the husband doesn't give her enough housekeeping she has to go out to work..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

- "Because sometimes there simply isn't enough for the housekeeping...that's not a reason to send the wife out to work..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

For the men from "El Olivar", the conditions for keeping a woman under male domination were "performing" sexually and economically, satisfying her every need, taking her out, taking home the bacon. If these conditions were not met, another could take his place:

- "I know him as Sancho..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

- "I know a friend who says "what good service the butcher gives...María goes to him" (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR")⁴⁰⁵.

⁴⁰⁵ This dialogue alludes to a woman's infidelity, Sancho and the butcher implicitly refer to the lover.

For the men from this area, the woman was always the one ultimately responsible for male sexual harassment, as will be noted in the following extracts:

"A woman on the loose..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

"One doesn't bother the one who doesn't want it, the one who doesn't turn round, the one who says No!..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

FEMALE POSITIONS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE "EL OLIVAR" WOMEN

According to the women from "El Olivar", after marriage a woman was transformed from being the object of a man's desire into a mother:

"For the children... one has to hide oneself away..." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR")

However, some mentioned that this transformation posed a conflict for them:

"As a married woman, they didn't let me dress the way I usually did...they didn't let me wear make-up, a dress with an open neckline, they wouldn't let me put it on...a straight skirt, they didn't let me put it on..." (ALICIA, 41, "EL OLIVAR").

Women from this area agreed with the men in their negative opinion of women who did not adopt a position of resistance in the face of male attacks, or who expressed their desires and took the initiative, as can be noted in the following fragment in which one of the women interviewed characterised them scornfully as "abusive", "slimy" and "greedy":

"There are abusive, slimy women ...who make themselves available even if the man doesn't

pay them any attention ...but there they go so greedy..." (LETICIA, 57, "EL OLIVAR").

For these women, it was always the woman who provoked a man with her flirting and seduction, hence women were considered ultimately responsible for male abuses:

"It's not that men don't respect you, it's that the girls allow it, you shouldn't allow it, because as the saying goes "the man goes up to where the woman wants" (BELEN, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

The women from "El Olivar" said that women lost their integrity and "the respect" they deserved as women if they had a relationship with another man, yet they were tolerant of the straying husband:

"It is more likely that the man will be unfaithful...the woman no, because of the children, you have to hide yourself...because you loose your self-respect...as a woman..." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

In this area, the women themselves considered that once married, they "always" had to accede to the demands of their husband, otherwise the wives ran the risk that other women would give their husband what the wives themselves didn't want to, and the wives would lose their husband.

"I prefer to wear myself out rather than that he wears himself out with another woman...Yes, don't you agree? that he should wear himself out with another rather than with me..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

In this scheme, the women robbed of the possibility of choice and initiative, remained submissive to male desire, to which they had to make themselves attractive to be chosen. The only means left to them

was "seduction", by means of diverse strategies, not verbal, to please and attract attention, but always within certain limits.

All the groups of men and women, from the both areas studied, agreed, though in different tones, that if men did not behave audaciously and aggressively sexually in front of women, they ran the risk of their masculinity being put in doubt, even those women who had experienced compulsive sexual harassment from men.

The women for their part, except for those from "La del Valle" agreed that they, had to be submissive, passive, modest, or they ran the risk of being judged prostitutes. In this perspective all the desire was reserved for the man, while the woman had to exercise all the control, all the limits. In the extreme, this culture encourages male subjects as "rapists" and female subjects as either "castrators" or "victims", the two sexes being in constant combat.

FRAMES AND FIGURES IN LOVE STORIES

In the love stories recounted by those interviewed, it is possible to recognise the following frames or typical situations, that were repeated as micro-sequences of variable dimension in each unique tale. These situations are: the meeting, the proposal, the conflict, which may be internal to the couple (between him and her) or external (the couple against others: parents, society, a rival, circumstances or destiny), and the dénouement which also can be of two types: separation and/or living together or marriage.

Each one of these frames refers to ritualised, typical situations. The discourse of these subjects borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from some rhetorical figure of love in general, and from the bolero, in particular.

THE MEETING

*"El día en que cruzaste por mi
camino, tuve el presentimiento de
algo fatal, esos ojos me dije, son mi
destino, y esos brazos morenos son mi
dogal."⁴⁰⁶*

*(The day you crossed my path, I had the
premonition of something fatal, those eyes
I told myself, are my destiny, and those
brown arms are my noose.)*

The women interviewed from "La del Valle", in contrast to the rest of the groups, described the first meeting with the loved one as falling in love. It was something extraordinary, exceptional and unrepeatable, an event that produced an effect of transformation in them, and they expressed it in formulations of an emotive character, as if it had been an experience internal to the "I".

The women from this area showed, through exclamatory assertions, the feelings and transformations, that the presence of their love object had produced in them, even using physiological metaphors.

*"It was an emotion such that I felt...my heart
beating... I felt I wanted to cry...butterflies in
my stomach...never, not even with my
husband, nor with other boyfriends, nor with
anyone have I ever again felt the emotion that
I felt..." (MARIA, 42, "DEL VALLE").*

*"When I heard him I blushed, all colours,
always with a certain fear" (ELSA, 42, "DEL
VALLE").*

*"From the moment I sat down and saw him...I
felt something like that...very strange...like
another dimension...it was love at first
sight...it's the only time in my life when I have
felt it ..." (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").*

⁴⁰⁶ PACHECO & MATA., *Presentimiento*. Op. cit. (b) p. 41

"And from that moment, as if from afar I felt something ...and then arose ...a torrid love, that impressive..." (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The "La del Valle" men, and the men and women from "El Olivar", by contrast, stood back from the event, and characterised it objectively, describing the love object and his/her characteristics, or describing the space where the encounter took place. The emphasis in those discourses was more on things related to the event.

"The second girlfriend I had I met at mass" (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

"I met my wife on the bus" (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"They charged us 25 centavos to watch the fights every Friday and Saturday there in televicentro, in fact I had two girlfriends there" (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"We met at a dance, afterwards we went to the evening functions and continued looking at each other" (ISABEL, 40, "EL OLIVAR").

Only in a few cases did expression shift from the referential to the emotive. Here the description of the surroundings was combined with an account of emotive states in a brief formulation.

"I was working in a packing company, a girl who arrived there in the office, of about 17, ...I liked her...we clicked...very pretty...very demure...only daughter...the girl arrived but impeccable...pretty....with a pretty sweater..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"At the age of 16 I met a lad who was much older than I...he was about 28 or 30 and with that I fell in love...I fell hopelessly in love..." (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

THE PROPOSAL

For the men and women from both areas, the socially established ritual order for starting a love relationship began formally with the act which has traditionally been called "the proposal", an act, in which the man has the active position and the woman has the passive position. These male and female places are clearly indicated in the use of the active and passive voice respectively.

"In our day we used that proposal: would you like to be my girlfriend? of some form but you finished up asking: do you agree?...you had to use it..." (LEOPOLDO, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"He asked me whether I wanted to be his girlfriend, there in the doorway of the house...he came to see me the following day...the day after we had met at a dance...and I said yes, because I too had liked him very much" (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

The ritual order of the proposal - as was made clear in the talks - implied a combination of risks and possibilities for the participants; all of them framed by the sign of one of the figures of the bolero's loving rhetoric. One example is the uncertainty before rejection or before the other's ambivalence:

"He proposed to me, asking whether I wanted to be his girlfriend, and I said: "listen let me think about it because I'm very young" as if I were making eyes at him or something. A week later I said to him "listen, well O.K. let's be boyfriend and girlfriend...let's see what happens..." (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

Other figures also emerged, such as fear of proposing and not being accepted, or the obligation to wait until the other makes the proposal, as was mentioned earlier. All these states of happiness, ambivalence, fear, anxiety, were seen in the stories related by those interviewed.

As can be observed, the proposal is at the same time a demand, a question which implies on the one hand the right of the one who formulated it, and on the other the obligation to reply imposed on the interlocutor. In Mexican culture, the right and the obligation to propose are part of the man's preserve. Women, on the other hand, are conceded the right and obligation to reply, and in that possibility they sometimes demonstrated their power to "make him beg".

THE CONFLICT

In a movement of reciprocal determination that goes from love rhetoric to the experiences of those interviewed, the love stories told by these subjects are constituted in the dynamic tensions between cohesion and conflict between the couple. This game of cohesion-conflict relationships was expressed in the discourses of the subjects, at least in two dimensions. On the one hand the stories referred to conflicts between the man and the woman in love relationships, and to the differentiated constitution of subjects in love, both female and male ⁴⁰⁷. On the other hand the conflict was also expressed as a struggle by the couple to realise their love against the wishes of society and the parents, who were opposed to their love and tried to separate them, as will be seen later.

THE CONFLICT OF THE COUPLE AGAINST SOCIETY

The love relationship was established in the stories of men and women from both areas, as an event of conflict, of rupture. The conflict between parents and children emerged as an expression of the conflict with political, social, moral and religious powers. The paradigmatic

⁴⁰⁷ This conflict crosses the love story from one part to another, as was addressed at the beginning of this section.

figures these accounts are Romeo and Juliet, to which one of those interviewed from "La del Valle" alluded directly:

"With my first wife... it was the situation of the Montagues and Capulets, it makes one feel like the hero from a novel, doesn't it?...I was a young lad ...she was totally a woman...the stones started flying..."so you're looking for a grandmother or what's the matter with you"...and "don't go out again with that runny-nosed brat"...well that only makes love stronger, doesn't it, well what love!..it was a passing fancy..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

In the stories recounted by all those interviewed, the conflict was established against an enemy external to the couple. The couple in love had to face social and family opposition, as in the words of the bolero:

"Aunque todo me niegue el derecho me aferro a este amor..."⁴⁰⁸

(Even though everything denies me the right I will cling to this love...)

As can be inferred from the discourses of those interviewed, there existed a series of social norms and prescriptions governing the selection of a partner, which constituted obstacles, trials those in love have to overcome in order to achieve the realisation of their love, as a space of freedom or at least of transgression. These obstacles had to do with gender, age, economic differences, and different religions or nationalities.

"Then he said to me: "I spoke to your brother, I spoke to your mother, and they won't accept me because I am divorced... so I offer you my name in a Registry Office wedding...you know

⁴⁰⁸ PONTIER, Francini, Pecado. Op. cit. (c) p. 866

he says "if you really love me he says, tomorrow morning I will collect you from work he says...from there we'll go to Puebla he says...there we'll get married and when we return then what can they say he says...but if you don't come out, don't even bother to speak to me again..." (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

"When they took her away from me it was 12th December...This Evangelina was the daughter of the Municipal President...she had money...I was only a rascal in short trousers...her mother said...Get out!...I said to Evangelina... come here, let's go...No, she said...my father will have you investigated and killed..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"His family were against him...I don't know if it was because they were Spanish and were of the idea that it had to be a Spanish girl...we used to meet secretly" (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

As to age, according to those interviewed, the parents thought the man ought to be older than the woman, but it was also frowned upon if the man were very much older than the woman.

"Next to him I was a child...the whole family was very angry...but he didn't bother about that, and we carried on...my mother didn't want to give her blessing...she was furious because my husband was much older than me..." (ISABEL, 40, "EL OLIVAR").

However, the conflicts between parents and children took on different characteristics in the different social groups. The majority of men and women from "El Olivar" said that they met, and after a brief courtship, began to live together without marrying, either because they ran away together, or they simply got together with or without their parents' consent, and in some cases formalised their relationship through marriage only many years later:

"We had only known one another two months and then, as my aunt would not leave me alone for one second, I said if he says "let's go", well "let's go". But they didn't want to marry us, because we were young, they said no, so well we didn't get married" (LETICIA, 57, "EL OLIVAR").

The men and women from this group who said they had married with the consent of their parents, and had followed the marriage ritual, were the exception. In contrast all the men and women from "La del Valle" related having initiated life with their partner, with the consent of their parents and starting with a wedding celebration.

In the ritual order of "partner selection", in the conversations of those from "El Olivar", conflict led to a rupture with the family, in a marked way. Whereas those from "La del Valle" said that the initial conflict was resolved by means of negotiation, the re-establishment of equilibrium and family unity.

From the conversations of the men interviewed, the beginning of their sexual life was considered the moment of rupture from dependency on the family. However for the women from "El Olivar", after a fleeting moment of freedom, it generally appeared implicitly in their conversations that they moved on to another form of dependency, this time on the husband or his family:

"Before what the parents-in-laws said went....once married they didn't allow me to dress the way I usually did..." (Alicia, 41, "EL OLIVAR").

As has been noted up to now, the formation of a couple was related as a conflictive event, by men and women from both areas. The central theme underlying all the conversations in all the groups, as an axis that articulates the theme of loving and the source of conflict, was

sexuality, and particularly the defence of virginity in women as the only guarantee of family honour.

All the interviewees, discussed how men jealously protected family honour, guarding his daughters or his sisters:

"My father was a very jealous person, especially with his daughters, then all he had to do was see us with someone in passing..." (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"First we went to a party and did not manage to return...and they said to me....No well now you get married" (JESUS, 53, "EL OLIVAR").

"He used to take me dancing...until one day my brother found out and he gave us such a thrashing!" (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

The established social norm was that women had to be virgins when they married, according to the conversations of the men and women from both areas.

