



ARTICLES

Patriarchal ideology in music education: a glance to boys-only schools

Ideología patriarcal en la educación musical: una mirada a las escuelas para hombres

Daniela Hernández-Ascencio¹

Instituto de Música, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago (Chile)

Rolando Angel-Alvarado²

Instituto de Música, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago (Chile)

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Abstract

In Chile, school culture is constructed on differentiating between feminine and masculine stereotypes. Hence, the current study aims to explore the vision of music teachers regarding the implementation of the gender perspective in boys-only schools. The constant comparative method is used deductively, as the theoretical framework helped to establish conceptual categories. The sample comprises two female music teachers who have participated individually and privately in a semi-structured interview to delve into teaching tasks applied in boys-only schools. Findings reveal the existence of a patriarchal ideology in music education, which is influenced by five dimensions: androcentric culture, musical stereotypes, emotional stereotypes, misogyny, and homophobia. In conclusion, the music industry nurtures and contaminates music education because androcentric culture emerges there.

Key words: gender; sexism; musical patriarchy; masculinities.

Resumen

En Chile, la cultura escolar se construye sobre estereotipos diferenciadores entre lo femenino y lo masculino. Por ello, el presente estudio busca explorar la visión del profesorado de música respecto al abordaje didáctico de la perspectiva de género en escuelas exclusivas para hombres. Se utiliza el método comparativo constante de orden deductivo porque la literatura consultada permitió establecer las categorías conceptuales. La muestra está integrada por dos profesoras de música, quienes han participado en una entrevista semiestructurada personal y privada con el afán de ahondar en las didácticas que ejercen en escuelas diferenciadas para hombres. Los hallazgos revelan la existencia de una ideología patriarcal en la educación musical que es influenciada por cinco dimensiones: cultura androcéntrica, estereotipos musicales, estereotipos emocionales, misoginia y homofobia. Se concluye que la educación musical, así como se nutre de la industria musical, también se contamina por ella porque es ahí donde surge la cultura androcéntrica.

Palabras clave: género; sexismo; patriarcado musical; masculinidades.

¹ Licenciada, Instituto de Música, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6124-4434>

² Académico, Instituto de Música, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1800-2667>

*Contacto y correspondencia: Rolando Angel-Alvarado, Instituto de Música, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, rolando.angel.alvarado@gmail.com, Almirante Barroso, 31, C.P. 8340540 Santiago. Chile.

1. Introduction

Gender binarism is promoted in school contexts (Tomé & Rambla, 2001) because, at least in Chile, school culture is built on differentiating stereotypes between feminine and masculine that hinder the full development of gender identity (Díaz, 2005b), with school dress serving as an example. This scenario reflects that sexist practices are so normalised at the institutional level (Morgade, 2006; Villalobos *et al.*, 2016) to the point that the structures and norms that promote sexism are not seen as a social problem, making it difficult to model a non-sexist education (Muñoz-García & Lira, 2020). Such institutional sexism reflects a patriarchal ideology (Facio & Frías, 2005) that acts as a system of domination because behaviour is modelled according to the biopsychosocial stereotypes attributed to each biological sex for religious and ideological reasons (cf. Patiño, 2020; Valenzuela-Valenzuela & Cartes-Velásquez, 2020), causing the historical oppression of women and dissidence (cf. Coba & Herrera, 2013; Lerner, 1990; Meler, 2015; Soto, 2014).

At this point, it should be emphasised that gender "is constructed every day in socio-cultural interactions" (García-Pérez *et al.*, 2013, p.272), so that the school context influences gender identity and the social culture around gender (Crawford, 2006; Rebollo *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, it is imperative that teachers are sensitised to gender issues in order to implement non-sexist learning spaces (García-Pérez *et al.*, 2011). It implies internalising the gender perspective, which is understood as a critical view of patriarchal ideology (Araya, 2004), as it seeks to do away with the system of sexist domination that determines gender from the embryonic stage of development or the first years of life (cf. Guerrero *et al.*, 2011; Vasco, 2020). It is worth noting that Chilean society has begun to become more gender-sensitive in recent years (Azúa *et al.*, 2019; Follegati *et al.*, 2018; Reyes-Housholder & Roque, 2019), which is evident in two situations. First, parity criteria were established to elect representatives for the process of writing the new constitution (Figuroa, 2021) and, secondly, the ongoing drafting of the constitution is already approached from the perspective of parity and inclusion.