"The old custom that "you have to leave from here from the house in white and pure" (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

It is worth pointing out here the change in behaviour patterns among the younger generations, towards a more liberal posture on the subject of sex, as opposed to the condition that those interviewed alluded to permanently in their conversations:

"Nowadays the truth I think, the majority marry...because they have to get married...before one made oneself respected...not like now" (BELEN, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

For women sexual relations before marriage were frowned upon. If women had sexual relations before marriage "she was pointed

out, she was ostracised..." (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

That is why the women said:

"We were always afraid of having made love with a boyfriend if we were not married, and I can tell you that no-one was that liberal" (LIDIA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

In contrast, extra-marital relations were tolerated in men, as long as they were not with the girlfriend:

"In our time there were places where we could learn about sex..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

According to these conversations, on losing her virginity a woman lost something of value. A man on the other hand lost nothing. The discussion of sexuality, as those interviewed recognised, was marked by taboo and censure. The subjects addressed this aspect explicitly from the point of view of prohibition and social sanction.

"It was really shameful to have sexual relations without being married...it was something to hide and of great shame..." (ROBERTO, 58, "DEL VALLE").

"One hardly spoke about it...even among friends..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

The "La del Valle" men recognised and valued negatively the fact that more taboos and sexual repression existed before, even though today's attitude of rejection in the face of the old moral norms seems to them excessive.

"Before there were a lot of taboos.." (ARMANDO, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"I feel that we were much more morbid than the youngsters of today..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"I believe there was also a lot of repression, really..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

Love relationships appeared in the conversations of those interviewed as power-resistance relationships. According to the women from both areas said, parents tried to impose certain behaviour norms considered socially legitimate, by means of supervision and prohibition.

"We met everyday, we went to the cinema or to have a cup of coffee, of course they didn't let me go out alone, and there was the cousin as a chaperone" (ESTELA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"We went dancing...he invited me to the cinema, but we went out together with my brothers or with my mother... they wouldn't allow us out alone..." (GUADALUPE, 57, "EL OLIVAR").

"My father...did not allow us to go to parties, or if we went we had to be back by ten "who are you going with, who is going to bring you back?" (LIDIA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Parents are strange in that way "you are not going out from here...you are not going to the party..." (CATALINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

In the majority of the stories, the struggle for power materialised in discussions articulated around the axis of obedience, according to the oppositions authorise/deny permission, to ask permission/not to ask permission, obey/disobey. One resistance strategy mentioned by the women from both areas was the secret, as the bolero says:

"No debes decir que me quieres"⁴⁰⁹(You shouldn't say that you love me):

Daughters tried sometimes to avoid the watchful eye of their parents, resist them and follow the impulse of their desires.

"It wasn't very common to have a boyfriend at 14, so well we saw each other secretly...and holding hands and "let me go so that they don't see us" (ELSA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"We were terrified of introducing any boy to him...so, you know, don't you, you have a lot of work and begin to leave late..." (LIDIA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"They are going to tell us off, but we went to the party anyway..." (CATALINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

"The window was in my sister's room, and then I jumped out of there...where did you go? to my Aunt Tula's...and what did you do? I was chatting...but I had already been to the dance...I had already danced several pieces..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

Paradoxically the men and women interviewed, from both areas, adopted contradictory postures. In the stories they told, they took the role of child. They adopted an attitude of resistance to the power exercised by their parents. In contrast, by means of a general, moral discussion about what should be, they took the opposite stance, which is to say, the place of authority of the father.

In this type of moral discussion, the men and women, from both areas, spoke of respect due to the adult as a representative of the law. Their

⁴⁰⁹ LECUONA, Margarita, *Por eso no debes*. Op. cit. (c) p.893

watchful gaze was considered a guarantee of the maintenance of the established order, and of compliance with the moral norm.

"When we were dancing and there was an adult present, we had to behave well, out of respect for the adult...now nothing stops them..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"There was more decorum in front of the parents, towards older people... not like now, in the bus, in the microbus, the girls go necking and everything... before one had to have more modesty for the older person even if it wasn't a family member, you had to respect him or her because that was how we were brought up..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

Those interviewed mentioned also that before, in 'their day', there was more discipline than now. In a double movement, present conduct is evaluated in relation to tradition, with the past and vice versa, from the vantage point of the present, past experience is reorganised in order to give meaning to existence.

Their discussions mobilised an implicit moral code, which included a rigorous prescription of behaviours. The code included a description and a segmentation of behaviour sequences in discrete units, particularly the prohibition of conduct that implied physical contact and an "erotic", "sexual" orientation. All these instructions derive from medical and moral knowledge.

"The woman herself had much more respect too...one didn't go about like a limpet, holding hands all the time, nor dancing cheek-to-cheek all the time...I feel that getting close was much more gradual..." (ANTONIO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"What was for us then a lack of respect...is now the most normal caress of the young folk, putting your arm around a girl's waist and

her with her back to you, for example that, careful, you can't do that, now you see it in the cinema queue, wherever...in your house..."(PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

"Now right in the middle of the avenue they let themselves go, right up tight and go on for hours, I think kissing and cuddling...now there is no respect... before it was quick, a quick kiss, a quick hug and that was it..." (DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

-"Really we were brought up differently...nothing more than holding hands...no kisses on the mouth..." (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

-"On the cheek..." (ALICIA, 41, "EL OLIVAR").

-"No, (couples cant kiss each other) because they used to say that that kiss should be the first one (even if the couple had kissed before)..."(DELIA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

-"When you were going to get married..." (ERNESTINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR").

-"And afterwards once you were married" (ALICIA, 41, "EL OLIVAR").

In the discourses produced in the interviews, a contradiction was noted between the voices rooted in the concrete experience of those interviewed, and the voices of morals and what should be. Although in their conversations they defended the moral norm, when it came to relating their own experiences many of those interviewed spoke of the violence the social imposition of these norms represented for them, and of having transgressed them.

Taking the commentary as a value judgement, as opposed to a story, those interviewed when it was their turn to speak moved to a position

"out of time", in which they incorporated present, past and future, into the eternal, the enduring, the absolute, the law. In this type of discussion, those interviewed adopted a universal voice with statements preceded by phrases such as "they used to". These voices based their legitimacy in tradition, by means of which the individual became a spokesperson for the dominant knowledge of science, religion or morals.

THE DENOUEMENT

Those interviewed adopted the dramatic structure in which to narrate their life stories. This structure was characterised by the resolution of conflict in the dénouement.

MARRIAGE AND COMMON-LAW MARRIAGE

One of the figures of happy love in the love rhetoric of the bolero and of countless films, was marriage, as the bolero says:

*"Por llevarte a los altares, cantare con alegría,
que sin ti no tengo a nadie, novia mía...novia
mía..."*⁴¹⁰

*(To lead you to the altars I will sing with
happiness that without you I have no-one,
girlfriend of mine...girlfriend of mine...)*

The majority of life stories narrated by those interviewed culminated in the classic 'happy' ending: the union of the couple in marriage or common-law marriage. Both men and women- said that they had achieved their aim, teaming up with the most suitable person, in spite of the vicissitudes and deviations there had been along the way. Either explicitly or implicitly, even in those cases in which the love story they

⁴¹⁰ GUERRERO & CASTELLANOS. *Novia mía*. Op. cit. (c) p. 186

related as the love of their life, was not the relationship that led to marriage, they achieved their objective by forming a couple, even with another.

In the stories from the "La del Valle" women principally, and in a few other cases among the men and women of "El Olivar", marriage as the denouement of the love story, was produced with the consent of the parents. This was formalised in the ritual of "asking for the lady's hand", which consisted of the man talking to the woman's parents to ask for her in marriage.

"Suddenly he pulled me, he gives me his hand and says 'I want to ask you when my parents can go and ask for your hand' and that very weekend they went to ask for my hand ...it was a really quick wedding" (CELIA, 45, "DEL VALLE").

"He had already asked me if I wanted to be his girlfriend and well yes...then after that he spoke to my mother and um after that we got married..." (ALICIA, 41, "DEL VALLE").

"Then he said 'I'm going to speak with your parents'...he spoke to my parents...then we were engaged for two years ...then he said that we were going to get married and we got married" (EVA, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"And two months after meeting her I said 'well do you know what...' 'me too...' we went to her mother and she said 'well go ahead' then we went to San Angel and super..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

However among the "El Olivar" groups they recounted that, in spite of parental or societal opposition, the couple went off to live together without the mediation of marriage, and remained socially in a position of transgression until the relationship became institutionalised with the arrival of children.

"I met him ...on 14th February 1942 ...and on 3rd May of that same year, we started living together..." (ROSARIO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

"Then he said to me afterwards "shall I ask for you or not" "it's just that my mother is like that", and it's just that my mother treated me very badly... then he said "are you going or staying"

"no better that I go" and we went..." (ISABEL, 40, "EL OLIVAR").

"I have already been with him for about thirty-five or forty years...no we haven't married but we are happy...he gave me my children, I gave him children, my grandchildren and that's the end of the story..." (LETICIA, 57, "EL OLIVAR").

It is pertinent to explain here that the religious marriage ritual adopted by the "La del Valle" groups and the traditional "El Olivar" ritual of "running off with the girl", although they include totally different elements, and refer to a different relationship with the Law, both are strongly rooted in ritual and cultural orders, and both are highly codified rites of passage into adulthood.

THE SEPARATION

The causes of separation related by those interviewed from all the groups, are numerous as in the bolero (see Chapter IV). Examples include, incompatibility of character, lack of maturity, social obstacles that are stronger than love, because love has died; because of destiny, circumstances, betrayal by the other, because of a third party coming between the two, indecision, shyness. In contrast to the previous discussions, the discussions quoted here adopt a more referential than emotive tone.

"She had a really awkward personality" (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE"); "she left me for another man" (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR"); "my cousin came between us" (GUADALUPE, 57, "EL OLIVAR"); "we stopped seeing each other" (CATALINA, 42, "EL OLIVAR"); "he was divorced and my family didn't like him because of that" (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR"); "because of his family" (YOLANDA, 56, "DEL VALLE").

In the stories told by men and women from both areas, the separation was addressed in different ways. The different groups adopted different postures, more or less distant, in the face of the fact of separation. The two groups of women and the "El Olivar" men talked of their feelings in an emotive, expressive way, when they referred to the separation as part of the history of their life.

For the "El Olivar" men, the sorrows of love were translated into severe melancholic states, expressed in weeping and drowned in alcohol. The forms of these types of expressions were closer to the ranch-style song than to the bolero, even though in terms of content, in the bolero, death, weeping, pain and alcohol frequently appeared as figures of the person in love; expressive elements of the emotional state of the subject who has lost the object of his love.

"I was really involved with that girl...to howl...and I got really drunk...I cried a lot...I was 17..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"Two years ago I met a really good woman, except that she was married, I met her at a fifteenth birthday party and without wanting to I started to cry for that old lady..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"No! and it hurts.. she left me and there was the song that one "the last night I dreamt about you"...I only have to hear it, and oh my

a fit of crying that I still remember"
(FRANCISCO, 56, "EL OLIVAR").

"Ah! of course the Casanova Monkey, how he died! how he dedicated himself to the bottle!...I read about the Boxer...the Casanova Monkey...He met a starlet, a great old girl, she scorned him when he had nothing and took to the drink...that's what happens and let's say I can no longer laugh about a person like that...because the same has happened to me, it happened at that time..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

For their part, the women from both areas also talked of love and separation from the emotional point of view, of the moods those produced, such as for example melancholic states or unrestrainable emotions that made them ill. Separation was mentioned as a cause of illness, under the archetypal figures of dependency *"I can't live without you"* and memory *"I can't forget you"*.

"He finished his course and had to leave. He was from Chicago. For me it was awful, frightful...when he left I had a temperature for about five days, I felt horrible, it lasted about a year and a half, I didn't feel like going to parties with another guy....I didn't want to do anything except think about him." (MARIA, 42, "DEL VALLE").

The tragic figure of love also emerged, the sort that produces such an affective impact that it makes the girl ill, and as a consequence she missed the date, and this led to separation:

"The feelings I had the day after I had been with the love of my life...that gave me an attack which put me in bed...he had said to me if I come tomorrow and you don't come out, you are not going with me...that's where we left it...when I was myself again...I was laid up in bed ...about ten days later when I

got better...I saw him again...to explain....I tried to talk to him but no..." (SOCORRO, 58, "EL OLIVAR").

The "La del Valle" men, however, talked of separation from a moral point of view, from the "should be". They adopted a distant attitude. They talked of separation as an object outside the subject (referential function), with regard to which they pass an "objective" judgement. In this group they rationalised instead of talking about their feelings:

"In my case it was total and absolute incompatibility of characters...we couldn't understand each other...I feel that divorces are of all sorts, due to different, totally inexplicable causes...just the same as marriage..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"Me, my divorce was lack of maturity, there was no infidelity or running around that you could say because of drinking or something like that...most of us married very young..." (JUAN, 44, "DEL VALLE").

"Even infidelity is the result of a lack of maturity, even incompatibility..." (ALEJANDRO, 43, "DEL VALLE").

Through this type of discourse the "La del Valle" men rationalised their experience and focused on the causes for the separation, more than the effects that the separation had produced on them. This type of formulation was totally different from the emotive discussions of the women from both areas, and of the "El Olivar" men, which were described above. Even though the social mandate, the moral norm, more or less assumed by all those interviewed was that love "should" be for life, the discourses that referred to the exceptional experience demonstrated the fragility of love.

By means of commentary, the men interviewed from both areas made themselves spokesmen for the social and religious norm, that establishes that marriage is for life, "until death us do part". The strongest argument, used in the discussions on morals, was the children. Because of them the couple should remain united at all costs, even if it is only formally:

"The children are not to blame, you are the one who married, you caused the mess...you have to put up with it and see what happens...look for a solution...go and see a psychologist... or they (the husband's parents) used to suggest taking a lover ...if she (the wife) is not everything you want, then look for someone else to fill those gaps, those spaces..." (FELIPE, 45, "DEL VALLE").

The same subjects expressed their views on divorce in other discussions. Their discourses were filled with value judgements about the "should be" which referred to moral discourse. In the conversations with those from both areas, the voices that came out of their personal experience, were in stark contrast to the moral and religious voices that were expressed in the commentaries.

As has already been noted, the "moral" discourses on divorce by the men from both areas, utilised a nostalgic comparison appeared between the values of the past and the new values of the present, according to the time markers "before" and "now". Before "it was wrong", "one was marked" and now "it's normal". In this type of formulation the old morals emerge, based on responsibility, effort, sacrifice and what should be, and stand in marked contrast to modern morals which, according to those interviewed, are ruled by convenience, the easy way out and immaturity.

"Couples don't last nowadays, two or three years..." (ARTURO, 43, "EL OLIVAR").

"Well six months later they are already divorced..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"Even in a marriage if they last one year it's a lot and they are already fighting...Before when you married it was until death us do part..." (FERNANDO, 55, "EL OLIVAR").

"If you think about it, they marry very young, the first girlfriend, the first boyfriend, now at 16, 17 even at 15 they are already married, then what, they haven't lived, they don't know what life is..." (DAVID, 45, "EL OLIVAR").

"Before for someone to divorce was terrible..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"The man and the woman were both marked..." (TOMAS, 42, "DEL VALLE").

"Now it's almost normal, lamentably in my opinion..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Yes, now when they marry they say if it doesn't work out, I'll get a divorce, they start off in that frame of mind..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

Thus divorce in the male discourse from both social classes appeared as something negative, as is indicated by the expressions *"lamentably"*, *"easy way out"*, *"they start off in that frame of mind"*, but sometimes as a necessary evil because *"there were times when it was simply impossible..."*

"They are the two extremes, before you had to put up with a life of hell, mate...because getting a divorce took you to hell in society and on the religious level, and now it's seen as the easy way out..." (JAVIER, 56, "DEL VALLE").

"Yes but you have to be enough of a human being, in the case of being a man, to be man enough, in the case of being a woman, to be

woman enough, to have some sort of communication, and those existing problems can be overcome....of course there were times when it was simply impossible..." (PEDRO, 55, "DEL VALLE").

The general discourse was set against a discussion that apparently referred to empirical data. The general discourse, rather than being a discourse which referred to an empirical deed statistically proved and provable, is a device that seeks the production of an effect of truth, a production mechanism for verisimilitude. The contradictions between the moral discussion on what should be, and the discussion about experiences, showed the complex process of submitting and resistance to the current standards, in the constitution of female and male as subjects in love.

CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE LOVE STORIES

This chapter is a comparative, detailed analysis of the forms in which the subjects belonging to the two social classes, constructed the loving places assigned to women and men. The following table, 10.1 synthesises the different relationships that the different social classes maintained with regard to the norms of behaviour pre-established for men and women. The table also describes the different figures that characterise the love stories, and the male and female figures of those in love, that pre-dominated in each class.

TABLE 10.1 CLASS DIFFERENCES IN LOVE STORIES

	"DEL VALLE"	"EL OLIVAR"
CLASS COMPOSITION	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS
PREDOMINANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NORMS	SLIGHTLY CRITICAL	TOTAL CONFORMITY
PREDOMINANT FIGURE IN THE RITE OF PASSAGE	MARRIAGE	ABDUCTION
PREDOMINANT MALE FIGURE	THE ABANDONER	THE ABANDONED
PREDOMINANT FEMALE FIGURE	THE ABANDONED	THE ABANDONER

In their discourse, the subjects from "La del Valle", the women mainly and the men to a lesser degree, demonstrated a slightly critical attitude towards the different norms of gendered behaviour. In contrast, in the interviews with the groups of men and women from "El Olivar", there was an attitude of total acceptance of the established norms of behaviour, and severe criticism of those subjects, principally women, who did not adjust their behaviour to fit them.

The type of rite of passage pursued however also strongly identified the members of a class, and distinguished them from the other social classes. For the groups from "La del Valle", the passage into adult life, according to the stories told, happened through the ritual of a religious marriage. However, for the groups from "El Olivar", the rite of passage, according to what those interviewed said, was stamped with the figure of "abduction".

The rite of marriage, according to the stories told by those interviewed, included the ceremonies of "asking for the lady's hand in marriage" and the religious celebration. This rite combined and harmonised, by means of common accord between the sides, the aspects of the union of a couple by love, and the arrangement between both families. For the middle class, to marry according to religious

ritual was one way of demonstrating their economic capacity and the social links associated by this, as well as operating as a feature of class distinction. In contrast, the figure of "abduction" prevailed in the working class, and this referred to the forms of initiation into the life of a couple in the traditional, popular, peasant communities in Mexico. In this rite, the couples start in life was a cause of conflict between parents and children, and led to a temporary rupture with the girl's family.

However, it is important to point out here, that in the different social classes, there were contradictions as regards the acceptance or rejection of the values and dominant loving practices. Whilst the groups from the middle class, on occasion, demonstrated critical judgements with regard to the female and male places pre-established by the dominant standards, the popular groups demonstrated a resistance towards religious and civil marriage as a legitimate practice for the establishment of couple relationships.

Finally, as regards the figures of the one in love, whilst the figures of the man abandoner and the woman abandoned, prevailed in the groups from "La del Valle"; in the groups from "El Olivar" the predominant figures were of the man in love abandoned by abandoning women, who were also inaccessible, bad and treacherous. Yet this type of woman was the type they most admired.

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF FEMALE-MALE PLACES IN THE LOVE STORIES

It is worth to note, with regard to the definition of female and male roles, that it was possible to observe that, with some differences in nuance or emphasis, there was marked agreement between the men

and women of both the social classes. The table 10.2 synthesises the way in which female and male positions were constructed.

TABLE 10.2 DIFFERENTIATION OF THE FEMALE-MALE PLACES IN THE LOVE STORIES

	MALENESS	FEMALENESS
THE PLACE OF THE SPEAKER	ACTIVE VOICE	PASSIVE VOICE
FUNCTIONS ALLOTTED IN THE UTTERANCE	SUBJECT	OBJECT
SOCIAL DIVISION OF SPACES	PUBLIC WORK	PRIVATE HOME
ACTIONS IN THE LOVE RELATIONSHIPS	CONQUEST	RESISTANCE
ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE LOVE OBJECT	MANY LOVE OBJECTS	"SOLE" LOVE OBJECT
THE ADJECTIVES USED	PRAGMATIC, SEXUALLY COMPULSIVE, RATIONAL	ROMANTIC/IDEALISTS, INGENUOUS, EMOTIONAL /VAIN

As can be seen from the table, the female and male places indicated by the men and women in the interviews, are the expression of two logic of loving, which are at the same time antagonistic and complementary. Men occupied the subject position and the active voice; women adopted the object position and the passive voice.

As regards social division in the spaces, according to the different sexes, it was clearly distinguished that public spaces were destined to be occupied by men, and private spaces were destined to be occupied by women. According to Giddens (1995), this distinction between home spaces and work-places was produced with the development of modern societies, and accompanied by a sexual division of activities and models of the sexes as having different functions.

Similarly, the love stories told by the different subjects were constructed around the paradoxical tension between the male ethic of

conquest, based on the *Don Juan* myth, and the female ethic of nurture anchored in the articulation of the myths of motherhood and romantic love in marriage.

The *Don Juan* myth and the male ethic of conquest, are organised around seduction which has as its aim the conquest of the "forbidden" woman, whether maiden or another's woman. What stimulates the desire is prohibition and challenge. The *Don Juan* defies the male order of control and sexual protection of women, and the sexual standard socially established around the virginity of women. The *Don Juan's* objective is to strip a woman of her integrity, her virtue, and, once the objective is achieved, to leave her, in search of a new challenge.

In contrast to the male *Don Juan* myth orientated towards multiple love objects, the female myth of romantic love is orientated towards only one sole love object. It is organised around the idea of giving oneself to the 'one and only love' in marriage, and implies the permanent resistance of women to male sexual attacks. In order to achieve the social objectives of control over female sexuality, romantic love is associated with motherhood and marriage. Thanks to the myth of motherhood, female sexuality has been confined to marriage, which has been constructed as the badge of a respectable woman.

According to the results of the interviews, in the opposing positions taken up by female and male logic of loving, marriage was converted into the primary objective of women, whereas for men it constituted a prison. Also manifest was the tolerance of both groups towards male infidelity, and the impossibility for men of submitting to the exclusivity that marriage imposes. This was taken as fact by those interviewed. In this sense Giddens affirms that "it has always been accepted that men would have multiple sexual relationships before

marriage, and a double moral after marriage; this has been a real phenomenon" (Giddens 1995:17).

As was expressed by the different groups interviewed, in the terms fixed both by the ethic of male conquest and by the female ethic of motherhood, women were classified as good or bad, virtuous or dissolute, virgins or whores. As Giddens points out, "Virtue has always been defined as a rejection by woman of sexual temptation, a rejection reinforced by diverse institutional protections, such as supervised courting, forced marriages, etc." (Giddens 1995:17), aspects which were also mentioned by the different groups in the interviews.

The results that emerged from the group interviews agreed with the results found by Rubin (1990) in research carried out in the United States, and quoted by Giddens, who states that "the most sexually active girls were disparaged by other girls, and by very male boys who tried to take advantage of them. In exactly the same way that the social reputation of girls rested on their ability to resist or contain sexual harassment, the reputation of boys depended on the sexual conquests they were able to achieve" (Giddens 1995:19).

By means of sexual success, men seek the recognition of other men. According to Giddens, in the male ethic of conquest "There does not exist the male equivalent of the easy woman, the sexually successful man is frequently appreciated especially by other men" (Giddens 1995:79). However, it is important to mention that, in addition to the dominant moral sanction of the different groups towards "dissolute" women, collaterally there were also manifest, different expressions of fear and/or admiration towards women who separated themselves from conventional morality.

Finally, in the table above, the distinct attributes assigned to the different groups are also summarised. Maleness was made up of sexual compulsion, rationality and pragmatism; whereas femaleness was made up of the opposite qualities: faced with the sexual compulsion of men, women were qualified as romantic and ingenuous, in contrast to male practical sense women were considered idealists, and in contrast to a man's rationality women were considered emotional and vain.

Although it could be considered that there is a contradiction between "rationality" and "sexual compulsion" in the definition of male characters, these two characteristics have a clear explanation within the dominant male logic. Within that logic, being rational means confronting "objective" reality just the way it is. By "nature" men have an "animal" part, which would be their unrestrainable sexual impulse, which is totally separate from their "rational" "cerebral" part. This last makes them more suited to intellectual work. According to this same ideological perspective, women, "by nature", are neither objective nor realistic. Women are sentimental and idealistic. As a result, women always mix all the levels.

CONCLUSIONS

THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOVE CULTURE AS PROMOTED IN PUBLIC SPACES, AND STORIES OF THE SUBJECTS' LOVE LIFE

This thesis has examined the bolero as a part of a culture of loving which is promoted in public spaces, and explored the role it plays in the sentimental education of men and women.

The first section set out the results of an analysis of the contents of songs, films, radio and television programmes, together with observations carried out in theatres, bars and dance-halls. These results revealed the transformations undergone by the bolero, as it materialised in different languages and ritual forms, both in the communication media and in face to face communication. By combining the various elements discovered, a general map was drawn up showing the different trajectories that the bolero takes during its circulation through different social spaces. This revealed the rhetoric codes of loving that are disseminated in public spaces, as a part of collective memory.

The second part of this thesis has described the way in which the subjects, belonging to different social groups in Mexico City, integrated the love culture proposed by the bolero, into their daily life. As a contribution to the development of studies in communication, throughout this research, the aim has been to break with the traditional model of studies on 'effects', that conceive of the connection between media texts and subjects as a causal relationship that is lineal and has only one voice, as well as with the literary perspectives that anticipate the effects of the meaning on audiences by means of an analysis of texts. In contrast this research has attempted to follow the multiple trajectories of the bolero, both in public spaces and within the private sphere.

Consequently, the relationships that subjects have with the bolero has been analysed as a polysemic, complex cultural phenomenon that involves distinct practices and rituals. In particular, this thesis has aimed to discover the dialectic interaction between individual memories and collective memory.

From the data yielded by the research, it seems clear that collective memory and individual memories are intimately related, and that they feed on each other. The bolero discourses as a part of collective memory, combine and condense elements gathered from individual memories. The bolero is, at the same time, an expression of the multiplicity of a generation's loving practices, and an instrument of transmission to the next generation of the traditions of loving.

This thesis has studied the devices of habitual memory and semantic memory that subjects use to incorporate into their life, in a contradictory and complex manner, the loving codes of the bolero. This has meant discovering the differences in the forms of consumption, use, appropriation and interpretation, made by subjects of different genders and social classes.

This concluding chapter will attempt to pull together the threads yielded by the analysis of bolero culture as spread in public spaces, with the individual memories of subjects from different social groups, relating to their bolero consumption practices and their own love life. Particular attention will be paid to establishing a comparison between the analysis of the frameworks and loving figures used in the songs, and the data gathered from the analysis of stories of the subjects' love life. Similarly, a comparison will be made between the analysis of the different forms in which the bolero is promoted in public spaces, and data on the practices and rituals by means of which the subjects use

and appropriate it. This data was gathered from the questionnaires and group interviews.

FORMS OF APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO AS AN OBJECT OF CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

Throughout this research, it was evident that the bolero, as a product of the cultural industries, has had a constant, inescapable presence in public spaces, and an important place in different moments of the life-cycle of the subjects. It was also evident that, the bolero has taken root in both the personal and collective memory of Mexicans, within the specific field of loving.