The Chilean school system also incorporates a gender perspective, as Law 20.845 on School Inclusion states that "the system will encourage educational establishments to be a meeting place for students from different socioeconomic, cultural, ethnic, gender, nationality or religious backgrounds" (Ministry of Education [MINEDUC], 2015, p.4). To comply with this, MINEDUC (2017) has made available school management instruments that understand the gender perspective as a cross-cutting issue in the education system, covering leadership, pedagogical management, training, school coexistence and resource management. It should be noted that MINEDUC has a Gender Equity Unit, an office responsible for distributing pedagogical resources, organising training activities and disseminating educational data and publications on gender issues (MINEDUC, 2020).

In this context, the present study aims to explore the vision of music teachers regarding their didactic approach to the gender perspective in schools where only men are enrolled. The pedagogical practices in these institutions are seen as a challenge, as the androcentric culture has constructed stereotypes that masculinity is exhibited through dominant and misogynistic behaviours linked to aggressive and violent interactions (Lomas, 2007; Solís & Martínez, 2018; Tomasini, 2010), which makes it plausible that biologically male individuals perceive organisational violence as an assault on their subjectivities simply because they are men (Carabí, 2000; Figuroa-Perea, 2016). Hence, it is imperative to emphasise that there is a diversity of

masculine identities, and that misogyny is not a genetic pattern of masculinity but rather an ideology that is learned and, therefore, can be changed (Badinter, 1992).

1.1. Patriarchal ideology in music and education

The music education system perpetuates sexist practices (Díaz, 2005b; López-Peláez, 2014) because, while compositional activities tend to be attributed to the male gender (Loizaga, 2005), female musical creators are disregarded in school textbooks and curriculum design (Bernabé-Villodre & Martínez-Bello, 2018; Díaz, 2005a; Martínez-Delgado, 2019; Soler, 2018). This situation gives an account of the existence of musical patriarchy (cf. Green, 2001) because, while works composed by men are displayed in the public sphere, works created by women are managed with discretion in the private sphere, as they are not "a visible part of the musical canon" (Bennett *et al.*, 2019, p.30). This scenario has forced female creators to hide their own identities in order to build their careers in the music industry. For example, Rebecca Clarke (1886-1979) went by the name Anthony Trent to bring "her works greater attention" (Citron, 1993, p.98), and Carmela Mackenna (1872-1962) presented herself as C. Mackenna in concert programmes printed in Frankfurt (Bustos, 2013). Such segregation still exists (Fugellie, 2020; Upton & O'bannon, 2018) because, according to Drama Musica (2020; 2021), less than 10% of orchestral concerts offered worldwide include works created by women.

According to Green (1994), musical patriarchy has given educational freedom to men to develop in music, while women have been limited by conservative labels that make them feel insecure in musical performance activities, with these gendered views being reinforced in the school classroom. Hence, pre-adolescent students consider that there should be differences between men and women in terms of musical preferences (Fuentes *et al.*, 2017), standing out prosaic and energetic repertoires in men and love-based dance songs in women. The school setting not only reinforces stereotypes around repertoire but also in the selection of musical instruments because, according to Martínez (2017), men freely choose the instrument they will learn, while women tend to opt for instruments they have in their immediate environment. So, it is essential to orient music education towards an approach that puts scrutiny of the binary polarisation or gender separation (Valdebenito, 2013), understanding the relevance of generating co-educational spaces where external dominance and stereotypes are not established (Vernia, 2019).