According to the general panorama described in chapters three, four and five, the bolero re-emerged at the end of the 'eighties, and is now listened to with renewed enthusiasm. This is not only because contemporary singers and composers have brought the bolero up-to-date, but also because the bolero is back with unusual dynamism in dance-halls, theatres, bars, restaurants and *cantinas*, as well as in advertising.

Thanks to the radio and the record industry, the bolero has become part of the sound environment in the everyday life of Mexican people. Even though this musical genre has ceased to be the most produced by the record companies or most consumed in Mexico, it still retains an important place in record releases. As part of the field work for this research, the presence of the bolero in record shops was established. It was observed that, nowadays, traditional boleros are being re-released on collector's albums, and that there is a proliferation of new versions of old boleros, sung by today's stars, versions with new musical arrangements.

The bolero has also retained a significant space on the radio. It was observed that, on one single radio-station, *El fonógrafo* (The Gramophone), more than 80% of the programming was dedicated to the broadcasting of boleros, and that this captured 5.23% of the AM radio band audience in Mexico City. This percentage represents more than 33,000 people older than 13, of the 627,000 people to be found listening to that waveband in an average hour⁴¹¹. It was also established that other broadcasting stations reserve a privileged space for the bolero on programmes with different formats.

According to the questionnaire and interview results, the men and women interviewed from the "Del Valle" and "El Olivar" colonies, recognised the bolero as an unavoidable, sound presence that enveloped them through out their life. They considered the bolero part of their work and home itinerary, part of public transport, of the cultural industries, and as a tool to be used in seduction.

All the interviewees affirmed having had contact with the bolero on the radio, through the record industry, or at get-togethers with friends. There was also occasional exposure to the bolero on the television, in face to face communication situations, in theatres, bars or dance-halls. It was established that each one of the different spaces in which the bolero was circulated, it was subject to different norms and conventions, and was the object of multiple uses, as will be seen below.

Also from the interviews, it can be established that, by means of different practices and rituals, the bolero has taken root at the pre-conscious level of habitual memory. The different groups listened to, memorised, sang and danced to the bolero, in different forms, spaces and situations.

⁴¹¹Nielsen Radio Index, November 1994.

LISTENING TO BOLEROS

In the interviews, the men and women from "Del Valle" said that they listened to the bolero mainly in the private space of their home, in the car on the way to work or, on records they themselves had selected and bought. The questionnaires revealed that they owned compact-disc players and their own cars. This social group mentioned listening to the bolero when alone, as background music during their daily work activities, and when spending time with friends. The men, but not the women, also mentioned listening to the bolero in intimate company with their partner, to create a romantic atmosphere.

According to the questionnaire results, the majority of the workers from "El Olivar" did not have their own recorded music reproduction system. They said at interview, that their main contact with the bolero was in the private space of their home on the radio. The women from this group stated that they occasionally listened to boleros on stations such as *El Fonógrafo* and 103 FM. They preferred listening to the bolero in the evenings when they were already tired, because the music made them melancholic. When working, they preferred boleros with a beat or tropical music. The men said that they listened to boleros at get-togethers with friends, when they shared the same taste.

SINGING BOLEROS

The interview results revealed that, among the men and women from "Del Valle", one of the main forms of appropriation of the bolero was through singing at private get-togethers with friends. It is worth mentioning neither the men or the women from "El Olivar" mentioned this form of appropriation of the bolero.

Those interviewed from "Del Valle" agreed that, when they started singing in groups, the songs simply flowed and thus brought back their

musical knowledge. It was obvious that although their conscious knowledge of the words was sketchy and bitty, it had remained latent in their memory, and was evoked in these particular circumstances. They also mentioned that they had stored the songs by means of memory and pre-conscious repetition, and that they were able to bring them to mind in different situations.

During interview, what became clear was the fundamental character of the songs as being orally transmitted and anonymous, the author being unknown. Those interviewed stated that even where they knew the words of the songs, they only occasionally remembered the title, that they sometimes remembered the singer but not the author. It could be said that, in this sense, the bolero was like a whisper for the subjects, that it was like a murmur of voices that imperceptibly passed through all of them equally.

THE BOLERO AND THE RITUALS OF COURTSHIP AND SEDUCTION

THE SERENADE

The serenade was another significant form of use and appropriation made of the bolero. This was frequently mentioned among the group of men from "Del Valle". "Conducting a serenade" was a ritual act during which the "enamoured" expressed his feelings of love or disdain for the "loved one", by means of the song. Through the serenade ritual, the subjects said that they met together to memorise the songs and rehearse their singing and playing of different musical instruments. The gist of the songs stored by the group as part of semantic memory, offered the one in love a collection of formulae and options for codifying and expressing his/her feelings. The men themselves indicated that, with the serenade, they appropriated the bolero principally as "poetry"

capable of expressing their desires, feelings or amorous intentions, when that "poetry" was used as a tool in courtship.

Similarly, it was also obvious from what the men said that, through the use of the spaces and the division of roles in the serenade, the subject places prescribed by the songs were learned pre-consciously, not only as speech acts but also as socially regulated behaviour patterns. According to what was said, the men went out into the streets and had the active role of singing, whereas the women waited at home and their role was to receive the message expressed by the man in song.

The "El Olivar" group of men only considered the serenade briefly. According to them, it was a ritual that entailed grave risks for them, because of rejection on the part of the girl's family. The women from both social groups also only spoke of the serenade in passing, from the point of view of the receptive place socially prescribed for them as women. For these women the serenade was reduced to listening, and to making signals of acceptance or rejection. Only in that gesture did they have any power.

THE DANCE

The privileged form of appropriation of the bolero for the workers from "El Olivar", was as a dance rhythm in public places such as *El California Dancing Club*. Those interviewed mentioned that the bolero, with its tropical, cadenced, romantic rhythm, allowed them a way of meeting people and a form of bodily and gesture communication with their partner, which went beyond words. Those interviewed considered dance talent an important resource in courting a girl.

As was made clear in what the subjects related, that the dance ritual represented a concerted action, a displacement to a meeting place designed for finding a partner. There, the subject places were prescribed and learned in a pre-conscious way as socially regulated behaviour patterns. According to their own statements, the men asked the girls to dance, and they had the active role of leading them and keeping to the rhythm, whilst the women waited to be asked by the men to dance, and their role on the dance floor was to follow the step set by their companion.

For the "Del Valle" subjects, dancing the bolero was in very poor taste, suited to another generation or to "inferior" social groups. They themselves preferred North American romantic music, and they preferred private parties to public places for dancing.

In summary, the conclusion can be drawn that the interview result confirm different forms of use and appropriation of the bolero, as part of the habitual memory of the different social classes. In interview, the "Del Valle" subjects demonstrated a taste for the bolero associated with "the classical" as opposed to the vulgar. This group showed that their relationship to the bolero was mainly oral and auditory, and in private and intimate spaces. They appreciated the bolero as "poetry" that summons up a rational, aesthetic pleasure, and which allows verbal communication. They also mentioned, having used the bolero as part of their courtship and seduction rituals. In their youth, they had use the bolero to conduct a serenade, and as adults, the bolero had been background music to create a romantic environment in the intimate company of their partner. This group also said that they had used the bolero as music to sing to at parties and get-togethers with friends.

From what the group of "El Olivar" workers said, it was clear that a taste for the bolero was linked to its rhythmic-musical character, which

lent itself to dancing, body movement, and to the dynamic, explosive expression of the emotions. This social group demonstrated a preference for public meeting places, such as dance-halls. The bolero as a type of dance, for this social group, had on the one side a playful, aesthetic character and a value in itself, and on the other was considered a tool in the rituals of courtship and seduction. As these subjects said at interview, the bolero as music to dance to allowed a bodily, non-verbal, close, intimate communication with their partner.

FORMS OF APPROPRIATION OF THE BOLERO AS A RHETORIC CODE OF LOVING

The results of this research show that the proliferation of the bolero within the cultural industries has given the Mexican population an enormous store of expressive formulae, stories, thoughts, themes, ideas and images about love. As summarised below, the rhetoric code of loving proposed by the bolero, is made up of a stereotypic topography of feelings and possible behaviour patterns in love relationships.

From our analysis of the song corpus, the conclusion can be drawn that, despite the possibilities in play and the multiplicity of meanings and contradictions in the texts of the different songs, there are certain forms that recur more often in the representations of love that bolero discourse offers, and which the subjects studied repeated in what they said.

THE LOVE MODEL IN THE BOLERO: THE MONOGAMOUS, HETEROSEXUAL COUPLE

According to the song corpus analysis, the central theme characterising the bolero was the relationship between two people in love. 625 of the 635 boleros analysed had this as their theme. Similarly, in the bolero, the legitimated love model for identification was the relationship

between the monogamous, heterosexual couple. This model appeared without question both in Mexican films of the 'forties and 'fifties and in the different bolero expressions in the other cultural industries.

In direct keeping with the prevailing orientation of the bolero, as shown by the interview results, this type of relationship appeared as the only legitimate model, and was not questioned by any of the groups studied. The "Del Valle" women, and the groups of both men and the women from "El Olivar", did not even mention possible existence of any other alternative. The group of "Del Valle" men, explicitly censured homosexual relationships, which they considered a deviation, something "monstrous".

Nevertheless, as was evident from the song analysis, that the bolero as an enunciation device, in the first person, has no stable gender marker, and thus allows a certain ambiguity. In this sense, the results of the participatory observation in bars, such as *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio* and *El Hábito*, revealed the occasional existence of certain forms of homosexual game with regard to the stereotype of heterosexual love relationships, games which never reached the point of being totally open or explicit. Some singers, like Chavela Vargas, took advantage of the transitive nature of the neuter position of the enunciation in order to direct their singing to an addressee of the same gender.

THE BOLERO AND MYTHS ABOUT LOVE PASSION AND MARRIAGE

According to the song analysis results, the representations about love proposed by the bolero code are built around three axes of fundamentally opposed positions: happiness in love as opposed to unhappy love, eternal love as opposed to fleeting love, and passionate love as opposed to marriage. Passionate love was identified with

fleeting love and unhappy love, whereas marriage was codified as happy and for life.

In the bolero corpus studied, love was represented predominantly -in 80% of the cases- as an unattainable "object of desire", in other words wretched love. The remaining 20% dealt with happiness in love. According to the song analysis results then, the bolero predominantly deals with the vicissitudes of love as a fleeting, unstable moment, always under threat. In summary, the hallmark of the bolero is the impossibility of love.

The "ideal" model of love proposed by 80% of the boleros is "love passion", a forbidden love hindered either by rejection by the loved one or by the shackles imposed by society. The love in those songs is manifest as lacking, absent. For most boleros, love destroys, consumes, kills, produces anguish, tears, pain. In those songs, the person in love is represented as a sad being, melancholic, vulnerable, dependent and weak. In those boleros, the incentive for love is the challenge, the difficulty, the obstacle, the impossibility.

Implicitly, what the bolero suggests is that what is easy, allowed, accessible, is not an object worthy of being loved. In summary, the love proposed by the bolero is the unsatisfied desire of love. At the very moment the person in love achieves his/her objective and satisfies his/her desire, love disappears. According to many boleros, paradoxically, the very realisation of love is its destruction.

By contrast, songs about happiness in love represent a meagre 20% of the bolero corpus analysed. Happiness in love, according to the representations in the bolero, is a legitimate, even-tempered love, planned to last for life, and linked to marriage. These same representations of "loving" migrated to the cinema, but in inverse

proportions. In its path through the moving images of the cinema, the bolero is converted into a tale, a love story, a spectacle suspended in space and time. The bolero underwent some transformations through the languages alluded to, and, thus transfigured, also contributed to the constitution of collective memory in general and to that of the subjects in love in particular.

As noted in chapter five, bolero films contributed to the shaping of the stereotypes of the two counterpoised love myths: the myth of love passion and the myth about matrimonial love. The plot of the majority of films is articulated around the multiple obstacles that face those in love in their efforts to realise their love, all of which culminate in a happy ending.

Chapter five shows how, in the film *Nosotros los pobres* (We the Poor), the theme of the bolero *Amorcito corazón* (Love Heart) is the central argument of the film, and refers to the idealisation of matrimonial love. The plot wanders along in a lineal manner, describing the course of a couple who face obstacles and the very hazards of human and economic misery which come between them, but in the end love triumphs. The dénouement of the film culminates in the union of the couple in marriage and how they become a happy family.

The analysis of the film *Amor que malo eres* (My Love, How Bad You Are) also in chapter five, establishes that that film is representative of the cabaret genre, and that its central theme is passionate love. The plot unravels around the bolero of the same name, and describes the story of a pair of lovers within the framework of a love triangle, in the context of a crime story about drug-traffickers. The tale culminates in a fatal dénouement to highlight the social prohibition on triangular structures of passion as models of love.

The results of an analysis of the films *Nosotros los pobres* and *Amor que malo eres* taken as paradigmatic examples of those idealised models of love, show that the bolero film consecrates the model of "love passion" as desirable but impossible, and matrimonial love as a viable alternative although by no means as exciting.

As to the results coming out of an analysis of their own love stories, as told by the subjects from "Del Valle" and "El Olivar", the observation will be made that the love stereotypes used by the subjects agree with the stereotypes proposed by bolero songs and films.

The subjects' stories were organised from the point of view of social obstacles that came between the two in love, like hurdles they had to overcome to achieve the realisation of their love. It was evident that one of the main obstacles to the realisation of love was the conflict between those in love and society, represented by the parents, as will be seen below.

From the analysis of the stories, it was established that the obstacles interposed by the parents, were linked to a series of norms and prescriptions socially defined as requirements to be fulfilled in the selection of a partner. In the majority of stories, obstacles prevented love from being realised, confirming an idealised image of "love", as "impossible love", in the face of which marriage to another was offered as a convenient alternative.