To this, add that, according to Palkki and Caldwell (2018), transgender students also feel that they are made invisible, as their identities and processes of assimilation/acceptance are not openly recognised in music education environments, as the language is not adapted and non-discrimination policies are not applied, forcing them to incite activist movements (Silveira, 2019). In this framework, Sieck (2017) invites us to question the dominant binary vision because inclusive pedagogy is being limited by the heteronormative language that appears in songs, causing transgender students to isolate themselves in the classroom as they feel that their relationships and feelings are not captured or represented in lyrics (Southerland, 2018). This makes it relevant to confront the androcentric culture, as it also establishes cultural pressures on men because it is frowned upon that they sing (McBride & Palkki, 2020) or dance (Fuentes *et al.*, 2017; Piedra, 2017), which hinders the full development of male subjectivities.

Given the above, there is a musical patriarchal ideology (Facio & Frías, 2005; Green, 2001) that serves as a system of domination, to the point that musical practices could be considered misogynistic and homophobic, as the musical work of women and dissidents is made

invisible because they do not comply with the androcentric profile that sustains the music industry. Referring to the industry is important, as someone must act as a patriarch in the music patriarchy, with the music industry causing the inherent dualism between oppressors and oppressed that manifests itself through sexist, misogynistic and homophobic ideologies (cf. Hess, 2020). In this sense, it is worth noting that "cultural producers intentionally rely on stereotypical reflections of social groups to exploit market niches and create products that they think can be easily classified (and thus, consumed) by audiences" (de Laat, 2019, p.10).

Consequently, it is the music industry which predetermines binary classifications and stereotypes, thus limiting subjectivities around gender. These predeterminations are replicated in the educational institution, making it imperative that stereotypes are broken and overthrown from within the classroom (López-Peláez, 2014). At least in Chile, there are already insurgent feminist movements that seek to overthrow androcentric myths in the music scene, most notably the collectives *Resonancia Femenina* in terms of music of written tradition, *Violeteras - Herencia Rebelde* in music of oral tradition and, finally, *Udara* in the world of rock.

2. Method

This study is conducted under a qualitative and descriptive cross-sectional design, carried out through grounded theory by means of the constant comparative method of deductive order, as three conceptual categories have been constructed from the information reviewed prior to the methodological construction (Bonilla-García & López, 2016). The interrelation between these categories makes it feasible to construct an emerging theory that does not seek to give rise to generalisations but only emerges to hint at theoretical plausibility (Angel-Alvarado *et al.*, 2019). The three conceptual categories that are analysed through codification processes for the construction of the emerging theory are: 1) understanding the gender perspective; 2) recognition of the gender perspective in music education; and 3) application of the gender perspective in pedagogical-musical practices.

2.1. Sample

The sample type is non-probabilistic and deliberate (Pimienta, 2000) because the two participating female teachers work in schools where only men can enrol. It should be noted that this type of institution is not common in the Chilean school system, but despite this, the most mediatised public school in the country was an all-male high school until 2020, which is known as *Instituto Nacional*. Such a school is considered an emblematic high school (cf. Valdivia & Angel-Alvarado, 2021) because it sets benchmarks for academic excellence, having recorded good results throughout republican history.

With respect to the informants, it is worth noting that they both hold the professional title of Music Teacher and work in schools located in the centre of Santiago de Chile. However, there are differences between them. On the one hand, Teacher 1 (32 years old) finished her teaching degree less than two years ago, but she had previously graduated with a degree in Sociology and was able to take gender subjects in that programme. This qualified her to teach Gender, Law and Citizenship in technical training programmes. On the other hand, Teacher 2 (49 years old) has 27 years of teaching experience, acknowledging that her knowledge of feminism and gender has been acquired through personal interests. In other words, she has received no formal training

about it; however, she has approached it through reading, reflection and debate with people with the same interest.

2.2. Data collection techniques

A semi-structured interview is used, which focuses on the beliefs and experiences of female teachers with regard to the gender perspective. Or rather, it explores how they understand it, how they recognise it in their practices and how they apply it. The interview comprises 10 questions that have been divided into three criteria, as follows:

Criterion 1. Understanding the gender perspective.

- How do you understand the gender perspective?
- How did you become interested in the gender perspective?
- Why is it relevant to address the gender perspective in secondary education?

Criterion 2. Recognition of the gender perspective in music education.

- Do you think that the gender perspective is included in the music curriculum?
- How can the gender perspective be addressed in music lessons?
- How can the gender perspective be approached in tasks of musical expression?