The men from "El Olivar" considered that "the love of their life" had been that woman with whom they had fallen in love, but whom, for different reasons, they had not married. Love appeared therefore, in these cases, as an idealised memory of that woman, and was thus experienced as a lack, and by its absence. According to what they said,

the men married by contrast the woman who was accessible and convenient.

In the case of the analysed stories told by the women from both groups, a few stated that they had united freely and married "the love of their life". The majority, however, said that they kept in their mind a nostalgic memory of their "first love" as an idealised image of "true love", as opposed to the more realistic affection they felt for their current partner.

For their part, the "Del Valle" men demonstrated a more pragmatic attitude, and stated that, more than for love, they had married the woman they considered most suitable for fulfilling the functions of wife and mother.

The "El Olivar" men, and the women from both social groups on the other hand, demonstrated a more romantic attitude towards the idealised image of love, which materialised in more emotional forms of expression of anguish and pain in the face of separation, as opposed to the more rational attitude of the "Del Valle" men which materialised in moral and legal judgements when faced with the same fact.

Analysis of the stories of the men and women from both social groups, show that all the stories end in union of the couple, even though in the majority of cases the union was only a solution of convenience. According to the type of conception of loving that prevailed, both in the cultural industries and in the subjects' stories, "love", the idealised model of which is in "love passion", was considered a form of love that was desirable but impossible. In the face of this situation, they considered the more viable alternative of marriage as a negotiated, convenient solution.

FEMININE AND MASCULINE IDENTITIES IN SONGS, IN BOLERO FILMS, AND IN THE SUBJECTS' LIFE STORIES

The results of the respective analyses of the songs, films and the stories of the subjects, show that the characterisation of masculinity and femininity in the different types of discourse, allow an identification of the female and male places in a love relationship.

The song analysis results show predominantly that, in the bolero, the man adopts the active position as subject of the desire, and the woman adopts the passive position as the object desired. In the majority of boleros analysed, the man is presented as the subject of the enunciation, and carries out actions such as singing, proposing, describing, judging, eulogising, whereas the silent addressee of these actions is the woman. In the bolero generally, it is the man who exercises the privilege of speaking out.

Similarly, from the song corpus analysis, the conclusion can be drawn that, in the bolero, the one mainly talked about is the woman, and she is qualified and evaluated in different ways. She is eulogised or criticised, and to her is attributed the passive role of listening and, at most, accepting or rejecting the male proposals. The woman is reduced to silence, and is thus obliged to adopt seduction strategies that are indirect, sinuous and imprecise. However, these feminine and masculine positions can be subverted, depending on the different uses the subjects make of them. This can be seen clearly in the interpretations of the bolero as they are made in *El Hábito* and in *La Casa de Paquita la del Barrio*.

The interview analysis shows an appreciable agreement with the positions proposed for the man and the woman, by the songs. At the level of actions in the different stories told by the men and women from

both "Del Valle" and "El Olivar", it was up to the men to adopt the function of subject. As in the bolero, it was up to them to be the one to speak, and to adopt the active position in actions such as revealing their intentions, proposing marriage, asking the girl to dance, inviting the girl out to the cinema, to the theatre or for dinner, escorting the woman home, sending flowers or conducting a serenade for her. For her part, according to the subjects' accounts, the woman had the object function, and as such was the addressee of the actions on the part of the subject: the man. The woman's object function was defined by the passive voice, and was expressed by the object pronoun "me" in expressions such as "he sang to me" or "he took me dancing". As expressed in the stories, the woman was converted into the object who received the effects of the verb, as carried out by the male agent. Exactly as in the songs, finding themselves deprived of the right to speak, the women said that they found themselves obliged to employ different seduction strategies that were non-verbal, in order to communicate their desires and feelings.

In the songs, films and in the stories of their love life as narrated by the interviewees, the feminine and masculine positions, starting with the conception of the love relationship, were defined as a relationship of conquest-resistance.

In the films analysed, particularly in *Nosotros los pobres*, relationships between couples were paradigmatically characterised as the paradoxical tension between opposing forces. As is shown in chapter five, the different female archetypes presented in the film, are defined as a function of a woman's capacity to resist the sexual advances of a man.

The analysis of the love stories the subjects told brought out the same results. Both men and women, from both areas, agreed with the

characterisation of the intrusive behaviour of the man, and the female reply of resistance in the face of male sexual harassment.

Out of this conception of the love relationships are derived the female and male archetypes that recur most frequently, in the bolero culture as it moves through public places, and in the stories the subjects told about their own love life. The stories will be summarised below.

MALE ARCHETYPES: FROM ABANDONER TO ABANDONED

As a result of the song analysis, the conclusion can be drawn that the bolero is a male tool *par excellence* in the conquest of women. As can be seen in chapter two, in the majority of the songs, it is the man who is speaking and about whom practically nothing is said. However, the place of the man in the songs, is implicitly defined starting with the position he adopts with regard to the woman; whether it be redeemer or judge of the prostitute; whether it be as the one abandoned by haughty, inaccessible women or as victim of bad, traitorous women. On the few occasions when the man was explicitly mentioned, he was qualified as the abandoner. This last definition agrees with the figure of *Don Juan*, which was fully developed in the film discourse as well as in the subjects' stories, as can be seen in chapters five and nine respectively.

The film analysis results show that, in the bolero love code, the male archetype proposed as a model is that of *Don Juan*. In the dialogues of the films analysed the leading roles are explicitly qualified as such. However, some variations can be appreciated. *Pepe el Toro*, the central character in the film *Nosotros los pobres*, is characterised as a seducer who is pursued by all the women, and who flirts with all of them. His masculine prestige is rooted in that. For his part, according to the

analysis of *Amor que malo eres*, in the unravelling of the plot, Carlos Durán is transformed from a *Don Juan* used to having his evil way and then leaving, into a Tristán, the victim of a woman who leads him to his death. The *Don Juan* is stopped by the impossible woman, with whom he remains eternally in love.

As can be concluded from the film analysis, the male archetypes spread through public spaces are defined between the poles of abandoner and abandoned. It is worth mentioning that these two figures were also found in the stories told by the groups of men interviewed. However, in each area, a different archetype was used.

The stories of the "Del Valle" men revealed the prevalence of the figure of *Don Juan* as the archetype and male myth of love ruled by the conquest ethic, and orientated towards multiple love objects. Among the "El Olivar" men, even though there was a clear assumption of male sexual liberty and the man's orientation towards conquest, there also emerged the archetypal figure of "Tristán" abandoned by inaccessible women with whom he remains permanently in love. In both cases, love for the woman only lasts as long as the conquest-resistance tension is maintained.

FEMALE ARCHETYPES: FROM SAINT TO PROSTITUTE

The study of the songs clearly revealed on the one hand that it is the woman who is being spoken about in the bolero, and on the other that she is the addressee of the song. Similarly, the conclusion can also be drawn that the woman is qualified in different ways in the bolero. She is described as a beautiful being, an angel or a queen, and she is described as a prostitute. In the songs the figure of the prostitute is codified in the tension between two poles; as the woman victim of male

cheating and sexual abuse, or by contrast as the women who cheats men with her seduction and who finally betrays them.

The analysis of the films revealed the way in which the bolero cinema built female archetypes around the paradoxical tension between the same figures of the idealised woman and her counterpart. The film *Nosotros los pobres* presents as a contrast the figures of the "chaste, pure" woman represented by the girlfriend, wife and mother, as opposed to the prostitute who sells her body, and the woman cheated and abandoned for having given herself sexually to the man before marriage. In contrast, the film *Amor que malo eres* characterises the "public" woman from the cabaret environment; the lover, always beautiful, always young, sterile and always available, who has abandoned the private world of the home. According to the characterisation in this film, hidden behind the beauty are lies and betrayal. This type of woman becomes the cause of man's undoing.

From the analysis of both the songs and films, it can be inferred that female representations within the bolero culture as disseminated in public spaces, are made up of the tension between the figures of the woman who is "chaste and pure", and the "prostitute". As we said in chapter nine, these stereotyped figures also appeared in the stories related by the subjects of the different social groups, but with slight variations.

The stereotype of the idealised woman, characterised as inaccessible because of her resistance to male sexual advances, appeared in the stories told by both the men and women, from both "Del Valle" and "El Olivar". According to the terms used in the different stories, she appeared as a constant reminder that these women were ready to accede to men's desires only in marriage, by means of which they are

transformed into desexualised beings in order to become wives and mothers.

The figure of the prostitute appeared in the stories told by the "Del Valle" men, and by both the men and women of "El Olivar". This type of woman was characterised as having adopted a subject role, sexually active and orientated towards multiple love objects. Thus they were deemed by all three groups as being morally questionable. However, these women were attractive to the men from both areas, although they considered them unsuitable for marriage. By contrast, the "El Olivar" women considered them a threat to the stability of their marriage.

In summary, the conclusion can be drawn that, in the bolero as love song, as in the films, in stories of the subjects' love life, and in courtship and seduction rituals, the pertinent features of masculinity were the subject position, the active function and use of the spoken word, sexual compulsion, rationality and pragmatism. In contrast, the pertinent features of femininity, were the object function, the passive position, resistance to male advances, romanticism, ingenuity, sentimentality and vanity.

According to the love conception of conquest-resistance which prevails as much in the cultural industries as in the subjects' stories, love appears to be impossible. Whereas for women, as part of their hierarchy of values, marriage appeared as the primary objective, men considered it a prison, but necessary nevertheless. The men, according to their social disposition orientated towards the accumulation of multiple love experiences, accepted that, on winning the love of a woman, they would lose interest in and respect for her, and that, because of this, they would immediately go after another objective. According to the results coming out of the different levels of this

research, it remains clear that, in the counter-positions of the male ethic of conquest and the female ethic of motherhood, in the public bolero culture, and in the groups studied, the possibility of a loving encounter simply does not exist.

However, if it is true to say that there was a general acceptance of the social definition of the female and male identities on the part of the subjects interviewed, it is also true to say that these identities presented ambiguities and contradictions. It is worth mentioning that there was a tacit acceptance of the traditional division of the roles prescribed for each gender, and of women's sexual behaviour with regard to virginity. This acceptance of the social norm in the stories the subjects related, adopted the discursive kind of value judgement and universal sentences of the order of "should be", as noted in chapter nine.

However, also observed in the stories was the fact that the men and women from both social classes studied, experienced the imposition of such behaviour patterns negatively, and demonstrated different levels of resistance. Some of the "Del Valle" women stated that they felt violently about having to keep quiet and repress the expression of their sentiments of love towards men. For their part, some men from both "Del Valle" and "El Olivar" demonstrated the violence generated in them at always having to take the initiative and proclaim their love. These expressions of conflict, and the different levels of rejection or questioning of the current social norm, arose as part of the narration of personal experience as a singular discourse, referring to concrete events in the life of the subjects.

The different positions adopted by the subjects in their stories were interchangeable and, on occasion, contradictory. The position with regard to the norm itself was variable. The same subject would show

an acceptance of the current social norm at certain moments, and at others would demonstrate a resistance to it. This depended on the different subject positions adopted at different moments by those interviewed. When they adopted the child position and narrated their own experience, it was an attitude of resistance or rejection. By contrast, in their role as parents, they would defend the established norm, and evaluate negatively the behaviour patterns of the new generations, comparing the present to the past which they considered better, as the effect of a nostalgic mechanism of mythification. Throughout the interviews it was possible to appreciate the contradictory coexistence of a general acceptance of the more frequently recurring codes of love and love relationships, simultaneously with a rejection of their implications in certain concrete situations in the personal stories as narrated by the subjects.

THE BOLERO AND NOSTALGIA: FROM INDIVIDUAL MEMORIES TO COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Both in the analysis of the transformations of the bolero within the cultural industries as well as in the study of the subjects' personal stories, nostalgia was evident as a theme that united the different discourses.

As Davis has pointed out, nostalgia is a form of collective memory, like remembrance and reminiscence. Nostalgia is a thought act that looks back in time, but has yearning as a feature, and this is what distinguishes it from other types of memory. Nostalgia implies a positive valuation of the past, which is contrasted with a negatively evaluated present (Davis 1989:15).

From Davis's point of view, it is important to distinguish collective nostalgia from personal or private nostalgia. The former is made up of

those symbolic resources that have a highly public character, which are widely shared and which, under certain appropriate conditions, are capable of setting off the feeling of nostalgia in thousands of people at the same time. Personal nostalgia, on the other hand, refers to those symbolic images from the past, that allude to people and events from the personal biography of subjects, and tend to be more individual and particular in their references (Davis 1989:123). However, as affirmed by the same author, "it is not possible to establish a clear line of separation between the two..... in many of us, superimposition, interrelation and transmutation of symbolic materials of nostalgia exist, on all levels of generality and subjective specificity" (Davis 1989:124).

THE BOLERO AS A SUPPORT TO NOSTALGIA

"All that you carry in your baggage, in your history, a song will give back to you" (Amparo Montes, Tiempo Libre no.)

The analysis of the cultural industries, established that the radio and television stations that transmitted boleros, structured their discourse around the nostalgia axis. Similarly, according to the data gleaned from the interviews, the bolero became a mnemotechnical object that reminded the subjects of the past, of tradition, of a historical moment to which they attributed the value of antecedence and origin of the present moment. The bolero served as a link between the past and the present; a past mythically considered better in the face of an uncertain, threatening present. This research, confirms that both the cultural industries as well as the subjects themselves, used the bolero as a support for nostalgic memory.

A very clear example of this is the way in which, when the radio stations were broadcasting the songs as sung by the old bolero singers,

they described themselves as being the archive of musical tradition, and a collective memory device. The discursive strategy of the medium invited the listening audience to go back in time nostalgically, and to establish parallels between the personalities, radio styles and city of today, with the Mexico of those times.