Criterion 3. Incorporation of the gender perspective in pedagogical practices.

- What elements of the gender perspective do you consider when planning a lesson?
- What elements promote the gender perspective's incorporation in the classroom?
- How do students respond to gender-related tasks?
- What advice would you give to the teaching community to include the gender perspective in music lessons?

2.3. Data collection procedures

In September 2020, the informants were invited by email, expressing that the activity implied participating in a personal and private interview to be conducted via video call given the health contingency, being a mandatory requirement that they were teaching music in an all-male school according to the offer available in the school system. After obtaining a favourable response from the female teachers, who did not know each other and in no case interacted with each other, the date and time of each of the interviews were scheduled, and the Zoom meeting invitation was sent by email. At the beginning of the meeting, each informant was able to know and discuss in detail the informed consent and data confidentiality codes, which involved three essential actions: 1) giving consent; 2) authorising the recording of the interview for subsequent transcription and; 3) granting permission for the speeches provided to be published in scientific communication reports. The interviews did not last longer than 90 minutes, and both were conducted in full, in circumstances in which the informants were free to leave the meeting whenever they wished, without having to provide any justification for their decision.

2.4. Data analysis procedures

After transcribing each interview in digital format, data analysis was carried out following three coding steps (Bonilla-García & López, 2016). First, open coding allows us to analyse the *in vivo* codes of each of the conceptual categories separately, selecting the accounts that allow us to delve into both belief systems and personal and pedagogical experiences (Figure 1). Second, axial coding involves intertwining the codes of the three predetermined conceptual categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), establishing connections between the *in vivo* codes of one conceptual category with those of another. Finally, selective coding refers to the selection of *in vivo* codes that influence two or three conceptual categories in order to construct a core category (Hernández, 2014; San Martín, 2014), which is understood as an emergent theory that does not establish universality, but plausibility (Angel-Alvarado *et al.*, 2019).

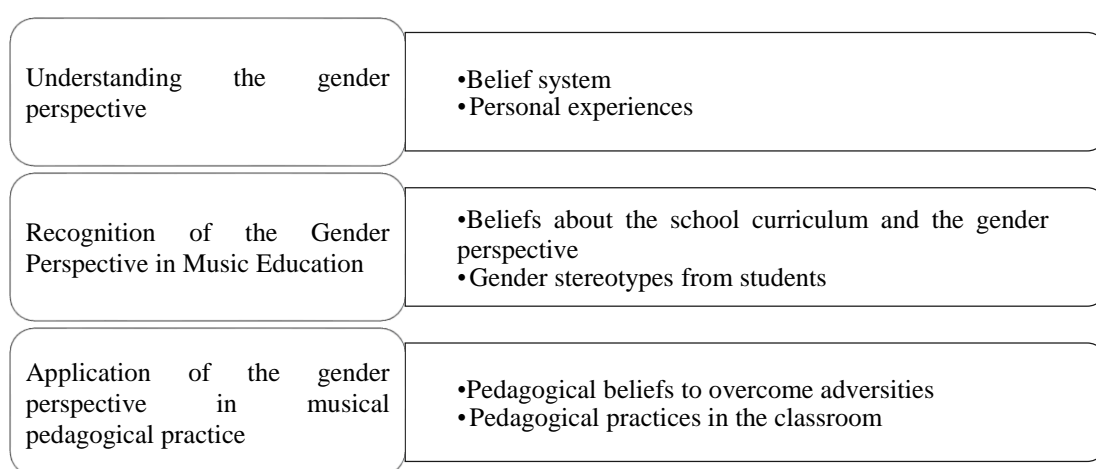


Figure 1. Conceptual categories system

3. Results

3.1. Understanding the gender perspective

For the informants, the gender perspective is not a clear and easy concept to approach, as it is understood as an idea of inclusion and a broad vision regarding the genders recognised in society. Thus, Teacher 2 indicates that "it has to do with the broad vision that one has... not only in education, but in the different areas of life. I think it's being pluralistic." To this, Teacher 1 adds that the gender perspective encompasses different dimensions of the human being from a "social justice perspective." However, Teacher 1 stresses that there is a reductionism of gender because, at a social level, "this idea of feminine and masculine transcends so much that people often think that gender is just that." It is worth noting that such views on gender arise from their personal experiences as teachers and women. On the one hand, Teacher 1 says that "at the beginning, I didn't know what a gender perspective was..., because in my personal history I realised that I liked women, and I realised that this meant that I was treated differently from other women." On the other hand, Teacher 2 narrates that she was "studying in a girls' school... in high school. Before that, coeducational... and now I work in a men's school. I know all sides."