In the analysis of the bolero as televised, the observation was made that the musical magazine programmes that broadcast the bolero, narrated the history of the bolero as part of the cultural history of the country. In those programmes, both the state-run cultural television station and private commercial television recreated the past and constructed history nostalgically, each station from its own particular perspective, by the inclusion of film and video fragments in which the old singers and composers interpreted the boleros. This demonstrates the way in which the bolero has developed in Mexican popular culture, and thence also in collective memory.

From the analysis of the stories told by the subjects, it was possible to separate out these songs in general, and the boleros in particular, which had a substantial evocative power. Just one phrase of a song was enough to take the subjects back to a significant event in the past. For example, both the men and women from "El Olivar" as well as the "Del Valle" women associated some boleros, such as *Nohecita* (That Night), *Júrame* (Promise Me), *Sin ti* (Without You), *Señora Bonita* (Pretty Lady) or *Nuestro Juramento* (Our Promise), with a particular person or significant moment in their love relationship. In those cases, the bolero acquired the value of a symbol with a great capacity for synthesising. Through the words of the song, the subjects relived their individual history, and interpreted it according to the codes of collective memory. A complete love story could be condensed into a song that symbolised that particular story.

The "Del Valle" men said that boleros took them back to their youth, to a whole era in their life. They particularly mentioned the times they had got together with their friends, and gone out to conduct a serenade. This group showed a reluctance to talk about their love relationships, and to reduce the bolero to a memory of any one person in particular. For their part, the men and women from "El Olivar" even remembered the orchestras that had played boleros in their time, and with this they also remembered the dance-halls where they had gone dancing and the area of the city surrounding that dance-hall. All these examples taken from the interviews, demonstrate the link between individual memories and collective memory, given that, as Davis points out, "The objects of nostalgic imagination offered by the media, operate like umbrellas that cover the most private nostalgic memories of people, places and events of our life, love, a person, etc." (Davis 1989:132).

NOSTALGIA AND ITS POLITICAL EFFECT

In Tester's view (1993), nostalgia emerges in cultural circumstances in which society is viewed as an entity that is moving from one defined place to another which has yet to be defined. In other words, nostalgia is a phenomenon of "modernity", or, more specifically, nostalgia is a type of reply to cultural conflicts in the modern era (Tester 1993:64). The results of this research suggests that both individual and collective bolero nostalgia are forms of conservative thought. These forms are expressed by means of different strategies orientated towards producing a refuge in the past, and political demobilisation, as will be noted below.

BOLERO NOSTALGIA AND FEMALE-MALE IDENTITIES

According to Davis (1989), the mechanism of nostalgia operates as a reaction in the face of the uncertainty produced by different social

changes for example: women's sexual liberation, and the fight for the right to the homosexual option, as promoted by various groups of gay men and women.

In the stories of the subjects studied, it was specifically observed that the mechanism of nostalgia was activated by comparing the behaviour of young couples today to the behaviour of youth in former times. The men and women of both "Del Valle" and "El Olivar", compared their own youth to that of today, and considered that relationships between couples had been better in the past. As they mentioned in their stories, in their view there had been "values" previously that had now disappeared. According to them, in former times, there had been more respect for the authority of adults, there had been no homosexuality or at least not so brazenly, women had been more demure, more romantic, there had not been sex before marriage, or at least not so openly.

However it is worth mentioning that, in the very process of producing their discourse, the "Del Valle" men became aware of the nostalgia mechanism that they themselves were using, and related their affirmations with regard to the negative appraisal of the past. On this point they criticised the behaviour of the youth of their time, describing it as more "hypocritical" and "repressed" with regard to today's youth, which they considered more "free" and "genuine", even though the men continued to reject the actual behaviour patterns of today's youth.

All this leads one to think that nostalgic evocation arises in the context of the fears, unhappiness, anxiety and uncertainties of modernity, which threatens the integrity and continuity of the identities and the traditional division between the female-male roles.

BOLERO NOSTALGIA AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

As can be seen up to now, bolero nostalgia has become a medium for socially re-affirming certain identities that have been undercut by the conditions of dizzying change at the social, political, economic and technological levels.

One of the recent changes in Mexico has been that of the opening of the borders, as a result of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and of the integration of the economy and culture into the globalisation process on a world level. In the face of this process, the national culture and identity have appeared to be seriously threatened. The subjects interviewed in the different groups, expressed their worry at the fact that the young people of today prefer music in English, given that foreign music now takes up 30% of radio broadcasting, and, with new transmission technologies via satellite, threatens to extend still further.

Paradoxically, in its initial stages, the bolero was banned from schools by the Ministry of Public Education, and accused of attempting to undermine the traditional values of family, religion, vernacular music and the roots of national culture. Nowadays, the bolero has been transformed into an “expression of Mexican and Latin American romantic sensibility”. As such, it has now become a resistance mechanism in the face of the attacks of blatant, hardly romantic sexuality coming out of songs in English, and out of “techno” music, from the industrialised countries, principally the United States and Europe. Nowadays, both those interviewed and the cultural industries, by means of the nostalgia mechanism, have transformed the bolero into an emblem of national culture.

BOLERO NOSTALGIA AND THE NEGATION OF TODAY'S CONTRADICTIONS

From the analyses of the bolero programmes, the deduction can be made that the cultural industries hide current social, economic and political problems, in an attempt to distract citizens from political action. As can be seen in chapters four and five, each medium uses a different mythification strategy. Among the different devices and mechanisms used, the principle ones are a creation of an idealised mythical past, the reduction of national history to the past as referred to by the cultural industries and their stars, and the opening and public exhibition of private, intimate matters.

Through all the weekly broadcasts of its programme, *Un poco más*, the state-run cultural television reconstructed the history of the bolero in the context of national history. In its discourse there is a constant reference to the Mexico of the 'forties, to the golden age of romantic songs, of the radio, of the cinema, and fundamentally of the nascent modern city. The nostalgia is founded on the myth of paradise lost, a time in which, according to the programme, things were better. These strategies serve to hide the reality of misery and exploitation, on which the industrialisation of the country is being built.

The study of private radio and television shows that those media create their own history of the bolero, going back to a past defined by the cultural industries, and decontextualised from all social, economic and political events, both national and international. As Davis indicates, "whereas before, collective nostalgia was constituted of people, events and places of a civic and political nature, nowadays it is predominantly made up of people, allusions and creations of the communication media" (Davis 1989:125).

According to the analysis detailed in chapters four and five, radio and television reconstruct the country's history by means of tributes to "the stars", and programmes commemorating the most significant dates in the life of actors, singers and composers. Radio and television have contributed to the creation of a myth of a bohemian world of the bolero made up as of a community of friends.

By means of devices of this nature, the cultural industries have gradually been displacing concern over public affairs, and substituting a concern for private affairs, which are given a public dimension. Through the mechanisms of bolero nostalgia, the rest of the events, relevant to the economic, social and political life of the country and the world, remain covered by oblivion. As can be observed in the analysis of the phone-in radio programmes and the television programmes in which the public participates, the listener enters the world of shows in which fragments of the listener's personal, intimate life are revealed to the whole audience. The audience then becomes a witness to declarations of love, requests for forgiveness, or the offering of condolences or congratulations. Private life acquires a public character.

NOSTALGIA AS A DEVICE FOR KEEPING THE OLD OUT OF SIGHT

According to Davis, one of the political aims of nostalgia has been to keep the elderly out of sight, in order to mitigate the pronounced feelings of rejection they now experience due to their precarious position in the social structure, as the result of the transition from the traditional society, in which the old had an important place in the community, to modern societies, in which they have lost that position and been relegated to the margins.

The ideas put forward by Davis are evidenced throughout this research, both at the level of the experiences related by the subjects, as well as in the strategies of the different cultural industries analysed .

The analysis of the bolero available in public places, established that *El Teatro Tepeyac* (The Tepeyac Theatre), the radio station *El Fonógrafo*, and the television programme *La Hora Azul* were all explicitly orientated towards a specific sector of the urban population, made up of elderly men and women, retired people and housewives, all of whom stay at home for most of the day. The analysis reveals the use of particular codes and strategies clearly orientated towards producing a nostalgic effect.

The analysis of the stories told by interviewees shows that the subjects in the groups studied experienced strong feelings of exclusion because of young people's irruption, with a vitality bordering on aggression, into family and urban spaces, through their music. In their stories, the subjects mentioned the importance to them of finding spaces in which to be able to listen to music of their own times.

BOLERO NOSTALGIA AND THE CREATION OF LINKS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS

According to Davis's, the nostalgia of youth directed towards their parents constitutes a new experience for generations. It is an experience which, allows the creation of strong symbolic links between generations, and a feeling of continuity, a form of transmission of certain traditions now being filtered through the communication media (Davis 1989:131).

The analysis both of the stories told by those interviewed and recent record production and recent shows in the *Auditorio Nacional*

(National Auditorium), show that bolero nostalgia directed towards the young is socially orientated towards preserving and restoring some of the old values. For example the re-release of old boleros by new singers, such as Luis Miguel, Mijares and Lucerito, Eugenia León and Guadalupe Pineda, have allowed new generations access to the bolero. As was indicated by those interviewed, mainly by the "Del Valle" men and women, thanks to the great figures of the moment, such as Luis Miguel, the new generations have begun to recognise, accept and appreciate the old boleros, in the same way as those interviewed, and thanks to the singers of their time such as José Antonio Muñoz, have entered into a relationship with the favourite boleros of their parents.

SOME FINAL THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Because of the need to trim down the object of this study and to reduce it to manageable dimensions, this research inevitably made selections as to type of music to be studied, the locations to be examined and the size and composition of the groups to be interviewed. These selections and cuts though practically necessary in no way disguise the problems.

The bolero was chosen because of its well-established rooting across generations and across social classes in contemporary Mexico. Its ubiquity was an advantage but also a limitation. It meant that a decision has to be taken not to consider other types of more modern romantic music, such as contemporary ballads, rock music in Spanish, and group tropical music. Some recent observations of these genres however, indicate the existence of transformations in the rhetoric of loving. For example, there are certain types of songs which present a different image of the woman, as in the following extract:

*"...break all my schemata, don't talk of
eternal unions, the person who gives more of*

*herself, is the one who behaves as if she, only
has one day to love"*⁴¹²

as well as a freer conception of female sexuality, that breaks with the traditional stereotypes of the woman as either saint or whore:

*"I would rather share her, than empty my life,
she is not perfect, but she is closer to what I
had, before only dreamed of"*⁴¹³

It would be interesting to analyse more systematically whether there is in fact a significant variation in the positions occupied by male and female subjects, as well as in love themes and forms of expression in a representative corpus these new love songs.

As can be observed in this research, in spaces such as *El Hábito* and other spaces not analysed here such as the films directed by Almodovar: *Atame* (Tie Me Up) and *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (Women on the Edge of a Nervous Breakdown), there are uses of the bolero which employ parody and irony to induce a critical reflection of the love forms proposed. It would be worth analysing more carefully this use and interpretation of the bolero. Whilst it is true to say that they are not the most common or extensive forms, they do offer the possibility of inducing critical reflection on the prevailing conceptions of love.

The groups studied were composed of adults, married men and women, belonging to two different social classes, from two colonies in Mexico City. The selection of an adult population allowed an exploration of those cultural aspects that tend to persist from one generation to the next. However, in their stories, the subjects themselves mentioned changes in the behaviour patterns of the new generations. Choosing

⁴¹² MILANES, Pablo. *El breve espacio en que no estás*. Op. cit. (c) p. 479

young people would have implied taking subjects in a stage of transition, which is necessarily characterised by change and crisis. In future research projects, it would be interesting to discover up to what point the new generations' impulses to change become established as long-term changes to the already established roles and definitions of love that were detected in the course of this research.

An interesting area of research would be to study how much the new romantic love song expresses changes in the lived behaviour of couples. This would mean studying the roles attributed by the new songs to men and women, as well as transformations in the new generations' practices of courtship and seduction.

It is worth highlighting also that the groups selected represent the most conservative sections of the social classes to which they belong. In general this study was carried out among groups that, on various levels, tend to adjust to current social convention. It would be interesting to compare the results found with a study of subjects who, on different levels, actively seek to transform or bend social conventions. Subjects belonging to groups or organisations with different affiliations, to some type of political action group, feminists, intellectuals, subjects from the groups who frequent places like *El Hábito*, which was one of the spaces observed for this research project.

In addition, this research project studied heterosexual subjects. A comparative study could also be made to discover what relationship homosexual subjects establish with the bolero, what the bolero signifies to them, whether they in fact consume the bolero, and if they do, how they appropriate it, and what transformations the meanings in the songs undergo.

⁴¹³ MILANES, Pablo. *El breve espacio en que no estás*. Op cit.

The selection of a group interview format enabled the opening of a range of themes and problems related to the forms of interpretation, use and appropriation of the bolero, made by subjects belonging to contrasted classes. The information obtained in this study provided sufficient elements to allow for the composition of a questionnaire that could be applied to a more broadly based representative sample, and was suitable for generalising the results to apply to wider populations.

Traditionally, in the United States and in Great Britain, popular music has been studied ethnographically starting from the point of view of sub-cultures. In those countries, each sub-culture has been studied in isolation, according to the ways in which the sub-culture appropriates particular musical styles as the unique trademark of its collective identity.

In contrast to those studies, the characteristic of the approach adopted in this research project has been to start with the bolero, and to consider it in all its trajectories and transformations, as a musical phenomenon that has circulated through different means of the media and face to face communication, and as style of music that has transcended the divisions of generation and class. Whilst it is true that the forms of use and appropriation of the bolero are different according to the different social classes, no one group can lay exclusive claim to the bolero as its own cultural property. In contrast to ethnographic studies on sub-cultures, this project affirms that the bolero is not the property of any one social group, nor is it a phenomenon restricted to the Mexican ambit. In Latin America, in addition to the bolero, other music styles, the tango for example, have also been studied according to their trans-class and trans-cultural character. This type of approach allows the limitations of the sub-culture theories to be overcome, and allows a study of the links and conflicts between the different lifestyles

and ways of thinking that co-habit one alongside the other. These are cultures that mutually influence and transform each other.

It would be worth asking whether any musical phenomenon similar to the bolero exists in the post-industrial societies; whether it would be possible, for example, to look at the different forms of appropriation of Rock, as made by each different sub-culture, and the transformations undergone by this music genre in different social spaces. In any case, it has been considered here that studying music in its migrations is an interesting approach, given that it allows the musical phenomenon to be looked at in its specific nature as a reality of sound that will not allow itself to be enclosed. In this sense, Frith points out that: "Music is thus the cultural form best able both to cross borders - sounds carry across classes, races, nations - and to define places; in clubs, scenes and raves, listening on headphones, the radio and in concert halls, we are only where the music takes us" (Frith 1996:125).

In conclusion, the most important theoretical implication of this project refers to the role of music, in particular to that of the love song, in the make-up of identities.

The results this study has obtained, show, according to Bourdieu's point of view, that there is a relationship between patterns of taste in music and the different class and gender positions held by the subjects. Nevertheless, it also became clear that said relationship is not a fixed, stable relationship of causality. Bourdieu's perspective has been inadequate for a full interpretation of the musical phenomenon, as a dynamic process and as discourse.

In the execution of music, contexts are multiple and their supply is limitless. Listening to boleros as background music at work, is not the same as listening to them with friends, with one's wife, with a lover, or

with a same-sex partner. For example, as will have been observed from this project, the bolero had very different meanings in the different bars of Mexico City.

Forms of music appreciation do not respond to subjects' intrinsic characteristics. They are the result of the positions adopted by the subjects in certain given practices, and in individual and collective rituals of music consumption. It was also clear from the interviews that the subjects are not one single entity, that they change places over time according to the different institutional spaces in which said practices and rituals are carried out. For example, some subjects said that, with age, they had changed their use and appreciation of the bolero. When they were young, they said, they preferred listening to Rock, so as to be able to identify with their peer group. Subsequently, as adults, they began to listen to, and to appreciate, the romantic character of the bolero. Similarly, it could also be observed that the subjects manifested variable, and even contradictory, opinions with regard to some love themes, according to the different subject places and roles - as parents or as children - that they held in the stories they were relating. In this sense, it was possible to corroborate Frith's assertion that: "identity is mobile, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being" (Frith 1996:109).

In the construction of identities, the bolero has a double mechanism. On the one hand, the bolero is a device of semantic memory, transmitted by the cultural industries and offered to subjects as a variety of resources of symbolism, vocabulary, themes, positions, mental maps and narrative forms. On the other hand, the bolero's most important role, which is in the constitution of identities, just as with any other type of music, the bolero's role "is not to be found in the text, but in the performance of the text, in the process in which it is realised" (Bolhman, quoted by Frith 1996:111). In other words, the

bolero as musical practice is a mechanism of habitual memory, and it is learned through the execution of certain ritual behaviours. As Rees points out, "the problem of personal identity arises from play-acting and the adoption of artificial voices ..." (quoted by Frith 1996:122).

In this sense, in addition to offering the symbolic resources mentioned, the bolero has a performative character. Holding a serenade, dancing to, singing or listening to boleros, are not simply forms of expression of given contents, they are also forms of social behaviour, and therein lies their strength. The symbolic space that is opened around the bolero, is a space of conflict, of the constitution of identities and differences between genders and classes. Thus, the results of this project allow an affirmation of what Frith wrote, that music in general, and the bolero in particular, "constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives" (Frith 1996:124).

Finally, I would like to refer back to the beginning of this thesis, where I mentioned my personal relationship with the bolero as being an ambivalent one. Over all these years, my own position with regard to the bolero has changed constantly, even to the point of becoming a multiple, always contradictory, relationship. In every new encounter with the bolero I discovered a new facet of the bolero. I was able to put a name to many songs. I began to identify the singers I had heard so many times before. I was able to detect the nuances of the different interpretations. I learned to toy with the bolero, to take it less "seriously". I came to realise the political value of taking the genre to its limits, in the transgression of the standards the bolero itself imposes. Every experience of the bolero raised more questions in my mind. And in the same vein, every time I re-read this thesis, I discover new gaps that still need to be filled.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Coding schedule of songs

1. Name of the song

2. Author (s)

3. Song books

3.1 (1)

3.2 (2)

3.3 (1&2)

()

4. Speaker

4.1 Feminine

4.2 Masculine

4.3 Neuter

()

5. Themes of the bolero

5.1 Romance

5.1.1 Happy Love

5.1.2 Unhappy Love

5.1.2.1 Uncertainty

5.1.2.2 Unrequited love

5.1.2.3 Burnt out love

5.1.3.1 Characteristics of the actors

5.1.3.2 Male actors

5.1.3.3 Female Actors

5.2 Other themes

()

6. Modalities of enunciation

6.1 Personal feelings (Y)

6.2 Dialogues (I-You)

6.3 Narratives and descriptions (He-She)

7. *Lexias* or fragments

Appendix 2: Mexico City radio stations profile

INITIALS	FREQUENCY	NAME	PROFILE
XEOC	560	RADIO CHAPULTEPEC	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XEPH	590	LA SABROSITA	TROPICAL
XENK	620	RADIO 620	ROMANTIC BALADS
XEDTL	660	RADIO 660	TROPICAL
XEN	690	ONDAS DEL LAGO	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEMP	710	RADIO 710	RANCH STILE
XEX	730	LA "X" DE MÉXICO	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XEABC	760	ABC RADIO	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XERC	790	EL FONÓGRAFO	BOLERO
XELA	830	XELA	CLASSIC
XEUN	860	RADIO UNAM	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEW	900	LA "W"	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEQ	940	XEQ 940	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEDF	970	RADIO FÓRMULA 970	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEOY	1000	RADIO MIL	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XEQR	1030	RADIO CENTRO	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XEEP	1060	RADIO EDUCACION	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XERED	1110	RADIO RED	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEJP	1150	RADIO VARIEDADES	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL

INITIALS	FREQUENCY	NAME	PROFILE
XEFR	1180	ÓXIDO RADIO	ROCK IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH
XEB	1220	LA XEB	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XEL	1260	RADIO ACIR	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEDA	1290	RADIO 13	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XECMQ	1320	FORMATO 21	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEQK	1350	LA ESTACIÓN DE LA HORA	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XECO	1380	LA PODEROSA	CONTEMPORARY, TROPICAL
XEBS	1410	RADIO SINFONOLA	RANCH STILE
XEEST	1440	SONIDO CRISTAL MÉXICO	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL
XESM	1470	RADIO VIDA	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XEAI	1500	RADIO AI	TROPICAL
XEUR	1530	CAMBIO 1530	NEWS AND COMMENTARIES
XEFAJ	1560	RADIO CONSENTIDA	RANCH STILE
XEVOZ	1590	BONITA	RANCH STILE
XHRED-FM	88.1	88.1 RED FM	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XHM-FM	88.9	AZÚL 89	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XEOY-FM	89.7	MORENA FM	RANCH STILE
XEDA-FM	90.5	PULSAR FM	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XHRCA-FM	91.3	ALFA 91.3	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XHFO-FM	92.1	LA ZETA	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL
XEQ-FM	92.9	LA K-BUENA	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL
XEJP-FM	93.7	STEREO JOYA	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XHIMER	94.5	OPUS 94	CLASSIC

INITIALS	FREQUENCY	NAME	PROFILE
XHSH-FM	95.3	OK	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL AND RANCH
XHUN-FM	96.1	RADIO UNAM	CLASSIC
XEW-FM	96.9	W FM	ROCK IN ENGLISH
XERC-FM	97.7	ENERGY	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XHDL-FM	98.5	RADIOACTIVO	ROCK IN ENGLISH
XHPOP-FM	99.3	DIGITAL 99	RACK IN SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH
XHMM-FM	100.1	STEREO 100	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XHROK-FM	100.9	CÓDIGO 100.9	RACK IN SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH
XEX-FM	101.7	101.7 VOX FM	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XHMVS-FM	102.5	STEREO REY	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XERPM-FM	103.3	RADIO FÓRMULA	BOLEROS AND BALADS
XEDF-FM	104.1	RADIO UNO	CONTEMPORARY TROPICAL
XHMRD-FM	104.9	FM GLOBO	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN SPANISH
XHOF-FM	105.7	ÓRBITA 105	RACK IN SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH
XHDFM-FM	106.5	MIX FM 106.5	CONTEMPORARY BALADS IN ENGLISH
XEQR-FM	107.3	UNIVERSAL STEREO	ROCK IN ENGLISH

Appendix 3: .T. V. ratings of music programmes and soap operas

PROGRAMME "LA HORA AZUL" (The blue hour)					
CHANNEL 2					
March - September 1992 Saturday 18:30-20:00 Hrs.					
October '92 - February '93 Sunday 16:30-18:30 and 17:00-18:30 hrs.					
Weekly Rating					
WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
21-March	14.7	27-Jun	10.4	29-Nov	9.2
28-March	15.0	4-Jul	10.8	6-Dic	3.7
4-April	13.7	11-July	9.7	13-Dec	6.8
11- April	12.4	18-July	15.4	20-Dec	5.9
18- April	9.0	15-Aug.	8.4	27-Dec	8.1
25- April	12.8	22-Aug.	11.9	3-Jan	6.6
2-May	15.8	5-Sept.	15.1	10-Jan	7.1
9-May	11.6	12-Sept.	9.9	17-Jan	6.8
16-May	14.4	19-Sept.	14.9	24-Jan	7.7
23-May	9.3	18-Oct	9.9	31-Jan	6.5
30-May	11.2	25-Oct	8.6	7-Feb	8.9
6-Jun	8.8	8-Nov	9.1	14-Feb	8.7
13-Jun	10.7	15-Nov	6.4	21-Feb	8.1
20-Jun	11.9	22-Nov	5.7	28-Feb	7.4
Average Rating 10.0 %					
Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)					

PROGRAMME "UN POCO MAS"(a little more)**CHANNEL 11**

April '92 - July '92 Saturday 20:00-21:00 Hrs.

August '92 - April '93 Saturday 21:30-22:30 hrs.

Weekly Rating

WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
4-Apr	1.0	15-Aug	1.5	26-Dec	0.5
11-Apr	0.9	22-Aug	0.6	2-Jan	0.5
18-Apr	0.1	29-Aug	0.7	9-Jan	1.4
25-Apr	0.1	5-Sep	1.2	16-Jan	0.3
2-May	1.0	12-Sep	2.1	23-Jan	0.8
9-May	0.6	19-Sep	0.6	30-Jan	1.8
16-May	1.3	26-Sep	1.4	6-Feb	1.0
23-May	0.0	3-Oct	0.2	13-Feb	0.3
30-May	0.4	10-Oct	1.5	20-Feb	1.0
6-Jun	0.3	17-Oct	0.6	27-Feb	1.0
13-Jun	0.7	24-Oct	0.5	6-March	0.4
20-Jun	0.7	31-Oct	2.2	13-March	0.7
27-Jun	0.9	7-Nov	2.3	20-March	0.8
4-July	0.1	14-Nov	1.4	27-March	1.0
11-July	0.1	21-Nov	1.2	3-April	1.3
18-July	0.2	28-Nov	1.2	10-April	2.2
25-July	0.2	5-Dec	1	17-April	2.9
1-Aug	1.8	12-Dec	1.8	24-April	2.5
8-Aug	0.8	19-Dec	0.4		

Average rating: 1.0 %

Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)

SOAP OPERA "MARIA MERCEDES"**CHANNEL 2**

September '92 - January '93 Mon.-Fri. 21:00-22:00 Hrs.

Weekly Rating

WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
14-Sep	37.4	26-Oct	49.3	7-Dec	47.1
21-Sep	46.2	2-Nov	46.9	14-Dec	45.1
28-Sep	50.0	9-Nov	47.1	21-Dec	43.9
5-Oct	47.8	16-Nov	46.7	28-Dec	49.4
12-Oct	47.7	23-Nov	48.4	4-Jan	52.8
19-Oct	51.1	30-Nov	47.8		

Average rating:47.3 %

Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)

SOAP OPERA "VALERIA Y MAXIMILIANO"**CHANNEL 2**

January '92 - May '92 Mon.-Fri. 19:00-20:00 Hrs.

Weekly Rating

WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
6-Jan	36.9	17-Feb	40.8	30-March	44.0
13- Jan	37.4	24-Feb	41.2	6-April	43.4
20- Jan	36.6	2-March	37.3	13-April	38.4
27- Jan	41.6	9-March	41.6	20-April	43.3
3-Feb	39.0	16-March	38.3	27-April	46.3
10-Feb	42.0	23-March	44.4		

Average rating:40.7 %

Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)

SOAP OPERA "DE FRENTE AL SOL" (facing the sun)**CHANNEL 2**

May '92 - August '92 Mon.-Fri. 21:00-22:00 Hrs.