3.2. Recognition of the gender perspective in music education

Participants are critical of the national curriculum for the subject of Music with regard to the gender perspective, as "it does not address the feminine and the masculine in such a balanced way; it is weighted towards the masculine" (Teacher 2), so that "the gender perspective is not seen" (Teacher 1). From this position, they highlight the existence of a "patriarchal structure" (Teacher 1) around music and music education because, "to give an example, reggaeton is not only a musical production, but there is an associated discourse" (Teacher 1) that makes students interested "only in male musicians" (Teacher 2). This leads to role stereotyping, as Teacher 1 narrates that her primary school students get used to portray themselves as "playing instruments, while girls are portrayed as singers or dancers in a band. So, where does that come from? Well, from a patriarchal structure and the historical role of women in music." Teacher 2, for her part, reports that her secondary school students "always focus on male singer-songwriters and musicians" in research activities. In this regard, Teacher 1 emphasises that such a patriarchal structure must be confronted from within the classroom, narrating the following didactic experience in the field of musical expression:

In Jesus Christ Superstar... Herod is a super 'effeminate' character.... It really caught my attention because that school was only for... men and there was never any comment about that... That surprised me... I don't remember the context, but even a boy said: 'but being effeminate is not an insult' (Teacher 1).

3.3. Application of the gender perspective in pedagogical practices

Both teachers agree that the gender perspective is not considered during planning, as it becomes relevant in the "hidden curriculum" (Teacher 1). Thus, the informants assimilate the gender perspective from their own experiences and creative capacities from a position that aims to make women musicians visible in the classroom. Specifically, Teacher 1 emphasises "that it is important... to show that women make music," while Teacher 2 reports that she frequently presents repertoires of female singers, which attracts the attention of her students because they do not expect "that there are so many female exponents of a certain genre." The teachers take this position so that their students do not have a "biased vision of what musical development is" (Teacher 2), as well as to incite reflections that allow them to "know what they think in relation to gender roles" (Teacher 1). Within the framework of reflections on gender roles, Teacher 2 invites her students to express themselves freely through dance, having even used "a choreography to teach the concept of canon." Teacher 1, for her part, shares the following pedagogical experience:

Tina Turner has a dramatic story because she, at the peak of her career, suffered a lot of abuse, harassment and violence from her husband, who was also her manager. Then, when she started to triumph, her husband began to blackmail her and... vetoed her from the record labels that were interested in her. When addressing the issue of violence with the [high school] students, I asked: why do you think Tina Turner's husband was being like that with her? So, they start to say, 'well, she was doing better; she was earning more money; maybe he felt undermined because a woman was earning more money than him, and on top of that, he was her husband.

Regarding the assimilation of the gender perspective by learners, Teacher 2 points out that her students "have difficulties in transmitting what they feel; they are not used to it. When they do, they get a very... good relationship with you." In contrast, Teacher 1 expresses that her students "are receptive when we talk about their sensitivities and connection with the body." However, both informants highlight the importance of promoting singing and dancing from a gender perspective because such expressions have historically been linked to women. In this

regard, Teacher 2 points out that her students "have issues to dare singing because they are used to playing instruments," which Teacher 1 ratifies and adds that it is important that, just as men can sing, women have more chances of playing instruments, not only because of the gender perspective, but also to encourage that they can achieve greater musical knowledge.

Concerning pedagogical recommendations for including the gender perspective in male school contexts, Teacher 1 emphasises raising awareness about gender violence, since it is "important that music talks about these issues... to develop... sensitivity because the gender perspective allows you... to understand a valid other." In this regard, Teacher 2 remarks on the importance of achieving a balance in "the repertoire in terms of the feminine and the masculine," as such harmony opens up a range of possibilities for students to get to know more exponents of music in general. To this, Teacher 1 adds that it is imperative "to show through music how in the different sexual orientations that exist..., there is a different... aesthetic and political proposal." These teachers' visions show a more inclusive position in music education, as reflection, musical expression and respect for diversity are intertwined.

4. Discussion and conclusions

Awareness of the gender perspective is decisive from the pedagogical position, as the degree of maturity or assimilation allows for deeper reflections in order to abandon sexism, machismo and binarism (Araya, 2004; García-Pérez *et al.*, 2011; Muñoz-García & Lira, 2020), thus marking unintentional differences between the participant female teachers. Teacher 1 referred to a gender reductionism that arises when reflection is limited to balancing the feminine with the masculine, overlooking the subjectivities of identity that exist in the complex world (García *et al.*, 2013; Valdebenito, 2013). In this regard, it is worth saying that Teacher 2 conceives the gender perspective in a reductionist way, as her discourses account for the normalisation of sexist practices (Morgade, 2006; Villalobos *et al.*, 2016) which, even when they concern her, are limited to seeking a balance between the feminine and the masculine in an educational context where she only has to deal with biologically male students (Crawford, 2006; Rebollo *et al.*, 2011; Tomé & Rambla, 2001). The difference in vision regarding gender awareness is not related to the generation gap between the informants but is determined by issues of gender identity and professional competencies because, while Teacher 1 acknowledges her liking for women and professional qualifications in gender issues, Teacher 2 admits that she has learned everything by herself.

Considering such differences, it is feasible to say that musical patriarchy (cf. Green, 2001) is replicated in society, inserting a structure of domination and stereotyping in the observed schools (Patiño, 2020; Valenzuela-Valenzuela & Cartes-Velásquez, 2020), which is expressed from at least five dimensions linked to the classifications and stereotypes intentionally installed by the music industry (Figure 2; de Laat, 2019).

First, an androcentric culture is established that distinguishes between oppressors and oppressed (Hess, 2020) because, while one group of students feels at ease in music lessons, another dissident group feels marginalised (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018; Silveira, 2019) due to the fact that musical activities do not allow them to assimilate, accept or construct their personal identity (Sieck, 2017; Southerland, 2018). The perception of feeling at ease in the music school context gives rise to the second dimension, musical stereotypes around masculinity, as pejorative views towards singing and dancing (Fuentes *et al.*, 2017; McBride & Palkki, 2020; Piedra, 2017)

impede the full development of male subjectivities. Hence the informants show interest in proposing activities that encourage these forms of expression, as their focus is to break down the barriers determined by the androcentric culture and, indeed, Teacher 2 recognises that her students hint at a rejection of singing.

The third dimension is focused on emotional stereotypes because the androcentric culture represented in popular music, such as reggaeton, maintains that masculinity is exhibited through dominant behaviours linked to violence and sexuality (Lomas, 2007; Solís & Martínez, 2018; Tomasini, 2010), affecting the full development of male subjectivities because there are students who have difficulties in expressing their emotions openly. Therefore, there is systemic violence that limits people who are biologically men just because they are men (Carabí, 2000; Figueroa-Perea, 2016). This systemic violence is linked to the fourth dimension, misogyny in music education, since the incorporation of repertoires created by women responds more to activist behaviour than to phenomena of cultural democratisation (Valdivia & Angel-Alvarado, 2021), so it is plausible to establish that there is sexist music education in the school system (Díaz, 2005b; Green, 1994), even when teaching strategies focused on issues of gender violence have been collected by Teacher 1. It is worth noting that, according to the informants, women are invisible in the national curriculum for the subject of Music (Bennett *et al.*, 2019; Bernabé-Villodre & Martínez-Bello, 2018; Díaz, 2005a; Martínez-Delgado, 2019; Soler, 2018), which is sadly in line with the global trend regarding the negligible percentage of incorporation of works created by women in concert halls (Drama Música, 2020; 2021; Upton & O'bannon, 2018).