Weekly Rating

WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
4-May	31.7	15-Jun	36.5	27-July	37.4
11-May	35.9	22-Jun	37.2	3-Aug	39.0
18-May	31.5	29-Jun	38.1	10-Aug	38.6
25-May	27.2	6-July	37.3	17-Aug	41.4
1-Jun	33.2	13-July	36.8	24-Aug	42.0
8-Jun	34.7	20-July	36.6	31-Aug	48.3

Average rating:37.5 %

Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)

SOAP OPERA "SI DIOS ME QUITA LA VIDA"**CHANNEL 2**

February - August '95 Mon.-Fri. 21:00-21:30 Hrs.

Weekly Rating

WEEK	%	WEEK	%	WEEK	%
20-Feb	25.2	17-April	21.0	12-Jun	23.4
27-Feb	21.6	24-April	22.7	19-Jun	23.2
6-March	22.5	1-May	22.7	26-Jun	22.5
13-March	24.0	8-May	24.3	3-July	23.4
20-March	22.3	15-May	21.3	10-July	24.6
27-March	21.1	22-May	22.7	17-July	22.3
3-April	22.4	29-May	23.0	24-July	21.1
10-April	20.1	5-Jun	23.0	31-July	21.0

Average rating:23.1 %

Source: IBOPE Mexico. (Set meters)

Appendix 4: Questionnaire of socio-economic conditions and cultural consumption

**WRITE THE CORRESPONDING NUMBER IN THE BRACKETS
ON THE RIGHT**

I. General information about the Participant

Sex

1. male
2. female

Civil Status

1. single
2. married
3. divorced
4. widowed
5. cohabiting

Age

1. 40-50
2. 58-68

Schooling

1. None
2. Primary, unfinished
3. Primary, completed
4. Secondary, unfinished
5. Secondary, completed
6. Preparatory (pre-university), unfinished
7. Preparatory (pre-university), completed
8. Technical College, unfinished

9. Technical College, completed
10. Professional Studies, unfinished
11. Professional Studies, completed
12. Post-graduate Studies

1. Which of the following ranges covers your monthly family income?

1. less than 1,500 pesos
2. between 1,501 and 2,500 pesos
3. between 2,501 and 5,500 pesos
4. between 5,501 and 8,000 pesos
5. between 8,001 and 15,000 pesos
6. more than 15,001 pesos

2. Are you currently employed?

1. Yes ()
2. No ()

3. Which of the following types corresponds to your current post, or to the last one you held?

1. housewife
2. self-employed worker
3. own business employing 1-15 people
4. government employee not in charge of other employees
5. private company employee not in charge of other employees
6. government employee, senior post
7. government employee, middle-level post
8. private company employee, senior post
9. private company employee, middle-level post
10. self-employed professional
11. own business employing 16-100 people

12.own business employing 101-250 people

13.own business employing more than 250 people

You ()

Your Partner ()

4. Is your house fully owned, mortgaged or rented?

1. fully owned 2. mortgaged 3. rented

5. In which colony are you currently living, and of which delegation is it a part?

6. How many people live in your house, including yourself?

7. Specify their relationship to you.

8. How many bedrooms does your house have?

9. How many square metres does the construction of your house cover?

10.Which of the following pieces of apparatus do you have at home?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

television radio videocassette-player

record-player compact disc player

11.How many cars do you have?

12.Which make and year is each one?

make year

II. About your family and friends

13. In which colony and delegation did you live when you were aged 15-20?

14. What level of schooling did your father and grandfather have?

Choose the corresponding number

1. None
2. Primary, unfinished
3. Primary, completed
4. Secondary, unfinished
5. Secondary, completed
6. Preparatory (pre-university), unfinished
7. Preparatory (pre-university), completed
8. Technical College, unfinished
9. Technical College, completed
10. Professional Studies, unfinished
11. Professional Studies, completed
12. Post-graduate Studies

Father ()

Grandfather ()

15. What type of occupation did your father and grandfather have?

Choose the corresponding number

1. government employee, senior post
2. government employee, middle-level post
3. government employee not in charge of other employees

4. private company employee, senior post
5. private company employee, middle-level post
6. private company employee not in charge of other employees
7. self-employed professional
8. self-employed worker
9. own business employing 1-15 people
10. own business employing 16-100 people
11. own business employing 101-250 people
12. own business employing more than 250 people
13. housewife
14. other: specify

Father ()

Grandfather ()

16. How many brothers and sisters were you altogether?

17. Were you married more than once?

1. Yes 2. No

18. How many children did you have altogether?

19. Where did you make most of your closest friends?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

1. at school 2. at work 3. in your neighbourhood
4. old friends of the family

20.How often do you meet up with the people listed below? Choose the corresponding number

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| 1. everyday | Parents | () |
| 2. 2-3 times a week | Siblings | () |
| 3. 1-2 times a month | Children/Grandchildren | () |
| 4. 2-3 times a year | Friends | () |
| 5. less than once a year | | |

III. General entertainment

21.From the activities listed below, which do you engage in now, and which did you use to engage in?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

Activity	Current engage in	Used to engage in
1. Sport, which one(s)?		
2. Play a musical instrument which one(s)?		
3. Record music		
4. Buy records, cassettes, CD's		
5. Go dancing		
6. Listen to live music		
7. Go to museums, galleries, exhibitions		
8. Go to get-togethers or parties		
9. Go to sports events		
10. Go to fairs		

IV. Use of and tastes in television programmes

22. How often do you watch T.V.?

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. everyday | 3. 2-3 times a month |
| 2. 2-3 times a week | 4. less than 2-3 times a month |

23. What type of T.V. programme do you watch?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

1. Normal channels
2. Cablevisión (private T.V. company)
3. Multivisión (private T.V. company)
4. Satellite dish

24. How many hours do you watch?

25. What type of programmes do you usually watch?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Soap operas | 5. Mexican films |
| 2. News | 6. Foreign films |
| 3. Sports programmes | 7. Crime series |
| 4. Interviews, discussions,
round-table discussions | 8. Comedy |
| | 9. Musicals |
| | 10. Documentaries |

26. What is your favourite television programme?

27. Do you remember any T.V. programme of romantic Mexican music?

1. Yes 2. No

28. Mark with a cross the T.V. programmes on the following list, that you used to watch, or watch now.

1. Programa Nescafé (The Nescafé Programme)
2. Noches tapatías (Guadalajara Nights)
3. Estudio de Pedro Vargas (Pedro Vargas's Studio)
4. Club de Hogar (Home Club)
5. Corazón (Heart)
6. Siempre en Domingo (Always on Sunday)
7. Mala noche no (Bad Night No)
8. La hora azul (The Blue Hour)
9. Un poco más (A Little More)

V. Use of and tastes in radio programmes

29. How often do you listen to the radio?

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. everyday | 3. 2-3 times a month |
| 2. 2-3 times a week | 4. less than 2-3 times a month |

30. How much time do you spend listening to the radio?

31. What type of broadcasts do you usually listen to?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. News | 4. Music |
| 2. Sports programmes | 5. Radio soap operas |
| 3. Comedy | 6. Talks, discussions |

VI. Musical tastes

32. Which type of music do you prefer?

1. Romantic Mexican
2. Ranch
3. Tropical
4. Rock, in English

5. Classical
6. Rock, in Spanish
7. International instrumental

33.What are your three favourite songs?

M1

M2

M3

34.Who are your three favourite singers?

M1

M2

M3

35.Of the following songs, mark the ones you know, and write the author's name if you remember it.

Author's Name

1. Sabor a mí (Taste of Me)
2. Bésame mucho (Kiss Me Lots)
3. Vereda tropical (Tropical Path)
4. Bonita (Pretty Girl)
5. Usted (You)
6. Un viejo amor (An Old Love)
7. La puerta (The Door)
8. Esta tarde vi llover (This Afternoon I saw it Rain)
9. Página blanca (Blank Page)
- 10.Mary es mi amor (Mary is my Love)
- 11.¿Y cómo es él? (And What's He Like?)
- 12.Amor eterno (Everlasting Love)

36. Which of the following singers do you know? Mark the ones you know

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Pedro Infante | 8. Toña la Negra |
| 2. Amparo Montes | 9. José José |
| 3. Pedro Vargas | 10. Lola Beltrán |
| 4. Eugenia León | 11. Juan Gabriel |
| 5. Alfonso Ortiz Tirado | 12. María Luisa Landín |
| 6. Javier Solís | 13. Angélica María |
| 7. Pepe Jara | 14. María Victoria |

VII. Use of and tastes in films

37. How often do you go to the cinema?

38. What type of films do you generally watch?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| 1. Adventure | 6. War |
| 2. Cowboy | 7. Crime |
| 3. Musical comedy | 8. Comedy |
| 4. Drama | |
| 9. Horror | |
| 5. Romantic | 10. Erotic |

39. Of the films listed below, which have you seen? Can you name the Director or Leading Actor?

(MARK MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE WHERE APPLICABLE)

Director Leading Actor

1. Santa (Saint)
2. Aventurera (Adventurous)
3. Ladrón de etiqueta (Well-dressed Thief)
4. La mujer marcada (The Marked Woman)
5. Bésame mucho (Kiss Me Lots)
6. Quinto patio (Fifth Patio)
7. Dancing, salón de baile (Dancing, Dance Hall)
8. Danzón (Danzon)
9. Nosotros los pobres (We the Poor)
10. Un viejo amor (An Old Love)

Appendix 5: A Guide For Group Interview

1. Introduction and presentation of participants

2. Dynamic on the bolero during the initial period of sentimental life

- The first love, first experiences.
- To relate the story of their first experiences.
- Description of the person loved. Age, physical description, how the person behaved.
- Description of the surroundings and circumstances in which the first experiences occurred: place, social group, the occasion.
- Description of the male-female relationship; what was allowed, what was forbidden.
- Mexico at that time. Fashionable meeting-places for young people. Fashionable music. Singers. Films from that time.
- Regarding musical presence: did they listen to boleros, and how much did they like them? Where did they hear them: radio, records, places such as bars? How dedicated were they? Did they sing boleros? Did they ever conduct a serenade, or were they ever serenaded with boleros?
- Is there any bolero in particular that really affects them? If so, which?
- Words of the bolero.
- Identification of the preferred bolero with personal experiences. Was there any connection? Why did that particular bolero affect them so deeply?

3. Dynamic on musical preferences at subsequent stages of their life

- Which boleros do they remember that they have liked, and that have affected them, all their life?

- Words of the boleros remembered. The singers.
- Other significant loves.

4. Dynamic on engagements and the formalisation of the couple

- Narration of these experiences.
- What was the engagement relationship like? What was allowed, and what was forbidden?
- How long did the engagement last?
- Where did they meet? What pastimes did they share?
- What music did they like?
- Has Mexico changed or is it the same? If it has changed, in what way?
- Did they have a favourite piece of music, "their song"? Which was it, and why that particular one?

5. Dynamic on boleros

- A presentation, in sequence, of a selection of boleros. Following each bolero, did they like it? Why yes, or why not? Did it bring back any memories for them?
- Their opinion of the bolero as a musical genre.
- Which adjectives can be used to qualify the bolero?
- The bolero as music to be listened to: when, in what circumstances, in what mood.

6. Dynamic on their current musical tastes in music

- Currently, what sort of music did they enjoy listening to?
- How enthusiastic are they about it?
- By means of which media? In what places?
- Favourite singers.
- Did they ever sing or dance to boleros?
- Do they have a favourite piece of music now? If so, what is it? Does it excite them? What are the words? Why does it affect them?

7. Dynamic on love

- Are there different types of love? What are they? How does a person feel in each type?
- What do they think about infidelity, lovers and divorce?
- Have their opinions changed during their life?
- What did they think about these themes when they were aged 15-20?

Appendix 6: List of Songs.

1. Amor de mis Amores (The love of my loves).

- Author: Agustín Lara.
- Singer: Agustín Lara.
- Male Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

2. Delirio (Delirious Happiness).

- Author: César Portillo de la Luz.
- Singers: Los Tres Ases.
- Male Voices, Group, Troubadour Style.

3. Novia Mía (My Bride).

- Authors: Guerrero y Castellanos.
- Singers: Los Tres Reyes.
- Male Voices, Group, Troubadour Style

4. Tu lo Eres Todo (You are everything to me).

- Author: Carlos González.
- Singer: Los Dandys.
- Male Voices, Group, Troubadour Style.

5. Buenas Noches mi Amor (Good Night my Love).

- Author: Gabriel Ruiz.
- Singer: Los Tres Diamantes.
- Male Voices, Group, Troubadour Style.

6. Presentimiento (Premonition).

- Authors: J. Pacheco y Mata.
- Singer: Lupita Palomera.
- Female Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

7. Asómate a mi Alma (Look into my Soul).

- Author: Fernando Valadés.
- Singers: Los Astros.
- Male Voices, Group, Troubadour Style.

8. Incertidumbre (Uncertainty).

- Author: Gonzalo Curiel.
- Singer: Esther Fernández.
- Female Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

9. Palabras de Mujer (Women's Words).

- Author: Agustín Lara.
- Singer: Agustín Lara.
- Male Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

10. Orgullo (Pride).

- Author: Alvaro Carrillo.
- Singer: Pepe Jara.
- Male Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

11. La Mentira (The Lie).

- Author: Alvaro Carrillo.
- Singer: Pepe Jara.
- Male Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

12. Sabor a Mí (A Taste of Me).

- Author: Alvaro Carrillo.
- Singer: Pepe Jara.
- Male Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

13. Mentiras Tuyas (Your Lies).

- Author: Mario Fernández Porta.
- Singer: Lupita Palomera.
- Female Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.

14. Mi Segundo Amor (My Second Love)

- Author: Los Cuates Castilla.
- Singer: Chavela Vargas.
- Female Voice, Soloist, Troubadour Style.

15. Sorpresa (Surprise).

- Author: Gonzalo Curiel.
- Singer: Amparo Montes.
- Female Voice, Soloist, Cabaret Style.