The fifth and final dimension linked to systemic violence is conceived as homophobic music education, as the binary ideology has made us lose focus of the fact that different orientations and subjectivities have their own musical aesthetics that should be encouraged so different communities can feel included and represented in the music classroom (Palkki & Caldwell, 2018; Sieck, 2017; Silveira, 2019; Southerland, 2018). Therefore, binary ideology and systemic violence must be reduced to the minimum possible in order to the music education system can fully embrace the gender perspective; however, these transformations must be incited from within the school setting (López-Peláez, 2014), which means that each teacher must become an agent of change. This generates the need to put into action spaces for academic training in interdisciplinary subjects of gender and music, as teachers are required to reach high levels of awareness in the shortest possible time.

From the above, it is plausible to conclude that the emerging theory reveals that music education is both nurtured and contaminated by the music industry. It is nourished because the industry supplies it with all the musical resources and inputs, but it is contaminated because producers drag along an androcentric culture (de Laet, 2019) that gives rise to the limitation of male subjectivities in terms of musical and emotional expression, as well as to patterns that predetermine misogynistic and homophobic musical preferences in accordance with the system of domination made up of oppressors and oppressed (Hess, 2020). It is a fact that this theoretical proposal cannot be understood from universal or generalised conceptions. However, our task is to communicate these findings in order to debate the plausibility of this emerging theory. More research needs to be done in the future to fully understand the patriarchal structure in music education. Nevertheless, this study is a first step to starting to understand musical masculinities in all-male schools.

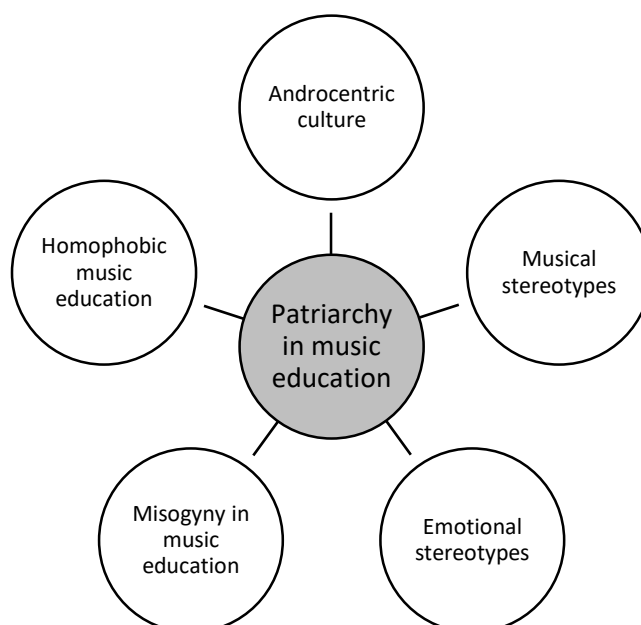


Figure 2. Dimensions of patriarchal ideology in music education

To conclude, these findings suggest two types of implications. From a theoretical approach, it is imperative to analyse school contexts observationally in order to understand pedagogical visions from a hermeneutic spiral that allows us to contrast teacher beliefs with pedagogical *praxis*. It is also convenient to replicate the present study in other similar contexts to determine whether the same patriarchal dimensions come to light or not. Such an action may be convenient to refine our emerging theory, as generalisations can begin to be made in case the dimensions are revealed in other contexts or, on the contrary, to refute the postulates that fail to be observed in other studies. From a practical approach, it is imperative to train music teachers in gender and feminist issues in formal institutions, so universities and ministries of education are invited to offer in-service training programmes, as well as to offer at least one subject during initial teacher training. It is also necessary to promote changes in the music industry, supporting and replicating the feminist movements that have made space in the Chilean scene, such as *Resonancia Femenina*, *Violeteras - Herencia Rebelde* or the *Udara Festival*. Hence, it is necessary to think of cultural policies that aspire to build and consolidate a music industry based on a gender perspective, that recognises its patriarchal ideological traits and that establishes concrete measures to overcome the patriarchal structure.

Note: this text is an automatic translation from Spanish to English. Some errors may have crept into this translation. We apologise for this.

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